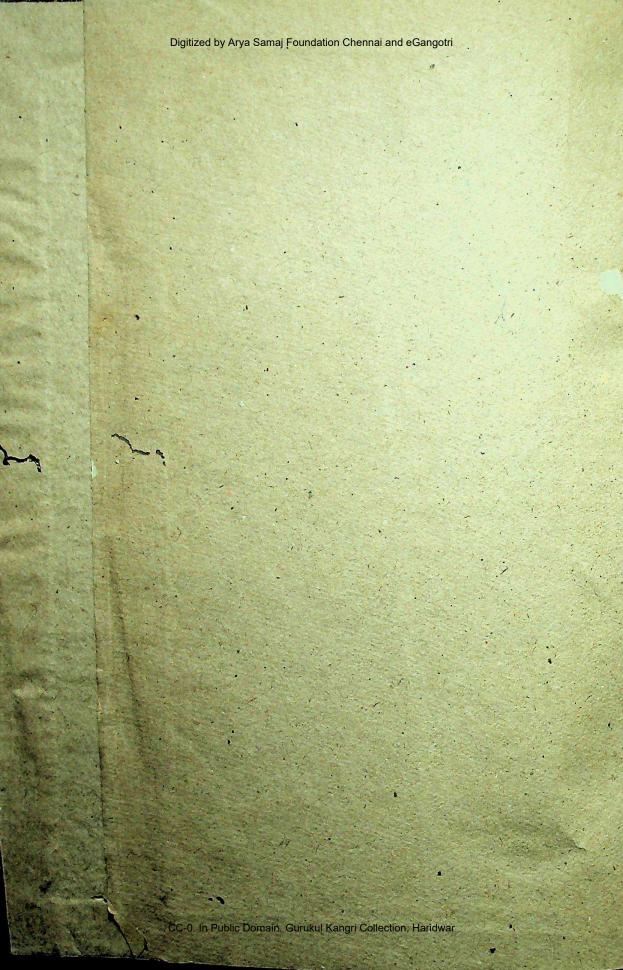
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NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



No. CCCCXXVII—SEPTEMBER 1912

REDISTRIBUTION BEFORE HOME RULE

During the debates in the House of Commons on the Franchica and Registration Bill, the Government, through various Cabinet Ministers, committed themselves to a Redistribution of Seats, but cautiously declined to say very much about when this measure would be introduced and passed, though frequently pressed on the subject by the Opposition. It is not to be wondered at that the latter were somewhat sceptical as to the value of these promises, for it is impossible to forget the fate of certain pledges given definitely by the Prime Minister and others in regard to a reform of the House of Lords and the setting up of an efficient Second Chamber. The whole point, however, of any Redistribution centres round the date. Carried out after Home Rule became law (arguing for the moment that it does reach the Statute Book) Redistribution would be nothing less than a fraud, and it is the object of this article to make this quite plain.

Let me refer for a moment to the debates on the Franchise Bill and to the arguments used by members sitting to the right of the Chair. 'The Irish over-representation,' they said, 'of

which you complain, will be cured by the passage of the Home Rule Bill, when the representatives of Ireland will be reduced from 103 to 42.' Consequently throughout the whole debate on the Franchise Bill Government supporters invariably excluded all Irish representation from their arguments, and seemed to resent any reference to the most glaring of all electoral anomalies as ill-timed, superfluous, and almost out of order. In fact, when giving some figures to the House showing the number of seats that had less than 7000 electors, and dividing them into those that habitually voted in the 'Aye' and 'No' lobbies, I was at once met with the interjection, 'But you are counting in the (The figures, by the way, prove that there are more than double as many small seats—i.e. under 7000 electors returning supporters of the Government as there are of the Opposition, the actual figures being 95 to 43.) But why not count the Irish seats? How, in any discussion on Redistribution, can you exclude the Irish members, and lay down that they must not be counted on the ground that it will be all right when Home Rule is passed? The all-important point is that these seats which 'must not be counted' are being utilised at the present moment in the Division Lobby in order to pass Home Rule, though it is quite certain there is no mandate for this measure. They are quite good enough to count, apparently, when it is a case of a division for, let us say, depriving the Welsh Church of her income, but you must exclude them from your argument when you are discussing the question of Redistribution. It would be difficult to imagine any argument more unfair, more illogical, or even more ludicrous.

Now let me briefly put the present political situation with which this whole question is so intimately bound up. It may be stated under three headings:

(1) England is as much interested in the question of Home Rule and the consequent dismembering of the United Kingdom as Ireland is.

(2) Home Rule was not in any true sense of the term the issue at the last General Election. In fact, the Government, besides having no mandate for this policy, know well that were the electorate given a chance of voting on it, they would give the same answer as they have done before.

(3) The Constitution has been manipulated in a way purposely to prevent any appeal to the country being made until after the bargain between the Government and their Irish allies has been fulfilled.

It is not necessary to argue about this third proposition, but a word or two may be usefully said on numbers one and two.

England is equally interested with Ireland on the question

of Home Rule for many reasons. In the first place, she is expected to pay for it, and I challenge anybody to dispute the proposition that before a large burden of this sort is placed upon the taxpayers they have at least the right to decide by their votes whether they are prepared to shoulder this burden or not. It is no use dismissing the question of this annual tribute of so many millions as a 'sordid argument'; one can only be amused at anybody taking up this sort of line after listening to the strenuous arguments frequently advanced against a beggarly increase of some estimate by a few thousands a year, say, for granting a separation allowance to Territorials while serving their country in camp, or for some similar object. 'economists' at once mobilise to vote down anything of this nature, though they brand any reference to the millions involved in this Irish question as a sordid argument, and one apparently quite unworthy to be used. And, again, surely England is entitled to consider and, if she wishes, to decline the risks involved in this policy of Home Rule. For were she ever to be engaged in a life-and-death struggle with some foreign Power, it would mean having close on her flank a semi-independent nation, probably in a state of sulky neutrality, and even possibly of passive hostility. This is no fancy risk; it is merely weighing up statements that have proceeded from time to time from Irish orators themselves, and England, whose international position gets no easier as time goes on, may not think it worth while to take the chance.

And now for No. 2. No politician of any weight would be prepared to say that this great question of Home Rule was the predominant issue at the last General Election. What really happened was, that a very strenuous campaign was engineered against the Lords and the whole hereditary principle, for which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who did so much to embitter the campaign by stirring up class hatred, is entitled to a good deal of credit from an electioneering point of view. But having succeeded by the cry of 'Peers v. The People,' and by keeping Home Rule well in the background, in just about upholding their majority on a second appeal to the same electorate, the Government are not entitled to say that they have a mandate to pass a Home Rule measure, from which, when directly appealed to, the common-sense and good judgment of the country have invariably recoiled. It is not easy to accommodate oneself to look upon this great issue of Home Rule as merely a sort of consequential amendment to the Veto Bill. Nor is it difficult to prove that the above is a fair statement of the case, for the absence of any reference to Home Rule in the election addresses of the majority of the Radical party, including, of course, the Prime

Minister, is notorious, and supplies evidence that cannot be gainsaid. But perhaps my arguments would be reinforced if I called in the testimony of a member of the late Government. Sir Ernest Soares, in a letter issued to the electors a few days before the poll in the Barnstaple Division, wrote as follows: 'The question at issue is a simple one—namely, whether the peers or the people are to rule this country. I hope you will not be led astray by the Home Rule bogey with which our opponents are attempting to confuse the issue.' It will be realised how very inconvenient at the present moment it would be to have Sir Ernest Soares on the Front Bench, and it must have been a relief to many when he was translated to the Mint, where, as we were always on good terms, I hope he is enjoying

himself and having a good time.

Now, since England is equally interested with Ireland in the question of Home Rule, and since Home Rule was not before the country as the issue at the last General Election, what follows? Firstly, that the predominant (and paying) partner should have an equal say in the matter; and, secondly, that a decision should be asked of the electorate before Home Rule becomes law. But has England an equal say in the matter, or rather, has she an equal say in the Division Lobbies of the House of Commons?—the really important point—for it is here that the actual decisions on this policy are ultimately made. It is very easy to show that she has not, and equally easy to show that every Irish elector has very nearly twice as much weight and voice in deciding this question as every English elector.1 There are 696,405 electors in Ireland returning 103 members to the House of Commons. This gives an average of 6761 electors per member. For England, the 465 members are returned by 6,102,423 electors, an average of 13,123 electors per member, or nearly double the number of electors that are necessary for returning an Irish member. In other words, an English elector has only half the influence on matters of public policy that the Irish voter has, and yet, especially in the case of Home Rule, England has to run most of the risks and do most of the paying. It would not be difficult to prove that England is even more interested in this question than Ireland, but at least it will be acknowledged that she is equally interested, and hence arises the unchallengeable case for equal political power. The truth is that Ireland on the Home Rule question has the use of thirty-eight votes to which on a population basis she is not entitled, but to which England is, and it is more than probable that these votes would be worth seventy-six on a division, since, broadly speaking, England is

This scandal is further emphasised when it is remembered that one elector out of every nine in Ireland is returned as illiterate.

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strongly in favour of maintaining the Union. What Parliamentary chance would Home Rule have then? It can now be seen how grossly unfair it is to talk about Redistribution after Home Rule is law, for it is only by making use of this very considerable over-representation that Home Rule has the slightest chance of being passed at all; and it is little cause for wonder that Ulster should be passionately desirous of staying inside the Union and under the protection of the British Parliament at Westminster, rather than of a Nationalist Parliament in Dublin, and refuse to be driven forth by legislation which she rightly declares has under present conditions no moral sanction whatever. Ulster's undying determination is considerably strengthened by the fact that the Constitution has been deliberately gerrymandered in order to render this possible, and by the knowledge that the majority of Englishmen are heartily in sympathy with her, and even prepared to render more practical assistance. It can hardly have been overlooked by the Coalition that public opinion would be furiously against any Government that started trying to coerce a people out of their birthright under the Union Jack, and would run in strong and active sympathy with those who were resisting such an act of treasonable insanity.

The case, therefore, for a Redistribution of Seats, giving England her exact share of the votes in the House of Commons, and further, for an appeal to the country before Home Rule is (or is not) placed on the Statute Book, stands unanswerable, and I venture to think that within the next twelve months public opinion will begin to veer round towards the adoption of

this reasonable course.

Let me now for a moment turn to the arguments generally used against carrying out this act of electoral justice, which, when all is said and done, is nothing more nor less than putting every individual on the same plane of equality as far as political power is concerned. These may all be summed up by the words 'Act of Union,' and it will be worth while to examine this argument from three points of view, the Nationalist, the Liberal, and the Unionist.

The idea of everybody being in a position of equality as far as voting is concerned is naturally not a very popular doctrine with the Nationalist. He has been in a strategical position of great strength in the House of Commons, and has not been slow to take advantage of it. Indeed, the Nationalist party have never made any secret of the fact that the difficulties of the two great parties in the State would be their opportunity, and, since they are there in the position of holding the balance, they can exact from a complacent party any promise they like. No one need object to this; it is business. In fact, the only objection

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I have is that the Nationalists play this little game with too many counters. Their disappearance from the House would be Parliament's loss, but it is possible to have too much of a good thing. It must always be rather difficult to surrender a position of power or privilege, but, after all, it is what nearly everybody nowadays is going through; and the Nationalists not less than the whole of the Coalition, who not very long ago were crying out for fair play in the House of Lords, can hardly object to the cry of fair play for England in the House of Commons. In fact, I think the words addressed to the Unionist party by Mr. Ellis Griffith, M.P., during the second-reading debate on the Welsh Disestablishment Bill, are really far more appropriate to the Nationalist party, who probably enjoy a position of greater privilege than any individuals in the whole of the British 'What is it,' asked Mr. Ellis Griffith, with much Empire. emotion, 'that you complain of? Are you not capable of accommodating yourselves to a condition of equality? Must you always uphold anomalies and occupy a position of privilege and patronage?' This is naturally very much what the Nationalists would like to do, and I think if they had continued to be reasonable this gross anomaly might have been suffered by the patient Anglo-Saxon for some time longer; but just as public attention was focussed on the position of the House of Lords by their action on the Budget, so when the Nationalists endeavour to dismember the United Kingdom, and thus bring prominently before Englishmen the grave risks that such a policy entails, it is inevitable that their privileged position in Parliament can be no longer overlooked.

It is rather curious to hear the Nationalist members quoting the Act of Union as a bar to merely putting them on a political equality with the rest of his Majesty's subjects. Their arguments run something like this: 'You cannot deprive us of forty seats, as the Act of Union prevents you.' Could anybody but an Irishman quote the Act of Union as an argument in favour of keeping forty seats, the retention and utilising of which they know to be the only possible chance they have of smashing the Act of Union? What would be thought of a burglar who, when discovered in your room, asked you to lend him a few cartridges for his revolver before he began operations, as he had left his at home? There is, of course, absolutely no reason against altering the Act of Union, and every politician knows that when it happened to suit the Liberal party to alter it, they at once did so by an Amending Act that disestablished the Irish Church. It is worth recalling that the words 'for ever' are made use of in the particular section of the Act of Union which guaranteed the Establishment. However, these words seemed

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to give little trouble to Mr. Gladstone, and they were brushed aside as of no account. It only shows what a political party can do when a certain policy happens for the moment to suit them. For one thing, however, we should be grateful: it at least forms a precedent for altering the Act of Union, and shows that it can be done, because it already has been done. Nor need we waste time over the argument of consent. The consent the Irish Church gave when the Liberal party tore up the Act of Union is the same kind of consent that many a traveller formerly gave on Hounslow Heath to the footpad who asked him for his money at the point of a pistol. In fact, when it happens to suit the Liberal party to alter the Act of Union, we are asked to believe that it is a great act of statesmanship; but when it is more than their political lives are worth to suggest giving equality and fair play to England, they find the Act (though engaged at the very moment in an attempt to smash it) a most excellent argument for leaving one of its clauses alone. Putting it colloquially, it seems that when they are hidden to toe the

line they trot out the 'treaty' theory.

And now for the Unionist point of view. I am continually being told that a Unionist has no right to agitate for a reduction in the Irish representation. Why not? There is absolutely no reason why every Unionist should not urge this policy with all his might and main, for, not many years ago, it was the considered and definite policy of a Unionist Cabinet to reduce the Irish members in the House of Commons. Following the example of the Prime Minister, I do not intend to burn my feet in the embers of historical controversy, and therefore will not attempt to discuss the question whether it was right or whether it was wrong. The only fact that is worth going for is that a Unionist Cabinet did actually recommend this reduction, and, except that this proposal did not go as far as the facts would have justified, everybody will probably say 'Quite right, too.' After all, England ought surely to count a little bit. It is hardly necessary for any Unionist therefore to apologise for or be chary in advocating what was Unionist policy less than eight years ago. It is quite true that a combination of circumstances, chiefly concerned with the differences on the tariff issue, prevented that very necessary step being taken to put our Parliamentary institutions on a proper footing, but it is none the less a fact that a Unionist Cabinet did intend to remedy this very grave scandal, and that is all we need trouble ourselves with now. It may be as well, though, just to recall how this decision (embodied in a memorandum of July 1905, signed by Mr. Gerald Balfour) was looked upon at the time by the Conservative party, who were then, of course, in office. I quote from the Annual Register, which is always considered, I believe, quite an impartial publication. The italics are my own. 'The long delay in the production of the Ministerial scheme of Redistribution had caused much dissatisfaction among Ministerialists, the great majority of whom had long looked on the passage of such a scheme as urgently called for in the interest of the Union, which, as they held, was gratuitously imperilled by the disproportionately large number of representatives returned, in view of her population, by Ireland.' And in connexion with the formation of this sound and healthy opinion in the Conservative party, the long and strenuous efforts of Sir Henry Kimber, M.P., may here be recalled, not to mention the backing that those efforts received from the Spectator, which has always been foremost in championing the case for 'One vote, one value.'

Earlier still, in 1885, students of the Debates will find the question continually cropping up, and, if further reinforcement for the case from the Unionist point of view were necessary, the remarks of Lord Salisbury, surely a good Unionist, would be very appropriate. He was replying to a speech delivered in the House of Commons by Mr. Gladstone, and spoke as follows:

As for the Government proposal with regard to Ireland, giving to that country its full quota of one hundred members in spite of the fact that the population to be represented has diminished by two millions, it could only be characterised as absurd, and almost as fantastic as that theory which suggested that distance from the seat of Government, &c.

Unionists will therefore see that in pressing for the reduction of Irish over-representation—in other words, justice for England—they can quote in their favour one of the greatest of Unionist Prime Ministers, the late Lord Salisbury; secondly, the Unionist Cabinet of 1905; and to bring the argument down to the present day, the leader of the Opposition, Mr. Bonar Law, who announced during the second reading of the Franchise Bill that he would deal drastically with this question on the first opportunity he had.

Though it will be seen, therefore, how easy it is to justify this reduction from the Unionist point of view, I believe that this wonderful treaty theory, which is now found so convenient by Liberals, is not of very ancient origin. Let me recall some remarks on this subject of Mr. Gladstone's, delivered in a speech in the House of Commons in 1884, and summarised in the Annual Register: 'No doubt Ireland, having only one-seventh of the population of the United Kingdom, was only entitled to ninety-three members, but he was not willing to assume that the falling off of the Irish population would be permanent, and the injustice done to Ireland in the Redistribu-

tion of 1832 did not entitle the rest of the Kingdom to press for

a strict application of a numerical law.'

I fear Mr. Gladstone cannot be counted a very good prophet as to the population tendencies in Ireland; and as to any injustice which may or may not have been done in 1832, I think that most people will agree that England has paid back a hundred-fold during the last thirty years for any wrongs, real or imaginary, done some eighty years ago. But, further, the risk to England entailed in this policy of Home Rule certainly entitles her to press for the strict application of the numerical law now. And before leaving this part of the question, let me quote some remarks by Lord Morley (then Mr. John Morley), who was engaged in a correspondence with Lord Bramwell, which appeared in the Times in October 1885:

The greatest difficulty of Irish Redistribution is the apportionment of seats, not to, but in Ireland. Whether Ireland is to retain her present quota of members is a far less troublesome point than whether and how many seats are to be transferred from the South to the North.

This must have been written before the treaty theory had been evolved, and before the Liberals were driven to such desperate straits to defend, for the purposes of prolonging their own existence, such rank injustice to the predominant partner.

When the United Kingdom is threatened with such risks as Home Rule will inevitably bring, when a loyal population is to be goaded into rebellion and civil war for refusing to trample on the Union Jack, it is high time that the country was aroused to a sense of the position into which the unjustifiable privileges of Irish over-representation has brought her. And if there is an overwhelming case for redress from the standpoint of justice and fair play, there is much to be said from the narrower party point of view, which, I fear, is generally the standard by which these questions come to be measured. It is sometimes thought that the Unionist party gains most under the present system from being in possession of the largest number of small seats, but that is by no means the case; the true facts being that the Government control more than twice as many small seats as the Unionist party. If account is taken of the members who are returned by constituencies having less than 7000 electors, it will be found that ninety-five members go into the 'Aye' Lobby, as against forty-three into that Lobby which is fighting for the maintenance of the United Kingdom. 'But you are counting the Irish! 'exclaims a Liberal member. Of course I am. votes are counted when a division is taken to rob the Welsh Church, or to abolish Plural Voting; on what grounds, therefore, should they be excluded when discussing franchise proposals or a Redistribution of Seats? I object to arguing the question as

though Home Rule were already a chose jugée.

The truth is, a great deal of the Home Rule agitation is very much of a Parliamentary nature, and arises from the fact that a solid Nationalist party has got tied up in a policy which the march of events and the lapse of time would have long ago relegated to its proper Parliamentary perspective, were it not that for these gentlemen to confess that Ireland is prosperous and likely to be far better off under the mild and beneficent sway of Westminster than under the tempestuous scuffle in Dublin, would be the death-knell of the Nationalist party, as it is known to-day. Nobody would or could object to this party continuing to agitate -if they wanted to-for separation, or to their continuing to elevate grievance into 'grievances' (so easy when you can control eighty votes), or even to their generally controlling Parliamentary business, if they were able to do so by the use of their proper share of votes in the Division Lobby; but everybody should object, and go on objecting, to any group, either well or ill disposed towards this country, that are only enabled to do all this owing to the grossly unfair and privileged position that their over-representation gives them. Before an irrevocable step like Home Rule is taken, for which the country has given no mandate, let each portion of the United Kingdom be given its fair share of representation, and if the people, who are the final court of appeal, then decide that they wish this policy translated into law, there cannot be much more to be said. But whether Home Rule is a good policy or a bad one, it is impossible to conceive that it can be worth anything to anybody if it has not behind it the sanction of the community given through the ballot-boxes, but has to be rammed down Ulstermen's throats with bayonets; and, as the time draws nearer the fateful day when the spark of civil war must inevitably be lighted if the course is not changed, I venture to think that an overwhelming majority on all sides of the House will be prepared to embrace this reasonable, straightforward, and honourable solution of what all true friends of this country can only regard as a very dangerous situation.

CLIVE MORRISON-BELL.

THE HIGH COURTS IN INDIA

In the course of this year half a century will have passed since High Courts were established at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. The High Court at Allahabad dates from 1866, and it is now under contemplation to establish another High Court at Patna, the headquarters of the new Province of Behar-Orissa, presumably on the model of that at Allahabad. It is therefore a fit occasion to consider how far the existing High Courts have fulfilled the expectations of their founders, and at the same time to review shortly the system of administration of justice in British India, which has recently attracted unusual attention in England on account of some trials connected with attempts to excite sedition amongst the Indian communities.

The three original High Courts were formed by the amalgamation of the existing Supreme and Sudder Courts, representing respectively the Crown and the Government of the East India Company. The Chief Justice and the Puisne Judges of the Supreme Court were barristers appointed in England by the Crown; the Judges of the Sudder Courts were members of the several Civil Services in India, and were appointed by the local Governments. The High Court at Allahabad merely replaced the existing Sudder Court of the upper provinces of Bengal, with some special jurisdiction added to it which need not be described.

The Courts of Bengal were of the oldest date. The Sudder Court was established by Warren Hastings in 1772, and soon after the Supreme Court was established at Calcutta in 1774 by Royal Charter under the Regulating Act of 1773 (13 Geo. III. c. 63). The Supreme Courts at Madras and Bombay were not established until 1800 (Madras) and 1823 (Bombay), the Sudder Courts being of older date. The Supreme Courts exercised full civil and criminal jurisdiction in the Presidency towns, and also over matters in which European British subjects were concerned throughout the Presidency, as well as some other jurisdiction which it is unnecessary to specify. In 1834 this special civil jurisdiction in respect of European British subjects was withdrawn. They were consequently Courts of original jurisdiction. The Sudder Courts exercised appellate and revisional

jurisdiction over the proceedings of the local Courts outside the Presidency towns. The existence of a dual system of Courts sitting at the same place could not continue, and its abolition was accelerated by the assumption of the government of India

by the Crown in 1858.

The first Judges of the High Courts were necessarily the existing Judges of the Supreme and Sudder Courts, the Chief Justices of the former being translated to the same office in the new Courts, and to them were added others qualified under the Royal Charters in such numbers as the business before the Courts The Calcutta High Court was the strongest, containing as many Judges as the other two High Courts combined. It was intended to attach to the Calcutta High Court a Pleader (Indian) of the Sudder Court, but the gentleman selected died before his appointment. It was not long, however, before his successor was appointed. In course of time others of the same class have been appointed Judges of the other High Courts, and more than one have simultaneously held office. In thus uniting in the new High Courts barristers, members of the Civil Services in India, and qualified natives of the country, it was sought to improve and strengthen the administration of justice by associating together Judges of classes who would each supply his own experience and special knowledge in which the other was deficient; and so it was authoritatively declared that a Judge of a High Court must be:

(a) A barrister of England or Ireland or a member of the Faculty of Advocates of Scotland, of not less than five

years' standing; or

(b) A member of the Civil Service of India of not less than ten years' standing, and having for at least three years served or exercised the powers of a District Judge; or

(c) A person having held judicial office not inferior to that of a subordinate Judge, or a Judge of a small Court, for a period of not less than five years; or

(d) A person having been a pleader of a High Court for a

period of not less than ten years.

Provided that not less than one-third of the Judges of a High Court, including the Chief Justice, must be such barristers or advocates, and that not less than one-third must be members of the Civil Service of India.

The composition of the new High Courts was well designed and received unqualified approval, while the mature experience and proved capacity of the new Judges secured the fullest confidence of the public in India. But to provide properly for the future it was necessary that nothing should intervene to make such appointments less attractive, or that if by some unforeseen ill-fate that should happen it should be met by some counteracting influence, so that candidates for such high and responsible office might not be deficient in the professional knowledge and experience which it was sought to obtain, and which was indispensable for a successful administration of justice in India. It is my object to show that the conditions under which appointments were made from the English Bar in the early days of the High Courts do not exist at the present time, and that these changes have operated injuriously in regard to the main-

tenance of the same standard of Judges.

When the salaries of the Judges were fixed in 1862 in the silver currency of India—rupees—a rupee never represented less than two shillings—that is, ten rupees represented one pound sterling in the gold currency of England. At the present time the value of the rupee has been fixed by the Government at 1s. 4d., so that fifteen rupees, instead of ten rupees, is the equivalent value of one pound. So far as the spending power of the rupee in India is concerned, this may be of little consequence to the Judge personally while holding office in India, but it seriously affects him in regard to remittances to England for the support of his family, the education of his children, and the means of providing in case his health should fail before he has earned his pension; and also in regard to saving something to

supplement his pension in declining years.

It needs little to explain that this has deterred many members of the Bar-in fact, anyone with fair prospects of professional advancement in England-from accepting the highest judicial appointment in India, involving banishment from home for the best years of life and uncertainty whether the change to a tropical climate will suit a constitution inured to different conditions; coupled with small prospect of returning except with a moderate pension terminable at death, and supplemented by little to support a wife and family in the event of accident. Such a man may insure his life, but that again detracts from his power to remit to England or to provide for his own advancing years on retirement. It has always been a matter of some surprise that those responsible for good government in India have not realised the influence which such conditions must have, and have had, on their power to secure men of proper attainments to fill the office of Judge in the High Courts of India, and that they have been content apathetically to accept candidates of questionable ability and experience. But, strange to say, not only has it been so, but by their short-sighted policy the governing bodies have added another serious impediment to the acceptance of such an office by a barrister in England. They have declared that he shall be superannuated on attaining the age of sixty years, and thus vacate his appointment. This makes it impossible for anyone to accept a Judgeship in India who may be forty-eight years of age unless he deliberately forgoes all prospect of obtaining a retiring pension, for under the existing rules a full pension can be earned only after twelve years of service, of which six months may be on leave. To produce the present situation in its complete aspect -the Government has allowed the value of a Judge's salary to be diminished by the shrinkage of its silver currency in which that salary is payable, thus making that office less attractive, and at the same time it has diminished the area of selection from the Bar in England by declaring that sixty years of age shall be the limit of retention of office. Neglect to remedy the first condition may be due to apathy; the second is a deliberate act. Can it be doubted that a Judgeship in India is less attractive to a member of the Bar in England than it used to be, and that it fails to obtain candidates of the same attainments as in former days? Surely some remedy should be applied to the existing state of affairs.

Shrinkage in the value of the rupee in England and superannuation need not be taken into account in respect of the position of members of the Indian Civil Services holding the office of Judge of a High Court. For many years past members of the Indian Service have gone to India with these prospects before them. Superannuation in their case means only an almost certain loss to the public service of experience and knowledge matured in earlier years which their younger successors cannot supply. Voluntary retirement of Judges taken from this class on pensions earned in the Civil Service nearly always anticipates superannuation—still, compulsory superannuation may sometimes deprive a Judge of the judicial pension (1200l. instead of 1000l.) which he has almost earned, and no Government should desire this. But it is notorious that the judicial branch of the Civil Service, which supplies not less than one-third of the Judges to the High Courts, labours under great disadvantages from deficient legal education and knowledge of the law of the land in its letter and in its interpretation expressed through the Law Reports, and that on his first appointment to a District Judgeship a member of the Civil Service finds himself nowadays in this respect embarrassed in his relations with a local Bar which has had advantages beyond his reach. During his previous service as a magistrate he may have acquired the necessary knowledge and experience of criminal law and practice, and as a subordinate revenue officer he may not be without some experience and knowledge of the complicated revenue system; but in regard to civil law and the practice of his Court he has everything to learn. This has long attracted the attention of the Government of India.

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So far back as 1836, Government has shown its desire to improve the attainments of its judicial officers by instituting elaborate inquiries amongst its most experienced officers, in order to obtain some scheme likely to impart what was manifestly wanting. In 1872 Sir James FitzJames Stephen, the law member of the Governor-General's Council, summed up the situation, and in a well-known minute expressed his own opinion on the subject. His recommendations were not accepted, and the only result was the separation of the Civil Service into two separate departments-judicial and executive-under which the prospects of official advancement were so clearly in favour of the latter that candidates for judicial service were few, and as a rule represented the least capable in the Civil Service. And in Bengal at least a long series of local rulers did not hesitate to show their contempt for judicial office, some going so far as to attempt to foist into it men who had been declared incapable as executive officers and who had no other recommendation for entering on a new profession. In Bengal, too, a Judgeship of the High Court is a cul-de-sac and a bar to higher office under Government either in India or in England, whereas in Madras and Bombay it has usually led to a seat in the Local Council, and even to the Council of the Governor-General. With such unfavourable prospects, is it surprising that the Bengal Judicial Service has deteriorated?

All this time there has been a gradually increasing improvement in the capacity of the indigenous local Bar throughout India, attributable generally to the system of education in law in the Indian universities. As a rule the Indian pleader holding the university degree of Bachelor of Law who has never been out of India has, in the opinion of those competent to judge, higher professional attainments than his fellow-countryman who has become a barrister of one of the Inns of Court in England, and he is certainly a man of better general education and know-Those amongst them who have succeeded to seats in the High Courts have earned reputations which will endure, and men of promise in the future are abundant. Such improvement in the local Bar necessarily demands a corresponding improvement in the attainments of those destined to preside over the Superior Local Courts—to fill the office of District Judge—and to form the body from which a large proportion of the Judges of the High Courts is drawn.

The importance of introducing some system by which this result can reasonably be expected has again forced itself on the attention of the Government of India, who have resumed a consideration of the subject which, as already stated, somewhat abruptly ended with Sir James FitzJames Stephen's minute of 1872. The Secretary of State has been in possession of the result

of the further inquiries made, and final orders rest with him. But seven years have passed and still the oracle is dumb, and, notwithstanding that Lord Morley has confidently declared that every Indian question, however difficult, is soluble, this very important matter has not advanced towards solution during the many years that he held office. Something must be done, and if the present Secretary of State and his advisers-none of them, be it said, of any Indian judicial experience or knowledgehesitate to deal with this matter, let them have recourse to a commission which can at least evolve some practicable scheme and so rescue the judicial service of India from difficulties not of its own creation. Such an inquiry will assuredly disclose much that it has been impossible to describe here, and it must be committed to proper hands. India has been gradually drifting into the Vakel Raj (government by lawyers), and we must at least attempt to provide stronger counteracting influences to restore a proper equilibrium in the Courts of Justice.

H. T. PRINSEP.

INDIA REVISITED

The most sanguine of Liberal politicians must feel agreeably surprised at the astonishing change which has come over the affairs of India. The unrest of the past five years has, to all appearances, completely subsided; and, since the King-Emperor's visit, the Indian telegrams have only once had occasion to refer to the conspiracies, outrages and prosecutions with which we had grown so familiar. Our politician will feel tempted to ascribe this quieting of the storm to the reforms which opened the Indian Legislative Councils to a larger number of Indian popular representatives. But in this his sentiment would mislead him. Three years have passed since these reforms were announced, while only eight months ago the state of public feeling in Bengal was so unsatisfactory as to cause serious apprehension in regard to King George's visit, and to warrant the Government in administering so costly a sedative as the annulment of the partition

of the province.

The truth is that the extremist leaders and their adherents had grown weary of their protracted struggle with the authorities—a struggle which subjected them to infinite annoyances, to ever-present risks from an irritated police, and in particular to domiciliary visits, which are to an Oriental altogether hateful. In Western and Central India, confronted by the firmness and sagacity of Sir George Clarke and Sir Reginald Craddock, the excitement of the Mahrattas had calmed down: it was not that sedition was merely driven underground, but that bitterness was lost in a feeling of respect for capable authority. The Lieutenant-Governors of the two Bengals had been less successful. The position before them, although intrinsically less serious, was a good deal more complicated. The Bengalis had a grievance of sentiment in the partition of Bengal, and had gained influential sympathy in English political circles. They were, moreover, encouraged by the extraordinary obliquity with which some Judges of the Calcutta High Court viewed the efforts of the Government to repress crimes of sedition. So supported, their leaders in disorder might fear only half-hearted and vacillating measures of repression; and, indeed, they received far more delicate treatment than their friends on the other side of the peninsula: those who returned home after a term of imprisonment were actually permitted to enter their towns in triumph, with processions, flags and garlands of flowers. But, even so, the cost of their activity was extravagant. It is harassing to be watched by detectives, to be visited by the police, to feel that one's liberty is at the mercy of any enemy who chooses to lay an information. Moreover, fathers became really alarmed at the conduct of their sons: one may be proud of a youth who is acclaimed as a patriot, but it is too much that he should engage in burglaries to provide funds for his crusade. Nervous and fatigued, the Bengalis were ready to come to terms should a path be opened that would not cross their self-respect. This was afforded them by the gracious presence of the King-Emperor, and by his evident and practical kindliness; and, when he announced some administrative changes that could be taken as concessions, the agitation instantly sub-

sided, as if under the control of a single organisation.

To Indians the most interesting of these announcements was that annulling the partition of Bengal, since Lord Morley had repeatedly and decisively affirmed that the partition was to be taken as a 'settled fact.' Its reversal involved serious discredit to the British officials of the province, who had naturally identified themselves with the policy of the Government, and had done their best to allay agitation by assuring the people that this policy would endure. It also occasioned much irritation to the Mohammedans, who considered that they had been sacrificed to appease the Hindus; and it appears that the more progressive of them are now joining hands with the Hindu Nationalist party. We may, however, no doubt reflect that they would have been drawn into the Nationalist camp before very long. It must be conceded that some rearrangement was necessary. Lord Hardinge could not be expected to tolerate the unruliness which had been allowed to gather head in Bengal: additional police were employed in large numbers, yet political crimes were disturbingly frequent. And it must also be admitted that the rearrangement that was adopted was exceedingly adroit. The Bengalis gained what they had demanded as their hearts' desire, but in such a form as to involve very serious material losses. From re-united Bengal were shorn three provinces which for many years had been under the control of Calcutta, and had provided the Bengalis with such an ample measure of official employment as to provoke considerable local They can no longer hope for appointments in these territories, and must make shift with narrowed opportunities for the Government service that is to them the most attractive means of livelihood. Moreover, it was due to the Hindu population of these tracts that Hindus were predominant in the former province of Bengal; and when the Bengalis surveyed the districts that had been re-united as their own they discovered that they

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were outnumbered in them by Mohammedans in an excess of some two millions of people, who at present may be of little political importance, but may very possibly become so. Finally, by the transfer of the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi, they lost the influence and prestige which they gained by personal communication with the Viceroy and his councillors. losses were very soon appreciated; and immediately after the Durbar the people of other provinces—with whom the Bengalis are by no means popular—were amused to watch the Bengali press divided against itself: some organs, anxiously clinging to the semblance of a triumph, were ashamed to decry changes which it was their claim to have compelled, whilst others unaffectedly, and bitterly, deplored the situation, frankly admitting that what appeared to be a concession was really a catastrophe. Government has scored, so to speak, more by tricks than by honours; and it is uncertain whether the Bengalis have learnt that outrages are not the most effective means of attracting the indulgent attention of the authorities.

In establishing a separate capital of its own the Supreme Government was justified by precedent in the United States, in Canada and in Australia. Delhi is conveniently near Simla, where the Government of India spend seven months of each year. But it is exceedingly unhealthy, being indeed notorious for its fever, and having given a name to the disfiguring complaint known as the 'Delhi sore.' The available sites are either sodden with river inundation, or on the stony margin of an arid plain. It is claimed that the move is a pleasing tribute to popular sentiment. But this may reasonably be doubted. The connexion of Delhi with the palmy days of Hindu history is legendary in the extreme: for the Mohammedans, Delhi was the seat of the Moghal empire, but it was also its prison and its grave. Indeed, within the last six centuries Delhi has witnessed the extinction of many dynasties, and there was some popular surprise that the British Government should be associating itself with so ominous a locality. The most brilliant of the Moghal emperors forsook Delhi for Agra: it is Agra that is adorned with the choicest monuments of Moghal architecture. And the more intelligent Indians have their eves on the future, not on the past, just as the Japanese would rather be complimented upon the cotton mills of Osáka than upon the most artistic of their ancient handicrafts. At Delhi the Vicerov and his Council will be remote from the influence of the non-official British community, which has its head-centre at Calcutta. It cannot be said that this community has exerted itself in politics when its own interests were not concerned. But it must be recollected that Britain's most material interests in India are commercial. At Delhi the Viceroy will be surrounded not by

British merchants but by Indian princes, and the most accentuated of his functions will be to preside over the Indian Native States, not to represent the interests and opinions of the British

democracy.

So far as the people's real interests are concerned none of these changes can compare in importance with the expansion of the Indian Legislative Councils which will be associated with the names of Lord Morley and Lord Minto. This measure pursued a policy which was initiated by Lord Lansdowne twenty years ago. But it involved so great a popular development as to cause some anxiety to those who realise the difficulties of our position in India. Apprehensions, so far, have not been justified, and the reform may be welcomed as exceedingly beneficial. As is not unusual with political changes, its most striking results have been, primarily, indirect. It has often been observed that in society and in politics Indians are influenced far more by sentiment than by considerations of material loss or gain: the new constitution and working of the Councils, by gratifying their selfrespect, have not only softened their feelings towards British rule, but have strengthened their resolutions for self-improvement. the Council Chamber, Indian elected representatives and British officials meet on perfectly equal terms: in debate assumptions of official superiority are indeed ludicrous, and the officials cannot but respect a political force which they may outweigh in number of votes but it takes all their powers to withstand in argument. Suspicion and even hostility have gradually given way before a feeling of comradeship, which the Indians manifest very clearly by a tempering of declamatory eloquence, a willingness to compromise, and, not infrequently, by appeals for official assistance in elaborating their projects. Nor does this spirit of geniality evaporate at the door of the Council Chamber: it is carried into private life, and is infusing a freedom and sympathy into the social relations of Indians and Europeans which will be welcomed with delight by all well-wishers of the country.

The Indian members, as a class, are alert and often eloquent in debate; in intellect they are on a par with their British colleagues, and the Government will no doubt profit by their acquaintance with popular feelings and their ability to influence them. Reformers press their suggestions with acrimony when they cannot command a serious hearing; but on the new Councils Indians are sufficiently numerous to enforce attention and to put unreasoning opposition out of the question. Responsibility has had its natural effect: declamation is giving way to discussion, passionate feeling to a consideration of arguments—even to impartial admissions. It was encouraging to hear members of Nationalist sympathies frankly admit—even when pressing for an inquiry intention the conduct contesting police—that the

force had immensely improved in honesty and efficiency during the past few years. Apprehensions have been felt that in regard to social customs the elected members would show reactionary tendencies, and would oppose reform. Such misgivings were warranted by the attitude of the popular leaders in regard to such measures as the Age of Consent Act. But this was in the days when they were out of power. Things have now changed, and there are signs to show that the elected members will themselves take a lead in social reform, and may even be disposed to press the Government to move more rapidly than is prudent. They are urged, not by a desire to change their surroundings—for this is generally foreign to the Oriental temperament—but by a patriotic sentiment, a desire that India should take rank alongside the nations of Europe, and a conviction that for this she cannot hope without a change of habits. Such a motive was probably effective in prompting the nations of the Mediterranean to follow in the footsteps of Northern Europe. It will suffice as an impetus to useful action. And it must be remembered that criticisms of Indian customs, which would be scouted as insulting if advanced by Europeans, arouse no such irritation when expressed by Indians. It is clear from the history of the past half-century that the only hope of social legislation lies in its being advocated by Indians themselves; and if the new Councils can provide champions for this cause, India will have reason to be grateful indeed to those who endowed these institutions with political vitality.

The classes who are represented on the Councils are the educated and the well-to-do. They cannot be expected to welcome protective legislation for their poorer brethren, and it may be feared that such intervention as the Government has dared in the past on behalf of tenants will in future be so difficult as to be wellnigh impossible. And it must be realised that, in meeting such a storm of anti-British feeling as has lately swept the country, the Government will be seriously hampered by the presence in its Council Chamber of a strong contingent which cannot be expected to withstand the force of popular opinion. But when the present is so encouraging it seems ungracious to search the future for unpleasant possibilities. After all, in the Imperial Council the Government is secure in possession of a substantial majority; and the reforms have not touched the prerogatives of the Viceroy to overrule and to veto, and, in cases of emergency, even to legislate on his own authority.

The high intellectual capacity of Indians has been recognised by the freedom with which they have been appointed to high judicial office. In sifting evidence, and in applying legal formulae to particular cases, their mental acuteness is seen at its best, and they reasonably hope for a gradual but yery sub-

stantial increase in their share of high judicial appointments. We must remember, however, that judicial honesty is an exotic which has grown up under British influence, and that it may decline if not supported by the example of an influential body of British judges and magistrates. And there are, of course, political dangers in relinquishing very widely the administration of criminal justice to Indian hands. But, everything said, the judicial service affords to Indians a career for which they are suited by capacity and which they follow with success. It is different with the executive services of government. Speaking generally, Orientals lack that form of energy which busies itself with its environment and seeks to make changes in it. Their attitude towards their surroundings is one of passive endurance: the perception of an abuse is not of itself a stimulus to reform. The service of Government has profited by many Indians who have been as zealous in action as the most strenuous of Europeans. But they are exceptions: there are British officers who are lamentably deficient in powers of initiative. Generally, an Indian official when confronted, not with an intellectual problem, but with a question of changing the conditions of the men or the things around him, needs the initiating impulse of a European authority. This inertness in action is illustrated by the inability of Oriental governments to put an end to official corruption except during the first flush of revolutionary enthusiasm. It is very apparent on such a strenuous occasion as the relief of famine; and there are few who will deny that, when the charge of a district has been long committed to Indian hands there is a material loss of administrative efficiency. Wemay have insisted too strongly upon efficiency in details. we should realise that the usefulness of our Government is the ultimate justification for our dominion in India, and that if its fruits can be commended only when judged by Oriental standards, the reason for our authority will, to an Indian mind, have disappeared. This essential difference between the capacity of Indians for judicial and for executive functions will no doubt be borne in mind by the Commission which is to inquire into the condition of the Indian services. There is no question of denying the claim of Indians to an increasing share of executive as well as of judicial appointments. They are gaining in executive capacity, as they have gained in judicial honesty, from the example of Europeans; and they may reasonably demand that from time to time their achievements in both lines should be reviewed and be recognised by the grant of increased opportunities. But for long time to come Indians will be more alert in conceiving reforms than in carrying them into execution by practical action. And it may be remarked here that

energy and initiative in the executive staff will be especially required if any serious efforts are to be made to stem the tides of the diseases—of fever in particular—to which is due the portentous height of the Indian death-rate.

Turning now from politics to more important questions of social improvement, it appears that India is awaking from her sleep. She shows signs of movement under the stimulating influence, not so much of a desire for change as of a patriotic feeling of shame that she should lie under the reproach of Western nations. Naturally, this feeling is first experienced by those who have come into contact with Europe or America, or have been influenced by the example of their travelled brethren. Traditional custom has been but little affected by the study of English: during the past half-century we have seen that youths can pass by thousands through our schools and colleges, learning our language, studying our literature and our science, but not imbibing from either the least effective desire to change their habits. The force of environment is much more compelling; and in India, as in Turkey and China, reform has been the outcome of residence in the West.

For Indians, perhaps, the most fruitful of reforms would be the emancipation of their wives and daughters. We shall understand this if we reflect upon the enormous influence that woman has exerted upon the environment and upon the development of the peoples of Europe. To draw an illustration from the most material standpoint, if women were not able to observe, to emulate, and to purchase, our shops and factories would, in great measure, have no reason for their existence. In India woman's functions have been limited to those connected with reproduction. She is secluded from her environment and has no influence upon it. For many years past Indian ladies of rank have been privileged to take part in European society, and one might meet some Bengali ladies unveiled in the drawing-rooms of Calcutta. But these belonged to the small sect of the Brahmo Samái, with whom the education and emancipation of women has been almost a point of religious doctrine. One may now perceive a deeper current. A Hindu revivalist movement—the Arva Samái —which is of rapidly growing influence in the Punjab, opposes itself strongly to child-marriage, and is convincing its disciples that a girl should not be a wife until she is at least fifteen years In this case, girls could stay at school until they had acquired some education; their education is strongly insisted upon, and even married women may be found attending the schools of this sect. To one who had been five years absent from India it was surprising to see the number of Indian ladies, untroubled by veils, who were visiting the places of interest at

Delhi in the company of their husbands and brothers. Amongst the Mahrattas also, one may notice a growing desire to widen the horizon of woman's outlook. They have never married their daughters so preposterously young as has been the general practice; they are now delaying marriage until fifteen or sixteen. and are showing a practical interest in the higher education of their daughters. The Parsi ladies in Bombay have long been emancipated, and it appears that it is in the West of India. among the Mahrattas and the people of the Punjab, that woman's future is dawning most elearly. It must not be supposed, however, that the Indian woman is sighing for liberty. In most cases she needs urgent persuasion to relinquish her veil. she appreciates her liberty, and in Western India some ladies' clubs have been formed where ladies of education can meet of evenings at badminton and tennis, and even at the bridge table. They are, of course, very far in advance of their humbler sisters. Reform will come slowly—as, indeed, is desirable, for its path is thickly set with pitfalls.

Material relaxations can be noticed in the caste rules relating to food and drink. For the generality of the people broader views are the outcome of railway travel: visits to Europe apart, the railways have been the strongest solvent of ancient prejudice. Indians who in Europe or America have been accustomed to live in Western fashion are no longer willing to abandon their new habits on their return to India, and they are annually attracting a larger number of imitators. One is no longer surprised to meet Indians at dinner-parties in Calcutta or Bombay. Liberality of views in this respect has been stimulated by the wisdom of King George, who, disregarding the custom of the past, impartially invited Indians and Europeans to sit together at his dinner-table.

It seems that an opinion is gaining ground that the narrow limitations of marriage within the caste—or the sub-caste—is responsible for Indian decadence; and there are some spirits so ardent as to attack this—the most guarded stronghold of the Hindu social system. A few men of position have even married out of caste; and, although their daring excites more wonder than admiration, it is not without its effect on public opinion. It was amazing, at the last session of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, to hear a Hindu gentleman advocating a change in the law that would enable Hindus of different castes, and even a Hindu and a Mohammedan, to contract a civil marriage without the formal abjuration of their religion which the law now imposes—nay, more, pushing home his arguments with reflections upon current prejudices which from the mouth of a European would have aroused a storm of passion. The Govern-

ment held back from this reform, which, no doubt, would at present be misinterpreted and resented by the mass of the people. But its advocate was supported by the votes of more than half of the elected members. It is significant of change that the spiritual leader of the Mahratta Brahmins has authorised marriages between sub-castes of this community.

There is an impression that India is rapidly advancing in industrial development. In fact, the country is in this respect moving very slowly. Apart from cotton and jute mills, manufacturing industries are still astonishingly small for so large a population. Nor can they materially increase until the Indians are willing to spend more upon comfort and less upon the support of servants, relations, and dependants. In this respect India is in the condition of medieval Europe, and lacks even the desire for material comfort which was displayed by our Middle Ages in the construction of substantial dwelling-houses. Glassfactories, for instance, have been established, but are unprofitable because the people are content to drink out of metal. Yet here also there are signs-very trifling, perhaps-of a growing desire to imitate Europe. The colonists who are flocking to the new canals in the Punjab can establish an environment of their own, and amongst them the standard of comfort has risen very noticeably. But it may be surmised that industrial progress will be slow unless it is assisted by the emancipation of women. Beyond a doubt it is stimulated by conversion to Christianity. poorest converts—especially if to Protestant forms of belief endeavour, however humbly, to follow the habits of their missionary teachers, with results which, perhaps, are illustrated by the remarkably low death-rate of the Indian Christian population. In this connexion it is interesting to note that the tolerance with which Christianity is viewed is increasing so rapidly as to cause discouragement to some thoughtful missionaries, who conceive that, when there is no zeal to oppose, there will be no such earnestness as would stimulate conversion. But they may be consoled by the reflection that the Indian Christian population has increased by more than a third during the past ten years. The conversion of a student no longer arouses the resentment which some years ago would urge his schoolfellows to go on strike. For this tolerance the impartial kindliness of missionaries is perhaps sufficient to account. From long time past they have been educating without distinction Christians, Hindus, and Mohammedans, and of late they have established numerous boarding-houses to which students of all kinds can gain admission. These are exceedingly popular both with students and their parents.

There has been much discussion concerning the spread of CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

education, and some leading Hindu politicians have urged that, for boys at least, schooling should be free and compulsory. It may seem that the Indian peoples may fairly aspire to such educational opportunities as are enjoyed by Western nations. But, as a matter of fact, the masses have no such aspirations. In some provinces schools are more popular than in others: in the Mahratta districts a third of the boys attend school; in the United Provinces it is only by official pressure that on the school books are enrolled as many as a fifth. Universal education in England has brought some disappointments, and it would be rash to force it upon the villagers of India, especially as those races which are weakest in education have the strongest characters, and would resent the compulsory schooling of their sons. There would, further, be a difficulty in the provision of funds. To extend free education, however elementary, to all the boys of the country would entail an additional charge of at least 4,000,000l. a year; and this is approximately the sum which will be lost by the relinquishment of the opium traffic with China. During the past few years money has been spent upon education with great liberality; indeed, the education budget has been more than doubled, and further generous subventions are promised. Striking improvements have been effected in the teaching and discipline of schools and colleges, and the importance has been recognised of providing boarding-houses for students whose homes are at a distance, and of protecting them from the temptations of the bazaar.

Upon its earnest attention to educational policy the Government of India is to be sincerely congratulated. Education is the instrument of progress, although it may not supply the impulsive power. Indeed, as already remarked, to judge from experience, book-learning does not arouse the spirit which leads to material progress. This may be conjured up by patriotic feelings: it is certainly evoked by the influences of a new, or a changing, environment. Indian students who seek instruction or experience in Western countries are exposed to many and serious dangers. But it is in the interests of India that they should run these risks and endeavour to withstand them; and, in establishing an agency in London for their assistance and advice, the Government has very prudently taken control of a growing tendency—to

gather seed in England for sowing in India.

BAMPFYLDE FULLER.

FRESH LIGHT ON CROMWELL AT DROGHEDA

Widely as the nineteenth-century estimate of Cromwell's character and actions differed from that of the seventeenth, in no respect was the conflict of opinion so sharp as about the facts of Cromwell's Massacre at Drogheda in September 1649. That Cromwell obtained possession of the town by treachery, by promises of quarter broken directly all had surrendered, and that he then slaughtered not only the whole of the garrison of the town but the bulk of the civilians as well, sparing neither women nor children, was the undisputed history of Cromwell's atrocious deeds at Drogheda in the seventeenth century. No contemporary, whatever his political or religious opinions, ever ventured to dispute the facts.

But when Carlyle published his *Cromwell* in 1845 he, naturally, passionately opposed this view of his 'hero's' conduct. Since then the narrative of a more authoritative writer than Carlyle—that of the historian Samuel Rawson Gardiner, based upon Cromwell's despatch dated the 17th of September 1649 and addressed to the Speaker Lenthall—has been the version of Crom-

well's deeds at Drogheda accepted by modern writers.

Cromwell has been exculpated from the graver charges, and his own statements have been given currency in preference to those of his great adversary, the Marquess of Ormonde. It has even been considered that Gardiner said all that it was possible to say and had amassed so many facts that there was nothing for those who followed him but to accept his work. Gardiner admitted that Cromwell put to the sword the whole garrison of the town after he had entered it, but asserted that such a deed was but an arbitrary exercise of a right conferred by the laws of war at the time. And he asserted that Cromwell's rage was not premeditated, and that the slaughter occurred in the heat of action. Of the fate of the townsfolk, Gardiner averred that 'a few civilians perished, either being mistaken for soldiers or through the mere frenzy of the conquerors.' And, as a horrible story was told by Thomas à Wood of the butchery of the women and children who had taken refuge in St. Peter's Church, Gardiner went so far as to assert that 'a thousand' of the garrison were killed 'in or around it '-a statement he did not

support by any evidence.

Finally, Gardiner took for granted that all Cromwell's butchery at Drogheda was completed within two days—Tuesday, the 11th of September, and Wednesday, the 12th of September. This is a point I wish to emphasise in view of the facts I am about to bring forward.

Since all recent writers have based their work upon that of Gardiner, it is best to point out that, with very few exceptions, Gardiner's facts, with which he supplemented Cromwell's despatches, were taken from the pamphlets of the times, termed 'newsbooks'; but those who study Gardiner's story will realise that in no case did he know who and what the writers of the newsbooks were. So imperfect was his reading that he also failed to realise that publication was prohibited in the case of all the licensed periodicals of the day, directly Cromwell's despatches about Drogheda arrived in London. Basing his work purely upon the pamphlets of one side, he did not notice this suppression, which was hailed with glee in the unlicensed Royalist Mercuries. Of the two official periodicals, set up in the place of the eight or , ten weekly licensed newsbooks, and entitled respectively A Brief Relation and Severall Proceedings, he remarked, ludicrously enough, that they were 'eminently respectable and amongst the most valuable sources of information we have got.'

Directly the news of the fall of Drogheda arrived in London, on the 28th of September 1649, all the licensed newsbooks of the day were, as I have said, prohibited while Cromwell was in Ireland, and for no longer period, in spite of the fact that a new licensing 'Act' appointed three new licensers (one of them 'the Secretary to the Army') for the purpose of carrying them on, and for no other purpose whatever. But one of these licensers, Richard Hatter, Fairfax's secretary to the Army, continued to license for a fortnight, thus ensuring the publication in the newsbooks of a number of letters. Eleven newsbooks were thus licensed by Hatter, despite a letter addressed by the 'Council of State' to Alderman Sir John Wollaston, directing him to fine or imprison the writers and printers. These newsbooks were all entered into the Stationers' Registers in direct opposition to this The last newsbooks licensed by Hatter were published on the 12th of October 1649.1

¹ All were entered by the Master and Wardens into the Stationers' Registers 'under the hand of Mr. Hatter.' This was an unusual thing to do, as, at the time, it was not customary to enter the newsbooks at all. One other newsbook, The Perfect Summary, of the 1st of October, written by the superseded licenser Jennings, was licensed by himself, as he explains in a postscript to it, 'those appointed to license when the copy was writ, not being concluded as then who should license.'

Hatter seems to have merely been actuated by pique in opposing the Council, and not by the fact that he was a subordinate of Fairfax, for he afterwards obtained employment under Cromwell and was not punished in any way. As for the writers of the licensed newsbooks, they also were not actuated by any overt hostility to the rulers of the times. Fear-stricken little band of time-servers though they were, yet, nevertheless, their private opinions creep out at times. At this juncture, also, they saw their livelihood taken arbitrarily from them at a moment's notice, when they had one of the greatest opportunities of profit within their grasp in the tidings of the fall of Drogheda. It is not surprising, therefore, that they rebelled a little, braved the heavy statutory fines, and tried to struggle on for a few days.

I propose to retell the story of Cromwell's actions at Drogheda, chiefly from the newsbooks licensed by Hatter, and my object in doing so is to impeach Cromwell's despatch to Lenthall, dated the 17th of September 1649, upon which Gardiner based his narrative. It is not an honest account, nor is it even truthful in material points, and it should never have been accepted as the

basis of any narrative of the fall of Drogheda.

Drogheda is a seaport, twenty-three miles from Dublin, and is bisected by the river Boyne, running from the west to the sea on the east, the banks of which are steep at this point. At the time of the siege the two portions of the town were connected by a bridge. This bridge was very long, flanked by houses on both sides, contained a drawbridge and, consequently, must have been extremely narrow and a great obstacle to any large body of men flying from an enemy. There were two churches in the town: St. Mary's, close to the lofty fort called 'Mill Mount,' in the southern and smaller section of the town nearest to Dublin; and the 'great church' of St. Peter, situated at the north of the other and greater portion of the town, remotest from Dublin.

When Cromwell besieged Drogheda his army of about ten thousand men encamped round the walls of the southern portion of the town only, round the Mill Mount and St. Mary's, within which enclosure the Royalist garrison of 2552 foot and 319 horse were concentrated.

What were the nationality and religion of this garrison: Irish and Catholic, or English and Protestant? Ludlow, who was not in Ireland at the time, and Bate and Wood, who were never there at any time, agree in saying that the majority were English. But they all assert this incidentally, nor was any controversy ever raised on the subject in their times. Great prominence has been given to this question in our own days,

owing to the provocative manner in which Thomas Carlyle wrote:

To our Irish friends we ought to say that this garrison of Drogheda consisted in good part of Englishmen. Perfectly certain this; and, therefore, let the 'bloody hoof of the Saxon,' etc., forbear to continue itself in that matter. Idle blustering and untruth of every kind lead to the like terrible results in these days as they did in those.

Cromwell's army, nevertheless, may safely be left to speak for itself, in letters sent from Dublin at the time. Sir Arthur Aston, the Governor of Drogheda, was an Englishman, but he was also a Catholic. Some of the officers too, no doubt, like Sir Edmond Verney, were Protestants, but apart from these we have little satisfactory evidence that any of the garrison were Protestants.

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This last statement, no doubt, was an exaggeration, but since both parish churches were restored to Catholic worship it is 'perfectly certain' that at the time of the siege both inhabitants and garrison were overwhelmingly Irish and Catholic. Puritan hatred of Popery must have been fanned to a high pitch by all that was reported of what was taking place in Drogheda.

The whole condition of the Irish Royalists in Drogheda was admirably summed up in a letter from Dublin in the Kingdomes Faithfull and Impartiall Scout, on the 14th of September, as follows:

If all the towns be as well provided as Tredagh they have done very notably; for in this town are two thousand resolved foot, three hundred stout horse, the Governor, politike Sir Arthur Ashton, who was formerly governor both of Reading and Oxford for his late Majestie. He is an old soldier, an excellent politician, and one that is famous for making good towns, and once did one against the King of Sweden, for the Emperor of Germany, to the world's admiration. Never was town better fortified in Europe than this, the chief head pieces of the most rarest engineers having had a hand

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in the position of a Londoner of those times, receiving his information from the several pamphlets in the order in which they were published, and to detail the manner in which the news arrived in London.

On the 28th of September 1649 Captain Samuel Porter arrived in London. He was Cromwell's messenger, sent to announce the fall of Drogheda. Porter carried a sealed packet containing two despatches from Cromwell, the covering despatch addressed to Bradshaw as 'President of the Council of State,' dated the 16th of September, and an enclosure, dated the 17th of September, addressed to Lenthall as Speaker of the House of Commons. Porter also was the bearer of a short private letter, dated the 15th of September, from Hugh Peters, then colonel of a foot regiment, addressed to Henry Walker, the ironmonger, then preacher at Somerset House and, as 'Luke Harruney,' writer of the newsbook entitled Perfect Occurrences.

It is clear that not one of these documents was dated for the day they left Dublin. Porter probably did not start until the 24th of September and, in any case, must have travelled post haste, as he was awarded 100l. by Parliament on the 11th of October.

The news contained in these three documents had been anxiously awaited. Only uncertain reports of what took place more than a fortnight back had come through. For instance, The Perfect Summary stated, on the 1st of October, under the date of the 27th of September, 'There are no letters come yet from the Lord Lieutenant, but several letters are come from ships that have been at Dublin and sailed by, that Tredah is taken, and that the ships are stayed until a further work be done in order to reducing other forces, the particulars whereof are not thought fit to be published.' In other words, all letters were held up at Dublin until Cromwell sent his communications to Bradshaw and Lenthall.

The 'Council of State' was not sitting on Friday, the 28th of September, so that the packet addressed to Bradshaw as President remained unopened, as it was not a private letter. Peters's letter to Walker thus was the only one read in the House of Commons (and printed) on that day. Thus the House then adjourned, until Tuesday, the 2nd of October, in ignorance

There is a German witness to this. Christoph Arnold wrote from London in 1651 as follows: 'Dux Independentium, Hugo Petrus, aliiq. homines (ceu quidem videntur) sacri, centuriones et primipili fiunt et antesignani qui ordines Londini et alibi ducunt. Hugo iste cohortem in Hibernia habet, cujus fortitudinem ipse imperator Cromwellus in tantum praedicat ut vel solum hunc concionatorem militibus centum potiorem ducat. Hunc enim semper in aggere occupando primum reliqui e vestigio insequuntur ita ut jam aliquot in Hibernia urbes hac alacritate ceperit.' (Georg Richter, Epistolae Selectiores, Nuremberg, 1662.)

of the enclosure awaiting them in the packet addressed to Bradshaw. So that the short despatch to Bradshaw was read on Saturday, the 29th of September, when the Council sat again. and the lengthy despatch to Lenthall (which, of course, he did not dare open until the House assembled) was not read in the House of Commons until Tuesday, the 2nd of October. Thus also it happened that a second and shorter despatch from Cromwell to Lenthall, dated the 27th of September, enclosing a letter from Colonel Venables to himself, dated 'Nury' [sic] '22 Sept.,' arrived in the meantime and was read with the first despatch to Lenthall, dated the 17th. Therefore, if the second despatch was no more than five days in coming to London, the infinitely more important despatches, which arrived on the 28th at the earliest, were certainly not eleven days at least in transit, as their dates would seem to imply; and Cromwell's despatch dated the 17th of September probably did not leave Dublin until the 24th.

So Peters's letter was the first to be read and published. It runs:

Sir. The truth is, Tredagh is taken. Three thousand five hundred fifty and two of the enemy slain and sixty-four of ours. Colonel Castles and Captain Simmons of note. Aston the governor killed, none spared, etc.

We are brought face to face with the whole controversy about Cromwell's deeds at Drogheda by the last two words. They were understood at the time to mean that from Aston the Governor downwards Cromwell spared neither man, woman, nor child in the town. There was no question of the garrison alone. The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer on the 2nd of October remarked (under date the 28th of September):

The businesse of this Pen being, as I have always said, to declare unto you the actions in the field, I have for the most part waived the Parliament news and shall so continue until I am better satisfied with what safety, in relation to their counsels, this pen may walk upon this paper (which, I conceive, was never more uncertain than at this present). And, truly, for my own part, if I had their whole journals lying before me I should forbear to give you account thereof. I shall also forbeare to give you in this place the letter of Master Peters concerning the taking of Tredagh, in regard he saith that, at the storming of the town there were none spared. I shall give you, therefore, in the room thereof the letter from the Lord Governor (Cromwell) himself.

The writer then set out in full Cromwell's despatch to Bradshaw, dated the 16th, in which Cromwell says: 'I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants and I do not think 30 of the whole number, escaped with their lives.' 'None spared' therefore referred to townsfolk rather than to the garrison.

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On Saturday, the 29th of September, the Council of State sat again, read Cromwell's despatch to Bradshaw dated the 16th, and made it public. For very obvious reasons they also decided to suppress the whole licensed press.4 On the 21st of September they had authorised Frost, their Secretary and Bookkeeper, 'to publish weekly intelligence every Thursday' (in order to publish foreign news-always published on Thursdays and then of most importance to them), but Walter Frost now hurried his periodical and, instead of publishing the first number on Thursday, the 4th of October, issued it instead on Tuesday, the 2nd, of course having it printed on the 1st of October. Thus Frost had not seen and did not know the contents of Cromwell's despatch to Lenthall. But Frost, as Secretary to the Council of State, would know of the contents of any private letters sent to his friends in the Council by Cromwell, and must have seen and talked with Captain Porter; and thus his account of the fall of Drogheda is important. He states:

The newes we long expected is come at last from Ireland. What we formerly heard is, for the general, confirmed by letters, whereof take the substance. That the towne of Drogheda having been summoned and refusing to yield, it was after battery, stormed upon Wednesday the twelfth instant. There was in it a very strong garrison, for the enemy, not daring to abide our forces in the field, had put into that towne (whereof Sir Arthur Ashton was Governor) the chiefest of all their men, being above three thousand Horse

s In a letter from Dublin dated the 12th of September, printed in Perfect Occurrences for the 21st-28th of September 1649, the following occurs: 'On 11th came Mr. Peters with the last part of the forces from Milford to Dublin. And we heard that the Army was resolved to storm Drogheda on the next day, being Sept. 12th. On Sept. 12th, being this day, news is come hither that their guns have been heard to play hard, and it is said we have entered Tredah, we are hourly expecting the particulars.' This letter was not sent by the ordinary post viâ Milford, and reached London by way of Liverpool. It is lengthy, and accurate in all other respects.

This appears from an unfinished entry in their order book on that day: 'The lord president Sir Wm. Masham, Col. Jones, Mr. Scott and Mr. Robinson to be a committee to consider ----,' and from a memorandum of proceedings to be taken against Walker's printers, entered on the fly-leaf of another book. See Calendar of 1650, p. 16. (Mrs. Green's date does not exist.) The following comment appeared in Mercurius Elencticus, No. 25, for the 15th-22nd of October 1649: 'No Perfect Durnall, no Moderate, no Weekly Intelligencer, no Weekly Account, no Moderate Intelligencer, no Occurrences, no Faithfull Scout, no Modest Narrative! All wafted away by the breath of Jack Bradshaw, and only A Brief Relation of Some Affaires and Transactions, Civill and Military, Forraign and Domestique tolerated. And that licensed by Long Gualter, Secretary to the Councell of Coxcombs, according to the direction of the regicides, that so the people may be abused for the future Cum privilegio, suitable to the mind of Bradshaw and Scot, who sway all . . . So that the licensed forgeries are quite vanished, and it remains only to hold the hands of Elencticus, to effect which Master Bradshaw hath been very earnest, with some I could name, by all means to find out that seditious violent and implacable knave, as he was pleased to style me, offering a hundred pieces and payment thereof, to anyone that would undertake the finding of me, upon my first appearance at the Council of State.' See also the Man-in-the-Moon for the 17th-24th of October 1649.

and Foot, in seven or eight regiments, whereof Ormond's owne was one, which was commanded by Sir Edmond Verney. Hoping to break our force upon this siege, they made stout resistance, and we, having entered near a thousand men, were forced out againe. But God was pleased to give a new spirit of courage to our men, they fell on againe and entered it, beating the enemies from their defences, which they had made by three retrenchments to the right and left, which they were forced to quit. The whole garrison was put to the sword; it is believed not twenty escaped, except about seven or eight score which were taken in two towers afterwards, to whom their lives were given, but are reserved in safe custody to be sent to the Barbadoes. It is not known that any one officer escaped but one lieutenant, who, going to the enemy, reports that he was the only man that escaped of all that garrison.

This is all that Frost says of Drogheda, and it is clear that in his view the town fell upon Wednesday, the 12th. His narrative is a summary of Cromwell's despatch to Bradshaw (in which neither days nor dates are named), with the date and one or two trifling particulars added from information given him by Captain Porter.

When Cromwell's two despatches to Lenthall were opened and read in the House on the 2nd of October an order was made for them to be printed. Accordingly the two despatches dated the 17th and 27th of September, together with the letter from Venables enclosed in the second despatch, were published in one pamphlet on the 3rd of October. This pamphlet is the main source of Carlyle's, Gardiner's, and other modern writers' accounts.

The first thing that is noticeable in Cromwell's despatch dated the 17th of September is that it is throughout a day wrong in its dates. Cromwell says that he marched out of Dublin 'on Friday the 30th of August,' when that day was the 31st; that the batteries began to play on the town and that he sent Aston a summons to surrender 'upon Monday the ninth,' when Monday was the 10th; finally adding that he stormed Drogheda on Tuesday the 10th. According to this reckoning, if he made a simple mistake, Tuesday, the 11th, was the day on which he put the garrison to the sword, and not Wednesday, the 12th, as Walter Frost asserted.

Secondly, there is a marked absence of any mention of dates after the fatal Tuesday. Cromwell is precise in telling his readers what happened on Tuesday and the 'next day,' but of the rest of the week he says not a word. To this it must be added that the newsbooks' accounts which I shall afterwards quote also mention no dates after the Tuesday in question. It seems tolerably certain that the licenser, so far as he could, brought them all into line with Cromwell's despatch. That he did not succeed; that, after all, he clumsily allowed one date to transpire and a

whole host of minor details to be set out, is due to the fact that he had never licensed before and had never written a newsbook himself.

Let us now examine this despatch, dated the 17th of September, upon which Cromwell's character for truthfulness hangs.

After describing the events of Monday, the 10th of Septem-

ber, Cromwell goes on:

Upon Tuesday the tenth [sic] of this instant about five of the clock in the evening we began the storm. After some hot dispute we entered about seven or eight hundred men, the enemy disputing it very stiffly with us, and, indeed, through the advantages of the place and the courage that God was pleased to give the defenders our men were forced to retreat quite out of the breach, not without some considerable loss, Colonel Cassell being there shot in the head, whereof he presently died, and divers officers and soldiers doing There was a tenalia [pincer-shaped their duty, killed and wounded. trench] to flanker the south wall of the town between Duleek gate and the corner tower before mentioned, which our men entered, wherein they found some forty or fifty of the enemy, which they put to the sword; and this they held, but it being without the wall and the sally port through the wall with that tenalia being choked up with some of the enemy which were killed in it it proved no use for our entrance into the towne that way. Although our men that stormed the breaches were forced to recoil, as before is expressed, yet being encouraged to recover their loss, they made a second attempt, wherein God was pleased to animate them that they got ground of the enemy and, by the goodness of God, forced him to quit his entrenchments. And, after a very hot dispute, the enemy having both Horse and Foot and we only Foot within the wall, the enemy gave ground, and our men became masters, but 6 of their entrenchments and the church which, indeed, although they made our entrance the more difficult, yet they proved of excellent use to us, so that the enemy could not annoy us with their horse, but thereby we had advantage to make good the ground that so we might let in our own horse which accordingly was done, though with much difficulty. The enemy retreated, divers of them, into the Mill Mount, a place very strong and of difficult access, being exceeding high, having a good graft [moat] and strongly pallisadoed. The governor Sir Arthur Aston, and divers considerable officers being there, our men were ordered by me to put them all to the sword and, indeed being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any there were in arms in the town, and I think that night they put to the sword about two thousand men, divers of the officers and soldiers being fled over the bridge into the other part of the town.

In the same pamphlet, the second despatch to Lenthall, dated the 27th of September, ends with 'a list of the officers and soldiers slain at the storming of Tredah,' the final words of which run: 'Two thousand five hundred foot soldiers besides staff officers, chyrurgeons, &c., and many inhabitants.' Cromwell thus leaves the number of inhabitants slain open to doubt.'

7 Carlyle asserted that there was 'no whisper' of the words 'and many inhabitants' in the 'old pamphlet' from which he copied this despatch, and

⁶ Without drawing his readers' attention to the fact, Carlyle altered the word but' to 'both.' The point is important, as 'but' shows that Cromwell had gained no real advantage.

For the moment we will leave Cromwell's despatch and turn to the Moderate Intelligencer, published on the following day, Thursday, the 4th of October. This periodical was written by John Dillingham, inventor of the leading article, in times past the leader of the Parliamentary Press, who had more than once been punished for his outspokenness. It was to be expected therefore that Dillingham would have something to say about the suppression of the licensed Press, more especially as he knew he was about to incur a fine of 10l. (about 40l. of our money). He accordingly indulged in the following remarks at the end of his periodical:

That the author might make publick the first eminent action of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, as he hath done all the former, he hath adventured once more to public view. The work for the future is left to those whom Fame says wants none [i.e. to the official journalists, Frost and Scobel, neither of whom had ever written a newsbook before]. It's the opinion of most that a bowl without a bias is best; others, that a little bias is tolerable. Some think a great bias is better than either of the other. Let it then run so, 'a la mode de France.'

Dillingham's words were not complimentary to Messrs. Frost and Scobel.

At the commencement of his pamphlet Dillingham commented on Peters's letter:

Behold a victory remarkable, first discovered by a letter of Mr. Peters, the contents whereof might well be omitted, having been divulged in a whole sheet [i.e. separate pamphlet], but in regard the numbers slain on both sides are so strong, viz, that more were slain of the besieged than of the besiegers in the taking of Tredah, viz, 3000 of the rebels and sixty of the besiegers it is probable the losse was equal during the enemies standing and that the rest were killed not resisting.

There is a hint of treachery in the words 'not resisting.'

The following extracts are from a lengthy letter set out by him:

On the 11 . . . about four in the afternoon, the assault began . . . the violence of the enemy made our men give back, so fierce was the opposition, which the Lord Lieutenant seeing, ran on foot to the soldiers and encouraged them, which occasioned the renewing of the charge, and it was done with such resolution that they immediately carried the

that the Parliamentary history had added them, 'as usual, giving no reference.' Mrs. S. C. Lomas has pointed out that this is untrue. Not only does the Parliamentary history give as its reference the very same old pamphlet used by Carlyle (and now before the present writer), but Carlyle himself took 'the very considerable liberty indeed' of omitting them. Moreover, the words appear in the Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer published on Tuesday, the 2nd of October, the day before the 'old pamphlet' appeared. The writer of this periodical went to hear Cromwell's despatch read in the House on that day and took down the list of slain—the words omitted by him in the list and the phonetic spelling and mistakes proving this—and inserted the list at the very end of his periodical, having left a blank space for the purpose. His version runs: 'Two thousand five hundred foot soldiers, besides state [sic] officers, chirurgions and many inhabitants.'

town, putting to the sword as fast as they could. In which slaughter there fell Sir Arthur Aston, a Papist, as were most of the garrison, the reason given of his death is said to be the rage of Colonel Castle's soldiers for the death of their colonel, also for that Ashton gave not a civill answer when summoned. Sir Edward [sic] Varney also was slain, who had the charge of the mount [italics mine], also Colonel Fleming, Lieutenant-Colonel Finglass, Major Gerald, Sir Robert Hartpool, captains, lieutenants and cornets of horse eighty-where their horse were we know not, probably they went as common men. Of foot, Colonel William Waller, Colonel Warren, Colonel Burne, the Lord Taaf's brother, an Augustine Frier, of captains and inferior officers of foot 44, 220 reformadoes, 2000 within the town were put to the sword, the rest that had that kind of execution leapt over the wall, who are about 500, which makes in all about 2900; being all Papists no doubt, and many of them of that party called Toryes, who used to rob and kill without mercy, and no doubt were of that wretched party that kill'd so many Protestants at the beginning of the rebellion, and so God the Avenger of Murder (which is to kill contrary to his Rule of direction) hath met with them and sooner or later will with all such bloody minded men.

My next extract is from the Kingdomes Faithfull and Impartiall Scout of Daniel Border, the anabaptist, published on Friday, the 5th of October, as follows:

They kept a mount, the strongest that hath bin seen, in which they had 300 foot, 6 great guns, and 50 barrels of powder with match and bullet proportionable, also victuals to have lasted nine months. In it, amongst others of eminency, was Sir Arthur Ashton and Sir Robert Thorold. Which fort was suddenly entered by our men, which put the enemy into such amazement that some fled to the towers of the wall and others to the church, where they were all killed and taken. The Commanders were rich in money and apparell, there was in all about 3000 slain and what was found became free booty.

This is the only passage discoverable which gives the slightest colour to Gardiner's theory that 1000 of the garrison were killed in St. Peter's Church. As will be noticed from the context, the writer's expression implies church 'steeple.' My next two quotations place this point beyond dispute. To return to Cromwell's despatch, dated the 17th, exactly at the place where we left it:

Where about 100 of them possessed St. Peter's Church steeple, some the west gate, and others a strong Round tower, next the gate called St. Sundays. These being summoned to yield to mercy refused. Whereupon I ordered the steeple of St. Peter's Church to be fired, when one of them was heard to say 'God damn me, God confound me; I burn, I burn.'

Having thus finished describing the events he asserted took place on Tuesday, Cromwell then goes on to the events of his second and final day, which, according to his reckoning, should be Wednesday, the 12th of September:

The next day, the other two towers were summoned, in one of which was about six or seven score; but they refused to yield themselves; and we, knowing that hunger must compel them, set only good guards to secure them from running away until their stomething the down. From one

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of the said towers, notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men. When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes. The soldiers in the other tower were all spared, as to their lives only, and shipped likewise for the Barbadoes.

On Friday, the 5th of October, Henry Walker's Perfect Occurrences was also published. It contains a letter from his friend John Hewson, the regicide, who personally conducted the operations at the towers and the church. After stating that Cromwell's forces 'entered their great mount where was their garrison with about 200 officers and soldiers, who were all put to the sword,' Hewson goes on:

The rest fled over the bridge, where they were closely pursued and most of them slain. Some got into two towers on the wall, and some into the steeple, but, they refusing to come down, the steeple was fired; and then fifty of them got out at the top of the church, but the enraged soldiers put them all to the sword and thirty of them were burnt in the fire, some of them cursing and crying out 'God damn them' and cursed their souls as they were burning. Those in the towers, being about 200, did yield to the General's mercy, where most of them have their lives and be sent to the Barbadoes. In this slaughter there was, by my observation, at least 3000 dead bodies lay in the fort and streets, whereof there could not be 150 of them of our army, for I lost more than any other regiment, and there was not 60 killed outright of my men.

These two extracts prove that the bulk of the garrison was killed, as Hewson says, 'in the fort and streets,' not in the church.

But Cromwell pins himself to the definite assertion that St. Peter's Church steeple was burnt on the night of Tuesday, the 11th. On what day did he intend his readers to infer that the remaining two towers surrendered? Wednesday, the 12th? Hewson's letter reads as if everything had happened on Tuesday, the 11th, and as if he had burnt the church steeple and the other two towers had surrendered on that day.

Cromwell and Hewson both concealed vital facts.

The first was this: Before he fired St. Peter's steeple, Hewson attempted to blow up the whole building with powder, but only succeeded in destroying the church itself. Then, the church steeple being of wood (the original tower, a very lofty one, having

⁸ The authority for this is a mutilated tract in the possession of Professor C. H. Firth, quoted by Gardiner, who says that it was written by Nicholas Bernard, vicar of St. Peter's. I have been unable to trace any copy of this. The Moderate Intelligencer of the 4th of October corroborates it as follows: 'We take notice that the Sunday and last two days before Tredagh was taken Masse was said in the two great churches of the town; where such sottish idolatry is erected and on high the fall, we hope, will still be the greater; and so shall we overcome. These two churches, the one was beat downe, the other blown up, let him continue to plough with an oxe and an asse, believe it he is like to come home with a weeping cross.'

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been blown down in the previous century), Hewson piled up the benches underneath it and fired them. The use of powder in the first instance renders it evident that Hewson must have had some very powerful reason for wishing to destroy the church as well as the steeple. What this was he did not say.

The second fact, concealed by both Cromwell and Hewson, is that the two towers on the wall were blown up by gunpowder

on the morning of Friday the 14th of September.

Lord Inchiquin, to whom the survivors of the massacre fled, wrote to the Marquess of Ormonde from Castle Jordan on Saturday, the 15th of September 1649, as follows:

Many men and some officers have made their escapes out of Drogheda among which Garrett Dungan is one and is now at Tecraghan. Some of every regiment are come unto me. All conclude that no man [had] quarter with Cromwell's leave, that yet many were privately saved by officers and soldiers, that the Governor was killed in the Mill Mount after quarter given by the officer that first came there, that some of the towers were defended until yesterday, quarter being denied them, and that yesterday morning the towers wherein they were were blown up. That Varney, Finglass, Warren and some other officers were alive in the hands of some of Cromwell's officers 24 hours after the business was done but whether their lives were obtained at Cromwell's hands or that they are yet living they cannot tell.

As Hewson is thus proved to be unreliable in such material points, we are at liberty to say that his assertion that a number of men (presumably Irish and therefore not speaking English) invoked the curse of Heaven upon their souls as they were burning bears the stamp of falsehood on the face of it. We are the more at liberty to do this because Cromwell, who certainly shared Hewson's antipathies, watered down this statement into 'One of them was heard to say 'God damn me,' etc.'

Lord Inchiquin thus being definitely in conflict with Cromwell on the question of dates, it is important to prove that Cromwell's army was in Drogheda on the 14th and 15th. Hewson himself furnishes the needful evidence by saying at the end of his letter, 'Our army marched back to Dublin on Tuesday night.' He could not have meant the 11th, and must have meant the 18th of September, as his letter was dated the 22nd of September.

Cromwell, therefore, was five days at least in the town.

After this Samuel Peckes' Perfect Diurnall appeared on Monday, the 8th of October. Though Cromwell asserted that he gave orders for the garrison to be killed, 'being in the heat of action,' an anonymous letter-writer in this periodical states that before the town was stormed, 'we sent over the water to the other (North) side of the town to hinder relief from coming to

Printed in the preface, page xxvii., to vol. ii. of Sir J. T. Gilbert's Contemporary History of Ireland.

them and to prevent their running away, 2000 horse and foot.' The letter then goes on to contribute an account of the surrender of the Mill Mount not at all in accordance with the other versions:

The mount was very strong of itself and manned with 250 of their principal men, Sir Arthur Aston being in it, who was Governor of the town; which, when they saw their men retreat, were so cast down and disheartened that they thought it vain to make any further resistance, which, if they had, they could have killed some hundreds of our men before they could have taken it. Lieutenant-Colonel Axtell of Colonel Huson's regiment, with some twelve of his men, went up to the top of the mount and demanded of the Governor the surrender of it, who was very stubborn, speaking very bigge words, but at length was persuaded to go into the windmill on the top of the mount, and as many more of the chiefest of them as it would contain, where they were all disarmed and afterwards all slain.

To what can the 'persuasion,' mentioned here, possibly refer but to the offer of quarter? As ever, when traitorous and cruel deeds were to be done, Hewson's men were employed.

Last of all the newsbooks licensed by Hatter comes Perfect Occurrences once more, published on the 12th of October, and containing a letter signed 'R. L.' The stress laid in the letter upon the part played by the horse in riding down the fleeing garrison proves that its writer was one of Cromwell's horse.

Colonel Cassell's regiment led on the forlorn hope, himself slain, our men beaten a little back, but the Lord General (Cromwell) led them up again with courage and resolution, though they met with hot dispute.

When we were entered into that part of the towne where the breach was made, our men came on to a great mill hill mount, wherein they had a hundred men, put them all to the sword; here our horse and foot followed them so fast over the bridge which goes over a broad river, it being very long and houses on both sides, yet they had not time to pull up the drawbridge. There our men fell violently in upon them, and I believe there was above two thousand put to the sword. We had about twenty or thirty men slain and some forty wounded. Their Governor was killed in the first onset.

From this account it is abundantly clear that the main body of the garrison did not rush over the bridge and take refuge in St. Peter's Church on the north side of the bridge, at the opposite extremity of the town, but were cut off by Cromwell's horse.

As regards the question of the offer of quarter, Lord Ormonde wrote that Cromwell was

twice beaten off, the third time he carried it, all his officers and soldiers promising quarter to such as would lay down their arms and performing it as long as any place held out, which encouraged others to yield. But when they once had all in their power, and feared no hurt that could be done them, then the word 'no quarter' went round, and the soldiers were many of them forced against their will to kill their prisoners.

Again Sir Lewis Dyve, in his Irish History from September 1648 to June 1650 10 writes (p. 24) that Sir Arthur Aston

doubted not of finding Cromwell play awhile (until Ormonde could come to his relief), as certainly he had done had not Colonel Wall's regiment, after the enemy had been twice bravely repulsed, upon the unfortunate loss of their colonel in the third assault, been so unhappily dissuaded as to listen before they had need unto the enemy offering them quarter, and admitted them in upon these terms, thereby betraying both themselves and all their fellow soldiers to the slaughter; for Cromwell being master of the town, and told by Jones that he had now in his hand the flower of the Irish Army, gave order to have all that were in arms put to the sword.

The term 'Drogheda quarter' became proverbial in Ireland.

But Lord Ormonde's and Sir Lewis Dyve's letters are not the only evidence against Cromwell. Modern research has brought to light the letter which James Buck wrote from Caen on the 18th of November 1649, to tell Sir Ralph Verney, of Claydon, Buckinghamshire, the story of his brother's death.¹¹ It runs:

Your brother and my dear friend Sir Edmond Verney-who behaved himself with the greatest gallantry that could be-he was slain at Drogheda three days after quarter was given him as he was walking with Cromwell by way of protection. One Ropier, who is brother to Lord Ropier, called him aside in a pretence to speak with him, being formerly of acquaintance, and instead of some friendly office which Sir Edmond might expect from him, he barbarously ran him through with a tuck; but I am confident to see this act once highly revenged. The next day after, one Lieutenant-Colonel Boyle, who had quarter likewise given him, as he was at dinner with my Lady More, sister to the Earl of Sunderland, in the same town, one of Cromwell's soldiers came and whispered him in the ear to tell him that he must presently be put to death, who, rising from the table, the lady asked whither he was going. He answered, 'Madam, to die,' who no sooner stepped out of the room but was he shot to death. These are cruelties of those traitors who, no doubt, will find the like mercy when they stand in need of it.

This terrible letter has never been transcribed by any historian. S. R. Gardiner, faced by the necessity of either corroborating or disputing Cromwell's two days, took the bold course of describing the murders of Verney and Boyle in the following words:

For that which appears now to have been the blackest part of his (Cromwell's) conduct, the killing of Verney and his companions twenty-four hours after the general massacre was ended, Cromwell made no excuse.

¹⁰ A letter from Sir Lewis Dyve to the Lord Marquis of Newcastle (the 17th of November 1650), Hague, printed by Samuel Brown, English bookseller. This is Thomason Tract E. 616 (71).

¹¹ Printed in 1892 in Lady Verney's Memorials of the Verney Family during the Civil War, vol. ii. The Historical Manuscripts Commission first drew attention to this letter in its seventh report, printed in 1879. I have modernised the spelling.

After this untrue rendering it is not surprising that the letter should have passed unnoticed by other writers. The corroboration that this letter and that of Lord Inchiquin give to Lord Ormonde's oft-quoted assertion that for five days Cromwell perpetrated cruelties at Drogheda rivalled only by the Book of Martyrs, and that he 'exceeded himself and everything he had ever heard of in breach of faith and bloody inhumanity' will be obvious to all.¹²

Lastly, what of the 1000 killed in St. Peter's Church?

Cromwell is the principal authority about St. Peter's Church. No writer whatever asserts that this 1000 formed part of the garrison; certainly not Cromwell, for he described Aston and his men by such terms as soldiers use in speaking of other soldiers; namely 'the enemy,' 'officers and soldiers,' 'men,' etc.; never by any chance does he use an unmilitary terminology. Cromwell only uses the word 'people' when he describes the fate of those in St. Peter's Church. The statement occurs near the end of the despatch, in a passage which, before reading, it is necessary to recall the seventeenth century frame of mind towards 'Papists' and particularly towards the Mass—the central rite of the Catholic religion. To stamp out the Mass was the avowed aim of English Protestants of all kinds; to tolerate it a deadly sin, and any measures, no matter how horrible they may seem to modern Protestants, were in those days considered very slight matters indeed.

And now give me leave to say how it comes to pass that this work is wrought. It was set upon some of our hearts that a great thing should be done, not by power or might, but by the spirit of God, and is it not clear that that which caused your men to storm so courageously was the spirit of God? . . . And, therefore, it is good that God alone have all the glory. It is remarkable that these people at the first set up the Mass in some places of the town that had been monasteries, but had afterwards grown so insolent that the last Lord's day before the storm the Protestants were thrust out of the great church called St. Peter's, and they had publique Mass there; and in this very place near one thousand of them were put to the sword, flying thither for safety.

St. Peter's was not the garrison church, nor would the soldiers have been able to hear Mass in a body while the enemy were outside the walls. Mass had been said for the townsfolk, those who had turned the Protestants out of the town.

¹² Antonius Bruodinus (an Irish Franciscan) wrote in his *Propugnaculum Catholicae Veritatis*, published at Prague in 1669, as follows (p. 678): 'Quinque diebus continuis haec laniena (qua, nullo habito locorum, sexus, religionis aut aetatis discrimine, juvenes et virgines lactantes aeque ac senio confecti barbarorum gladiis ubique trucidati sunt) duravit. Quatuor milia Catholicorum virorum (ut de infinita multitudine religiosorum, feminarum, puerorum, puellarum et infantium nihil dicam) in civitate gladius impiorum rebellium illa expugnatione devoravit.'

St. Peter's Church having been used for Catholic worship, was full of refugees, including women and children. None were spared. All contemporary writers agree in this, the Royalist Mercurius Elencticus saying that 'neither women nor children' were spared. Ormonde infers it, Clarendon and Bate assert the fact. John Crouch, in his Mix't Poem (1660), has some verses about it, and Thomas à Wood's account is too well known, and, indeed, too horrible to quote. The blood of those butchered in the church streamed into the adjoining road in such a torrent that for generations it retained the name of 'Bloody Street.'

The direct cause of Cromwell's butchery was the lack of money on the part of the ruling oligarchy at home. The people of England loathed the yoke of the clique styling itself 'Parliament.' One defeat, and the pseudo-Commonwealth would have been in danger. The 'Council of State' wrote to Cromwell on the 18th of September:

Every effort must be made to make Ireland bear this charge, which is no longer supportable by England. You know what a large sum the last expedition has cost, and that the 'tree which bare this treasure hath no roots.'... This country cannot bear the expense of the war any longer.

Within a few days after he had received this letter Cromwell repeated at Wexford the horrors of Drogheda.

After the Restoration the surviving inhabitants of both towns petitioned Charles the Second for restitution of their places and possessions. The petition of the survivors of Drogheda appears to be lost, but that of those of Wexford, read on the 21st of May 1661, is still in existence, and in it these poor people tell their King that:

Oliver Cromwell arriving with a powerful army in Ireland in the year 1649, and having, upon the sacking of Drogheda, put all the inhabitants and soldiers to the sword, that the example thereof might strike a terror into the inhabitants of other towns which he was soon after to besiege, he writ to the petitioners, Wexford being his next design, and invited them to submit to his authority.

Which the inhabitants of Wexford refused to do, with the result that Cromwell 'put man, woman, and child, to a very few, to the sword,' in Wexford also.¹³

Office. The last passage is omitted in the Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, for 1660-2. Bruodinus (Propugnaculum, &c., p. 679) says that Cromwell: 'Terrestri itinere Dublinium praetergressus Wexfordiam (modicam quidem, et maritimam munitam et opulentem civitatem) versus castra movet, occupato-que, in civitatem irruit; opposuere se viriliter agressori praesidiarii simul cum civibus pugnatumque est ardentissime per unius horae spatium inter partes in foro, sed impari congressu, nam cives fere omnes una cum militibus, sine status, sexus aut aetatis discrimine Cromwelli gladius absumpsit.' S. R. Gardiner, citing only the words italicised in this last passage, remarks: 'The testimony

Surely the words of those whose relatives and friends died are worth listening to? It is S. R. Gardiner's most serious omission, in that he deliberately ignored this petition in his account of the sack of Drogheda; though his notes prove that he was aware of it and of its assertion that 'man, woman, and child, to a very few,' were put to the sword in Wexford also.

To discuss the law of war in such a case is to divert attention from the real issues; since to kill unarmed men, women, and children brands Cromwell as a savage, outside the pale of decent

human beings.

If the customary law of war at the time sanctioned the putting to the sword of the garrison of a fortified place carried by storm (the reason for this being the great loss which the attacking forces inevitably sustained), the exercise of such a power was rare. Drogheda was very strongly fortified, and its Governor, Sir Arthur Aston, was an engineer of European reputation. Its garrison was the 'flower' of Ormonde's army, 'the strongest, desperatest men in all Ireland.' Yet Cromwell wrote: 'I do not think we lost 100 men upon the place, though many be wounded'; and, as will have been noted, Hugh Peters put the loss at sixty-four only. How can so small a loss be accounted for without wholesale surrender 'upon quarter,' as so many witnesses assert?

So small a loss implies the fact that, as Dillingham at once asserted, the garrison were killed 'not resisting.' As the writer in the Perfect Diurnall of the 8th of October stated of the 250 men in the mill mount (whose commander, Verney, was not killed for three days), they were first 'disarmed and afterwards all slain,' we are left without any other alternative but the hideous conclusion that the whole garrison must first of all have had their arms taken away from them before they were slaughtered. What more fearful picture can the mind conceive than that of Cromwell's horse riding down a mob of over 2000 unarmed men fleeing down the slopes to that narrow bridge across the Boyne? Does history record any parallel instance?

Finally, the date of the 11th of September, stated by Cromwell and one or two journalists to have been that upon which Drogheda fell, can be reconciled with the date of the 12th of September given by Frost if we bear in mind the time that would have been necessary in order to disarm the garrison. Proved guilty of falsehood in material particulars, Cromwell is not entitled to be believed when he asserts that he put to the sword 'that night' about 2000 men. He says that he made his first

of this hostile witness disposes of the usual supposition that the soldiers originally fell upon harmless townsmen.' It is difficult adequately to characterise such an assertion when supported by such a method of quotation.

attempt at storming the place about five in the evening (one journalist asserts 'about six'). To suppose that he put the garrison to the sword in the darkness would not be reasonable, having regard to the small number that escaped. The night must have been passed in inducing the men to lay down their arms, in placing these out of their owners' reach, and in quietly making preparations for a cruel and cold-blooded massacre on the next day, the 12th. If so, Frost was right, and 'Wednesday, September the twelfth,' should go down to posterity as the true date of the fall of Drogheda, and not Tuesday the eleventh.

Long before the year 1649 those of Cromwell's own side repeatedly accused him of perfidy. He was, therefore, but doing what he had done before in trying to conceal the truth about Drogheda. The great puritan, Baxter's, words in praise of Cromwell have often been quoted in modern times, but no one has ever cited the phrase with which Baxter qualified all that he said of Cromwell:

He thought Secrecy a virtue and Dissimulation no vice, and Simulation, that is, in plain English, a Lie, or Perfidiousness, to be a tolerable fault in case of necessity.

J. B. WILLIAMS.

THE PASSING OF THE ENGLISH JEW

The Jewish community in Britain is not to-day what it was when Dr. Adler became Chief Rabbi of the United Synagogues and head of the Beth Din. Reform, so-called, that is an attempt to bring the ancient religion into harmony with the habits and customs of the English life of to-day, has broken out, and founded synagogues of its own in London, Manchester, and Bradford; and there has been a continual immigration of foreign Jews to whom the British Jews appear strangely unorthodox. The position of the Jewish colony in Britain to-day is, therefore, of peculiar interest, and it would be difficult to find a more suitable moment wherein to attempt a survey of the situation.

It may be said that the social history of the English Jew began in July 1858, when the Royal Assent was given to a Bill to enable persons professing the Hebrew faith to sit in Parliament. Nevertheless, during the preceding quarter of a century many of the civil disabilities under which the race laboured had been, one by one, removed. A Jew was for the first time called to the bar in 1833; two years later a Jew was elected Sheriff of London, when a special Act of Parliament was passed to permit him to perform the duties of that office; then, in the year of the accession of Queen Victoria, another Jew became Sheriff, and in due course received the honour of knighthood. Four years later a Jew was created baronet. Parliament, however, was not yet open to members of the religious community. In 1849 Lionel de Rothschild, a baron of the Austrian Empire, stood against Lord John Manners for the parliamentary representation of the City of London, and was elected by a great majority; and in 1851 Alderman Salomons was returned for Greenwich. There is no need to dwell upon the well-known fact that neither of these gentlemen was allowed to take his seat because he could not subscribe to the Christian oath, nor that the Jewish Oath Bill, first introduced in 1851, did not become law until seven years later. Nowadays, happily, there are practically no restrictions, and a Jew may fill almost any office in the State. He cannot, indeed, become Primate; but as Prime Minister he can, if he lives long enough, appoint the entire bench of Bishops.

The study of the position of the Jews in England is most interesting. In this article, retrospection must be kept strictly within bounds, and therefore, it is not possible here to go back to the days when, as that eminent Jewish novelist, Israel Zangwill, has put it, 'Lord George Gordon became a Jew, and was suspected of insanity; when, out of respect for the prophecies, England denied her Jews every civic right except that of paying taxes; when the Gentleman's Magazine had ill words for the infidel alien; when Jewish marriages were invalid and bequests for Hebrew colleges void; when a prophet prophesying Primrose Day would have been set in the stocks, though Pitt inclined his private ear to Benjamin Goldsmid's views of the foreign loans.' It is sufficient for our purpose to go back no further than the early Victorian era, and see the place the Jew held in the estimation of his neighbours. perhaps, is most clearly defined in the writings of the best of the contemporary novelists, who admittedly held up the mirror in

which the society of this day is reflected.

In Dickens and Thackeray Jews flit across their pages, but only in such unimportant and contemptible rôles as bailiffs, moneylenders, 'fences,' scoundrels all, the scum of the portrait gallery of fiction. In the eyes of these writers the grand traditions of the ancient race counted as naught when they took a pen in their hand; and it is eminently characteristic of the spirit of the period that Charles Kingsley could create that fine Jew Raphael, and then, as a concession to his readers, who in 1853 would not have relished a Jewish hero, convert him to Christianity. Raphael's conversion to Christianity is an inartistic blot on a fine book; it does not ring true, for in the case of such a man it is inconceivable that he should have forsworn his God. In its every page the history of Judaism shows that its votaries did not, for the love of money, for the love of woman, for any cause whatsoever, abandon their faith. It must be admitted, however, that Kingsley made some amends in his portrait of Miriam, the pander and slave-dealer. Vile as she is, the lust for money and power is for the child of her shame; betrayed in her youth, in later years all her toil, lies, intrigues, meannesses, miserliness, were for him she had brought into the world. Her dying outburst is poetry itself:

Of the house of Jesse, of the seed of Solomon, not a rabbi from Babylon to Rome dare deny that. A King's daughter am I, and King's heart I had, and have, like Solomon's own, my son.

Yet the critical readers of *Hypatia* cannot quite lull the suspicion that Miriam is allowed to die in the faith of her fathers only because she is portrayed with so many detestable qualities. Kingsley could not insult the public by converting to Christianity a character so vile. Until Disraeli's day Jews, almost without exception, had been contemptuously and vindictively presented in

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the imaginative literature of this country. It remained for him to alter this. Everywhere he sang the praises of his race.

At this moment [he puts the words into the mouth of his favourite Sidonia], in spite of centuries, of tens of centuries of degradation, the Jewish mind exercises a vast influence in the affairs of Europe. I speak not of their laws, which you still obey; of their literature, with which your mind is saturated; but of the living Hebrew intellect.

It is not for the present writer, who is proud to declare himself a member of the Jewish nation, unduly to emphasise this statement.

Disraeli's treatment of his compatriots was visionary; and it is not until the period is reached when Amy Levy and Israel Zangwill wrote their novels that a true picture of the English Jews was forthcoming. Miss Levy, like Disraeli, was an idealist, but while the result of this quality upon the man was to drive him to superlatives of praise, upon the woman, who was shocked to find many and grievous faults in the individual members of her race, the effects of disillusionment brought about an undue emphasis of the darker side of the picture. So it came about that in Miss Levy's remarkable novel, Reuben Sachs, she presents a study that is painfully true, that is to say, true so far as it goes, for all the truth is not in it. It was left for Mr. Zangwill, with his wider vision, to show the Jew in all his weakness and all his strength, and it is mainly upon his books that the social historian of the future must depend for his impressions of Jewish life in England at the end, as at the beginning, of the nineteenth century.

The nineteenth century was the period of transition for the English Jew. Then the members of that nation formed, so to speak, a close borough; debarred, partly by their own desire, partly from habit, and not a little by the will of their neighbours, from having active interests in common with the rest of the community. It was no longer compulsory for the Jews to herd together, a self-contained isolated colony; but, notwithstanding, they continued to mix only with their compatriots. The more enterprising migrated from the East End, where the main body was domiciled, and founded settlements in different parts of London, first at Highbury and Dalston, later at Maida Vale and Bayswater, the more affluent subsequently moving to Kensington and Mayfair. Yet, until comparatively recently, in these places, as earlier in the East End, they continued to live in isolation. They did not mix freely with their Christian neighbours, who certainly were not at all anxious to make their acquaintance. Indeed, the disinclination was mutual. The middle-class Jews accredited Christians with a different and a lower code of morality than that which they prided themselves upon possessing, and

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'Frank Danby' was not guilty of exaggerating the feeling when in Dr. Phillips: A Maida Vale Idyll she made one of the Jewish characters exclaim 'I don't believe in Christians. The men

drink, the women are bad.'

Pity is sometimes by the kind-hearted bestowed upon Jews because of the feeling that is-or let us hope was-entertained for them by their Christian neighbours; but never has pity been so misplaced. The Christian world has never realised the supreme contempt in which it was held by the Jews who mixed only with Jews: even the more cosmopolitan members of the latter community could not refrain from exultation as they thought in anticipation of Disraeli's famous utterance: 'Half Christendom worships a Jewess, and the other half a Jew.' The strongest feeling in the Jew is pride of race, nurtured through the centuries -the pride of belonging to a race whose origin goes back to days so remote that only a few legends, a few names and a decalogue survive—but the names are reverenced by the entire Christian world and the laws rule the entire civilised race. The Jew may humble himself in business but that is for his own ultimate gainhe comes of a race the members of which (perhaps unduly) exemplify the truth of the old adage of stooping to conquer; but the most disreputable-looking 'old clo' 'man, the very Jewish beggar, too, who comes to the back door, regards himself complacently as superior to any member of any other race, and never forgets that his ancestors stood for civilisation when the wodestained Briton was running wild in the forests. He is of the Fate cannot touch him, for is he not of the chosen people? It is not strange, therefore, that the proudest boast of the Jew is that he is a Jew; nor that he looks upon other and newer religious communities in very much the same way as the Church of England regards the various nonconformist sects. Nor has this feeling of pride of race been modified by the treatment accorded to the race. Persecuted in most countries, merely tolerated in the rest, an alien in all, it is from this feeling that he has drawn the courage that has enabled him to survive. Even to-day—when active persecution in most countries is a thing of the past—the greatest crime in the eyes of his compatriots that a Jew can commit is to deny his race. To them a renegade Jew is the most contemptible thing on earth, except a converted Jew; for no Jew, however broad-minded in other respects, can ever be brought to believe in the sincerity of the A community that never proselytises cannot believe in proselytes. The objection is not perhaps so much that the man changes his religion—though that is hard to swallow—but that he commits the unpardonable crime of betraying his race.

At the back of the disbelief in the morality of Christian men and women there was in the minds of Jewish parents the

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an he fear, if they mixed with their Gentile neighbours, of intermarriage between the families; and intermarriage was regarded as the most heinous crime that could be committed short of conversion to Christianity. So it remained that while Christian and Jew met every day in business, outside that sphere they passed like ships in the night. The situation has been admirably summarised by 'Frank Danby.'

In a sort of jealous exclusiveness these Jews lived by and among themselves [she has written in Dr. Phillips]. They fancied they did so from choice. It was not so: it was a remnant of the time when the yellow cap and curiously-shaped gaberdine marked them out as lepers in the crowd. The garb had been discarded, but the shrinking feeling of generations was still lingering. There is a certain pride in these people; they are at once the creatures and outcasts of civilisation. The difference between Jew and Gentile was once one of religion. Now it is a difference that it will take as many centuries of extermarriage to overcome, as it has taken centuries of intermarriage to bring about. The Jews feel this acutely. They remember the leper mark that has been taken from them, and they shrink from accentuating the remembrance by association with the people whose ancestors affixed it. Put two strange Jews, one from London and one from the Antipodes, amid a hundred people of other nationalities, and in a quarter of an hour they will have recognised their kinship, and have gravitated towards each other in unconscious Ishmaelitism against the rest of the company. Sections of them are trying very hard to struggle against this race-barrier, and with a modicum of success. But they have much to contend against. Of course this congregating together in a social gathering was usually the result of shyness and want of savoir-faire, and was confined to those classes of Jews unused to going about and meeting people other than of their own race.

Dr. Phillips was published in 1886, and since then the struggle against the race-barrier has been carried on with the greatest persistence by the race which, Disraeli said, can do everything but fail. Then, the vast majority of Jews were essentially provincial, though perhaps not so narrow as the inhabitants of a small town, because their business generally brought them into touch with inhabitants of other, and often far distant, countries; but their interests outside trade were few. Music they loved always, but the great worlds of art and letters were to most of them unknown. As Jews made money, however, they took care that their children should be better educated; and as the young generation became better educated they began to lose the provincial taint that had disqualified them. The girls were still kept among their friends of the race, but the men began to move among their Christian peers, a little nervously at first, then, finding no harm come of it, more boldly. They exchanged ideas, and widened their horizon; and told the narrow-minded old folk at home that all Christian men did not drink, that all Christian women were not bad, that, indeed, the Jew had misjudged the Christian as for centuries the Christian had misjudged the Jew.

This discovery was good for individual Jews, but it was most harmful to the race. From this time may be dated the genesis of the disintegration of the Jewish nation. What centuries of persecution had been powerless to do, has been effected in a score of years by friendly intercourse. With the world against him the Jew had not yielded one jot or tittle of his distinctive attributes-he wore his gaberdine as proudly as a peer his garter; the world with him-the world now a very pleasant world-he allowed the barriers that had endured through the centuries to fall into decay. It must, of course, be clearly understood that this does not yet apply to the majority of the Jewish nation; indeed, at present the feeling, though spreading gradually through all the ranks of the community, is in the main confined to a certain set, the members of which are artists, men of letters, soldiers, sailors, and those wealthy distinguished families who have, indeed, for generations, mixed in general society. These folk form a class apart, as distinct from the rest of their compatriots as a member of the Bachelors' or the Guards' from the suburban dandy. They are well-bred, they are well-read, they are, like their less cultured brethren, remarkably intelligent, they are received everywhere, and if the prejudice against their nationality is not, even in their case, entirely abandoned, it is at least very considerably abated. They are a credit to their race, but at the same time they are, curiously enough, the great danger against which it has to contend.

To say that the Jews as a body are more popular in England than they were fifty years ago would be a statement far more daring than any that the present writer is prepared to advance. Individual Jews may be-many are, indeed-very popular, admired, and respected; but the prejudice against the race is still very strong, as is only to be expected in a country where it has become a commonplace of language to describe a mean, overreaching man as 'a regular Jew.' What then, it is natural to ask, is the reason for this unpopularity? It cannot be mainly religious differences, though there are strong influences in country places where the Church and its allied associations form the hub of the little social world; nor can it be entirely that Jews are exceptionally good men of business. Is it, then, merely the old prejudice, that dates from the Crucifixion? or is it the character of the Jew of to-day. Disraeli, who had no doubt of the existence of the prejudice, traced it to the former cause.

If [he addressed the House of Commons on the Jewish Disabilities Bill] you had not forgotten what you owe to this people—if you were grateful for the literature which for thousands of years has brought so much instruction and so much consolation to the sons of men, you as Christians would be only too ready to seize the first opportunity of meeting the claims of those that profess this religion; but you are influenced by the darkest superstition of the darkest ages that ever existed in this country. It is this feeling CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

which has been kept out of this debate, indeed that has been kept secret in yourselves—enlightened as you are—and that is unknowingly influencing others abroad.

Probably to-day the prejudice is based upon both of the causes suggested. It is not, indeed, surprising that the Jew should be unpopular, since for so long he was restricted to money-lending, and other displeasing callings. 'A man doesn't realise a fortune without giving his mind to it, and the making of money brings into play all the inferior qualities,' John Davidson has written; and this at first sight would appear to apply equally to the Gentile and the Jew. There is this difference: that many Christian men are content with their position, few Jews. The present writer, who in his youth spent some months in the City, remembers being struck by the fact that whereas the Christian clerks confined their interests mainly to the duties imposed upon them and, so far as their future in business was concerned, limited their speculations to the prospects of obtaining a rise of salary, the Jewish warehouseman was careful to learn all he could, not only about his own department but also about that of others, and while he was no less eager than the others for an increased wage, his thoughts were concentrated on the best way to prepare for setting up on his own account.

It must be pointed out, however, that to the Jew while business is business, it is also something more. It is his passion, it is the love of his life. He does not regard it merely as a means of providing himself and his family with a competence; he devotes all his thoughts and energies to it. He may appear mean and grasping, yet the meanness is not to him meanness, and the grasping is not greed; these are the weapons amongst others that he uses in the fight. It is the battle as much as or more than the results that he enjoys; in it for centuries past he has been compelled to dissipate the warlike tendencies that once animated his nation. It is this feeling that explains so much of the Jewish characteristics that Thackeray, usually so antagonistic to the race, saw and understood and had some sympathy with.

He [the old clo' man] held in his hand a white hat, which I am sure he had just purchased, and which was the cause of the grief which smote his noble features [the novelist wrote in a 'Roundabout Paper,' Autour de Mon Chapeau]. Of course, I cannot particularise the sum, but he had given too much for that hat. He felt he might have got the thing for less money. It was not the amount, I am sure; it was the principle involved. He had given fourpence (let us say) for that which threepence would have purchased. He had been done: and a manly shame was upon him, that he, whose energy, acuteness, experience, point of honour, should have made him the victor in any mercantile duel in which he should engage, had been overcome by a porter's wife, who very likely sold him the old hat, or by a student who was tired of it. I can understand his grief. . . . He had desired,

coaxed, schemed, haggled, got what he wanted, and now found he had paid too much for his bargain. . . . The Old Clothes' Man has been defeated in one of the daily battles of his most interesting, chequered, adventurous life.

The Jew is, indeed, a paradox. Grasping in the city, yet at home charitable and generous; the shrewdest of business men, yet a dreamer; too often contemptuous of ideals, yet in the inmost recesses of his soul an idealist.

There is yet another mainspring of the Jewish character. The Jew is incurably ambitious; no rung on the ladder entirely satisfies him except the rung at the top. Until he is there he is always restlessly and often resistlessly striving to reach the The determination to succeed in the world of busidoes not bring into play very desirable qualities, and it must be confessed that the Jew in the transition stage is not always a pleasant person. He is all too frequently selfassertive and thick-skinned; he is often, alas! when success begins to crown his efforts, purse-proud and ostentatious. These are the qualities that are most easily observed by those who look on; his virtues of industry, perseverance, generosity, of good heart, of hospitality, of devotion to his family, of love of home, which redeem him, are not so obvious, and so escape notice. When he has secured the object for which all his life he has striven it is usually too late for him to change his outward demeanour, and his arrogance rather than his kindliness still attracts attention. Happily each year improves the position. The sons are better educated; the grandsons have the rough edges removed at public schools and universities, they have less occasion to assert their position, they have no need to throw themselves into the rude scramble for money, they enter a profession, they work, they succeed, they become distinguished ornaments, not only of their own nation, but of the country in which they reside. No longer is their hand against every man; on the contrary, every man's hand is stretched out to grasp theirs, for the Englishman respects and admires not so much success as the brains that have made success possible. Englishman, as every Jew will admit, has his dislikes but he does not cherish petty rancours. Every country has the Jews it deserves; and the English Jews by universal admission are the pick of the world's crop. When the Jew is fairly treated he is not ungrateful-of course it is, logically speaking, absurd that he should be grateful for fair treatment, but when he sees how his fellow-Jews are treated in other lands he is, small wonder! grateful; and he shows his gratitude by becoming an excellent and a loval citizen.

It is now necessary to discuss the effect that Anglicisation is having upon the Jewish race, but before entering upon that

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very debatable question there is one other matter that must be dealt with. There are many in the Jewish community who will not allow that anyone can be a Jew who does not subscribe to the religion; that is to say, they regard as outlawed any member of the race who abandons the faith of his ancestors. This position, however, cannot for an instant be maintained. A Roman Catholic who ceases to be a member of that faith is obviously no longer a Roman Catholic, because that Church has no nationality; on the other hand, a member of the Church of England who withdraws from it remains an Englishman. too, it is with the Jews. A Jew is no less a Jew, even if he joins the Greek Church: he may be excommunicated from the Jewish Church; his nationality cannot be taken away from him. It is necessary to bear in mind this point of view. 'Once a Jew, always a Jew, whether he follows the Mosaic laws or disregards them,' Benjamin Farjeon wrote some years ago. 'So powerful is the seed of Judaism that it can never be entirely destroyed in the heart of one born in the ancient faith.' Certainly many who have ceased to believe in the creed very persistently demand still to be regarded as belonging to the race.

One of the most marked results of the Anglicisation of the race in its early stages has been its effect upon the position of the women. Before Gentile and Jew mingled, the Jewish woman, in accordance with Oriental custom, was generally regarded as of secondary importance to the man. indeed, well cared for, her material comfort was studied, and plenty of money was placed at her disposal; but as a reasonable being she was little, if at all, considered. Her duty, when married, was to make her husband comfortable, to be at his beck and call, to have no interests apart from him. Certainly she had the advantage of being the sole occupant of his harem, but in little else did she differ from her sister of the East. Even in the matter of her marriage she had little or no say. From her youth she was made to understand that it was her parents, and not she, who would select a husband for her. Intimacy between young people of opposite sexes was strongly discouraged. parents always had in their minds the thought of their daughter's marriage, and were consequently at pains to prevent anything more than the merest acquaintance to exist between the girl and young men whose financial position was not firmly established. No Belgravian grande dame had a keener perception of the eligible and ineligible. The Jewish parents would quickly dispose of the proposals of anyone not sufficiently blessed with worldly goods, even without consulting the girl whose hand was sought. On the other hand, it must be confessed that the

man, too, had a keen eye to the main chance; and it was a rare event in the annals of the race when a portionless girl married. Strangely enough, on the whole the system worked well, for if the girl could not have the man she wanted, she as a rule proved herself possessed of remarkable aptitude to suit herself to the man she could have, being content to sink her identity in that of her husband, who, being her husband, was henceforth the be-all and end-all of her existence. To-day this has all been changed. The Jewish girl, having discovered that she is herself an entity, no more than the Christian girl will give up the man she loves, nor will she any more patiently submit to ill-treatment. Of this the records of the divorce court, once unknown to Jewish families, frequently give proof. Old-fashioned folk thereupon declare that the race is becoming demoralised; and those with broader views of life welcome these

signs of the increasing independence of women.

'I will buy with you, sell with you, talk with you, walk with you. and so following; but I will not eat with you, drink with you, nor pray with you.' Thus spake Shylock many centuries ago: to-day most Jews will do everything in company with their Christian neighbours, except pray. It is denied by no one that many of the old customs and observances of Judaism are slowly but surely falling into desuetude. There is an ever-decreasing study of Hebrew, so that, to a great number, the prayers are uttered in an unknown tongue. The Passover Eve and other celebrations, when the entire family assembled, and even the most distant relative had a prescriptive right to a place at table, are no longer so general. Many Jews are less careful to obey the Mosaic dietary laws, and they partake of foods that their forebears would rather have starved than eaten. There are, indeed, nowadays practical difficulties operating against subservience to these laws which never troubled the stay-at-home generations, but against which it is now almost impossible successfully to contend, except at the price of tremendous self-sacrifice. It is, of course, easy enough to refuse pork and bacon, shell-fish, hare and rabbit, and other forbidden things. That, however, is but the beginning of the observance. It is not permitted to eat meat unless killed according to certain regulations; nor to partake of meat at the same meal as milk or any of the compounds of milk. The observance of this would entail the avoidance of having a meal at a restaurant, or at the house of a Christian, or even of an unorthodox Jew. even if this is done, the Jew is not out of the wood. How is he who, travelling, has reached a small place, to get meat that comes from an animal killed in the way ordained by the usage of his race, or to assure himself that the vessel in which his fish has been cooked has not previously, without subsequent scouring,

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been used for the dressing of forbidden foods? The observance of the Sabbath is another difficulty. In these days of great distances in a city like London how is he to abstain from riding on the Sabbath, except by stopping at home? Often the synagogue is more than a Sabbath Day's journey. Is it practicable to-day not to carry money on the Sabbath? Is it possible not to touch the fire? This last injunction was easy to obey in the East, when not making fire merely meant not cooking food. How many Jews, in these days of stern competition, can close their houses of business on the Sabbath?

These regulations in a strictly commercial age have led to the most ludicrous makeshifts. In the great battle that took place in Sudminster, so delightfully narrated by Mr. Zangwill, read the remarks of Simeon Samuels, who, together with some of his business friends, finds it necessary to open his shop on Saturdays:

We are most careful not to touch money. We are going to trust our customers, and keep our accounts without pen or pencil. We have invented a most ingenious system, which gives us far more work than writing, but we have determined to spare ourselves no trouble to keep the Sabbath from unnecessary desecration.

That is Mr. Zangwill's satire; yet, in truth, it is not satire at all, as is shown by the following extract from the recognised newspaper of the community, the *Jewish Chronicle* (January 14, 1910):

Some of the elections are being held on Saturday. But we would remind our readers that this does not necessarily mean that the Jewish electors cannot vote. In the first place, the polls will be open for three hours after the Sabbath ends, and in the second place a Jewish elector who desires to vote during the Sabbath need only ask the presiding officer to make a mark for him on the ballot paper. This, as in previous elections, will be done, and effectually secure the vote.

This is indeed observing the letter and disobeying the spirit. It may be contended that these breaches of the tribal customs are but small things, and certainly it would be easy to lay overmuch stress upon them. Yet, considered from the historical point of view, they are of great importance, because it was the strict obedience to these injunctions, and especially the observance of the dietary laws, that had so much to do with keeping the Jews apart from the nation in the midst of which they resided; and it is from the disregard of these minor laws that have arisen matters of much moment to the Jewish race in England.

Those who disobeyed these laws put themselves without the pale of orthodox Judaism. It was felt by some of the offenders that thus to be penalised was undeservedly severe punishment for trifling misdemeanours. From this feeling arose the desire to reconcile the ordinances of the religion to the exigencies of

modern life, and a section of Jews broke away from the main body and inaugurated a Reform movement that, within a limited circle. has certainly been attended with success. Another Reform movement has more recently been started by Mr. Claude Montefiore, but this has not the same purpose as the earlier movement, for Mr. Montefiore desires the recognition of Jesus as a Hebrew prophet, and argues for the acceptance of His teachings by the race of which He was the most distinguished member. This is, of course, but a variant of the Disraeli dictum, that Christianity is but the fulfilment of Judaism. It does not come within the scope of this article to argue the question on its religious side, but it must unhesitatingly be stated that Mr. Montefiore's movement is such an innovation that, whether it is right or wrong, it can scarcely be accepted by the most liberal-minded as coming within even the widest interpretation of Judaism. These movements are mentioned only because they show that the solidity of the Jewish community is threatened from within as well as from without. While the Jews were in their religious belief one and indivisible, they could not be affected.

Besides these special influences, there have also been at work influences now common to all religious communities. These are the days of the increasing growth of religious indifference, and the upper class of the Jews is as hard hit as the Church of Englandnay, far harder hit, because the Jewish Church, having from the first kept women from any active participation in the ceremonies, is now paying the penalty of its mistake. To-day women are the main support of the Church of England, which has always taken a broader view in this matter; to-day, in spite of efforts to enlist their services and call into play their sympathies, Jewish women, by remaining, for the greater part, profoundly uninterested, so far as active participation is concerned, are unconsciously avenging themselves upon a religion in which the men cry in the synagogue 'Thank God for not having made me a woman!' While indifference to religion has withdrawn from the religious community a great number of the thoughtless, the spread of agnosticism has resulted in the withdrawal of many of the thoughtful. If it were possible to take a census of the religious convictions of the educated Jews in England, to learn how many regularly attend the synagogues, and how many conform to the Mosaic laws, the result would probably provide food for reflection. In comparison with a similar census taken in the Church of England, it would have to be borne in mind that whereas going to church is a social asset, going to synagogue confers no cachet. Conversion plays but a very small part, the number of Jewish converts is so small as to be immaterial; and, on the other hand, letters of naturalisation, so to speak, are not readily granted. Indeed, the entrance of

strangers into the religious community of the Jews is sternly and almost insurmountably discouraged. The great and increasing danger that threatens the race is intermarriage, once almost unheard-of, now an occurrence far from unusual.

So, after many centuries, it has come to pass that the race is attacked both on the religious and on the social side. 'Without the religion, what is the use of the race?' asks a father (in one of Mr. Zangwill's stories, 'Transitional') who is desirous not to let his daughter see how much he hates her engagement to a Christian.

""Why, father, that's what I'm always preaching!" she cried, in astonishment. "Think what our Judaism was in the dear old Portsmouth days. What is the Sabbath here? A mockery. Not one of your sons-in-law closes his business. But there, when the Sabbath came in, how beautiful! Gradually it glided, glided; you heard the angel's wings. Then its shining presence was upon you, and a holy peace settled over the house."

"Yes, yes." His eyes filled with tears. He saw the row of innocent girl faces at the white Sabbath table. What had

London and prosperity brought him instead?

"And then the Atonement days, when the ram's horn thrilled us with a sense of sin and judgment, when we thought the heavenly scrolls were being signed and sealed. Who feels that here, father? Some of us don't even fast. . . . We have out-

lived our destiny. Our isolation is a meaningless relic."

Have we outlived our destiny? Is our isolation a meaningless relic? Is the ancient race to be Anglicised out of its distinctive existence? These are the questions which every thoughtful Jew must ask himself. And the answer? Who can doubt that it is in the affirmative. The disintegration of the Jewish community has begun at the top, though the immigration of the foreign Jews, not yet emancipated from the trammels of the tribal laws, constantly recruits the orthodox section, and doubtless, for a very long time to come, will continue to do so. Is all the splendid loyalty, nobility, martyrdom that the race has displayed throughout the centuries, then, to go for nothing? In nature nothing is wasted. The disappearance of a religion, the absorption of a race, make for good, in so far as they make a step forward to that far distant day when doubtless a universal creed will rule a universal nation.

Yet to a Jew the beginning—and it is but the very beginning—of the end of his race, however inevitable it may be, however ultimately beneficial to the world at large, is unspeakably saddening. He looks back upon the history of the declining nation, proudly but sorrowfully, and finds what comfort he can in that it has served its turn. It has taught to other nations lessons of

resignation and strength, of patience and perseverance, that have never in any other quarter been displayed. In the history of the evolution of religion and race Judaism and the Jews must always occupy an honoured place, and no writer on the subject but must pay tribute to the virility that has enabled a creed and a people, both instinct of the East, to have endured, through stress and strife, until the twentieth century, and even then be so powerful and have a following so extensive. The end is not yet, but in this country at least it cannot be indefinitely postponed.

Lewis S. Benjamin. (Lewis Melville.)

ARMY SERVICE AND THE RECRUITING DIFFICULTY

ALTHOUGH men of all classes are frequently compelled to follow uncongenial occupations in order to earn a living, few will hesitate to discard professions or trades that are distasteful to them, if it is in their power to embrace others that seem likely to suit them better. The British Army fortunately includes very many soldiers by inclination, men whose families have been worthily represented, generation after generation, in the same regiments, who enlist almost as a matter of course, and who, unless caught by the iniquitous 'ten per cent. rule,' serve on for as long as health and strength will permit, until eventually discharged with well-earned pensions. But there are also large numbers of 'unemployed,' or 'unemployables,' who enlist for no other reason than that they prefer doing so to enduring any longer the pangs of hunger. As raw material such men are seldom attractive, and indeed, judging by the feeble-looking specimens of immature, ill-nurtured humanity daily congregated about the London Recruiting Depot, one has good reason to marvel that so many of this class actually become really admirable soldiers. Truly the Army is a good school, in which both moral and physical regeneration is very frequently achieved; yet only too many of the recruits taken off the streets are destined to return whence they came, and to be vagrants for the rest of their useless and unhappy lives. It is not the object of the present article to suggest making the Army more pleasant, or a more effective reformatory, for undesirables; but upon the contrary to show how the ranks might be so well filled with really good men that no others would any longer be able to gain admittance.

There is no doubt whatever that next after the uncertainty as to being permitted to make of the Army a permanent career, enforced association with hooligans and other 'wasters' does more than anything else to prevent better men from enlisting. Meanwhile, however, the so-called 'Advantages of the Army' failing to attract a sufficiency of recruits of the right stamp, the recruiting net continues to be spread in the gutter, pending the time when the responsible authorities shall have come to their senses. It should be patent to any person of ordinary intelligence

that the necessity to accept bad as well as good recruits can be removed only by increasing the attractions to the good, so that the latter will come forward in adequate numbers to fill all the vacancies as they occur. This then is the problem requiring to be solved: How shall Army service be rendered so popular that the supply of desirable recruits shall exceed the demand for them?

The solution depends upon the satisfaction of three condi-

tions only, and these are:

(1) The Army must offer a career leading to definite advantages after discharge.

(2) Life in the Army must be rendered as pleasant to the soldier as the achievement of the highest efficiency will permit.

(3) Respectable lads must be fully assured that in the Army

none but such as themselves will be permitted to serve.

If conditions 1 and 2 be satisfied, condition 3 will automatically be met, because there would then be many more candidates than vacancies, and really strict selection would become possible, the 'characters' of applicants being in all cases carefully verified, and also required to contain more complete testimony as to general worthiness. We need not further discuss condition 3; but with the other two it will be necessary to deal at considerable length.

The Army must offer a career leading to definite advantages after discharge.

A young man who is 'honest, sober and respectable,' and who has been brought up to a trade which he is in a position to pursue, can scarcely be expected to quit that trade in order to join the Army, unless he can see clearly that by so doing he will not, unless through his own fault, seriously impair his prospects in life. There are, of course, a certain number of 'born soldiers,' who are determined to soldier, regardless of consequences, but it is quite certain that in a vast majority of cases the men who are really worth having think about the future more than about the present, and realise that serving for seven years with the colours, without thereby earning from the State any guarantee of subsequent employment, involves for them very grave risks indeed. A young man who abandons his trade at the age of eighteen or twenty, in order to enlist in the Army, is lucky if he can afterwards return at all to that trade; and even if he should be thus far fortunate has in the meantime been left far behind on the road to advancement by those who were his contemporaries. But it may be asked: 'Why do not such men stick to the Army itself, prolonging their service to twelve years with the colours, and eventually re-engaging to complete twenty-one years for pension?' The answer is simple; re-engagements having been limited by Lord Haldane to ten per

cent. of the establishment, no man can tell whether he will be permitted to re-engage, no matter how good a soldier he may be nor how anxious his own officers may be to retain him. Already this limitation is having effects that must very seriously impair the efficiency of the Army. The men worth keeping decline to face the risks, and are passing wholesale to the Reserve. In a word, by an act of criminally improvident economy, the Army is being rapidly deprived of the 'backbone' without which mobilised units will be found of little fighting value. It is notorious that the British Army, as at present organised, is obliged to absorb on mobilisation a proportion of Reservists far exceeding that which any other Great Power considers safely admissible. Hitherto this grave disadvantage has been largely counterbalanced by the constant presence with the colours of very many veteran non-commissioned officers and men. In order to ensure that our 'Expeditionary Force' shall consist of mere mobs of armed men, foredoomed to incur disgraceful disasters in war, it is only necessary to eradicate the reliable nucleus of fighting efficiency that is already being wasted away. Meanwhile faith has been grossly broken with thousands of keen soldiers who enlisted before the new rule had been enacted, and who had chosen military service for their permanent vocation.

In these modern days when 'thinking bayonets' are much more than ever necessary, it is clear enough that the Army has need of men who are not only of good physique but also morally and intellectually superior; yet we prescribe conditions of service calculated to repel effectually the very men we want! Lord Midleton, when as Mr. St. John Brodrick he was Secretary of State for War, raised considerably the soldier's emoluments, by the concession of 'messing allowance' and by the grant of 'Service pay,' but as the present writer ventured to point out to him in the course of a conversation on the subject, while the matter was still under consideration, no increase of present pay, not even to double the amount actually sanctioned, could possibly have any effect whatever, except perhaps to attract a slightly larger number of 'wasters.' Men of the class we require to obtain can be influenced not at all by whether their pay shall be one shilling, or two shillings a day, during three or seven years with the colours, but very much indeed by the certainty or uncertainty of being able to earn a living afterwards. It comes to this, in plain English, that any man of the right stamp who now enlists in the British Regular Army proves himself ipso facto to be either an enthusiast or a fool; that is to say, he acts either regardless of consequences which he fully understands, or yields thoughtlessly to some sudden impulse which as a general rule he has afterwards good reason to repent.

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The remedy for this very unsatisfactory state of affairs has been suggested times without number, but although it is perfectly obvious, and quite easy to apply, nothing has yet been done in respect to its practical application. The State annually engages very large numbers of boys and men, some as sailors or soldiers, and others as civil servants. Why not require one and all of these employés to assent to serving in the Navy or Army, during a specified period of their total service to the State? Why not also compel the local authorities to give preference, in all cases, to suitable candidates who have already served in the Forces of the Crown, or are willing to qualify themselves by

performing such service for the prescribed period?

There is no reason whatever why boys and youths should not first be taught the work they desire to undertake in civil life, then pass into the Navy or Army, and finally return to the vocation for which they were originally trained. Legislation to this effect would do more than anything else to popularise the Army among the superior classes of the populace whom it is so desirable to attract. A young man who is morally and physically fit to be, for example, a policeman, is obviously fit for the Army, and after three or seven years as a soldier would return to the Police a far better policeman than if he had not enjoyed the advantage of thorough military training. There are at the present time large numbers of ex-Guardsmen in the Metropolitan and in the City Police, but excellent constables as these men are, it is clear that they could far more quickly have attained their full efficiency had they served first as Police recruits before their enlistment in the Guards.

Instead of doing its duty generally to the State, or helping the recruitment of the Fighting Services, the British Government appears to prefer the rôle of a promoter of wasterdom. It would be interesting to learn how many telegraph boys, and boy clerks in the Civil Service, annually pass into the ranks of the unemployed or unemployable classes, on discharge from official employment. For the clerks there is, of course, some hope, but for the telegraph boys, as a general rule, none at all; the latter have learned no trade, and very poor are their chances of subsequently finding an opportunity to learn one. All such boys should as soon as the age limit has been reached be transferred from the telegraph service to some other—say as junior clerks, assistant postmen, or 'learners' in the sorting department of the Post Office-and on attaining the age of eighteen years be passed on into the Army, to serve therein until, on the completion of their colour service, they are reverted to the civil department whence It does not seem needful to offer any further they came. examples; the desired conclusion having already been sufficiently S

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indicated. Army Service cannot of itself be made to furnish a life's career for all and sundry; because not only economy but also efficiency forbids this. But if a few years with the colours were included among the obligations undertaken by those who enter the general service of the State, good conduct would be the only condition requisite for the enjoyment of permanent employment, and that employment would only be the more attractive on account of its variations.

Condition 1 has now been satisfied, for we have shown how Army service might be made to 'offer a career leading to definite advantages in it and after discharge.' Not only so, but the solution proposed involves no additional cost to the State. Superannuated Civil Servants already receive pensions. In case of war, the places of mobilised Reservists could easily be filled by recalling pensioners, and by temporarily engaging men thrown out of other employments.

The formation of a reserve of officers, under similar conditions, is equally practicable, and would be equally inexpensive.

We will now pass on to the consideration of condition 2.

'Life in the Army must be rendered as pleasant to the soldier

as the achievement of the highest efficiency will permit.'

People who imagine that 'work' is distasteful to officers or men are quite wrong; that which causes all ranks to become 'fed up' is not work, but worry and uncertainty. Perhaps I may be pardoned for the introduction of a personal experience which will probably serve to explain my meaning, and in comparatively few words.

During the training of the 'Spectator Experimental Company' my subaltern and I were talking one evening, just before dinner, about recruiting. Mr. Walsh, when he went to his room to dress, had the subject on his mind, and asked his soldier-servant (a man of the Somerset Light Infantry) what he thought would do most to bring recruits and keep soldiers contented. 'Well, sir,' replied the servant, 'you needn't look far for the answer to that; you've got it across the square.' 'What do you mean?' said Mr. Walsh. The reply was instructive. 'Them fellers is worked mortal hard, far harder than we are in the regiment, but they always knows when they're 'for it,' or when they're 'not for it.''

I will interpret this: The men of the 'Spectator Experimental Company' began work daily at 7 A.M. and usually finished at 4.30 P.M., but Wednesdays and Saturdays were both half-holidays, and all Bank Holidays were observed. Thus the men knew when they would be free, and could make their private arrangements accordingly. Neither officers nor men in the Regular Army are similarly situated, for although the average number of hours of actual work done during each week seldom or never amounts to

more than three-fourths (usually less than half) of the hours worked by the 'Spectator' men, they never know with certainty when they will be 'for it' or when 'not for it'; and as surely as they count on the one or the other, some 'surprise-packet' is almost certain to be sprung upon them. Captain Jones, for example, has obtained leave for shooting or hunting, from his commanding officer, and goes off this afternoon with leave until to-morrow night. But a brigade or divisional parade is suddenly ordered, and a wire recalling Captain Jones is handed to him on arrival at his destination. This is what the officer calls 'being messed about.' The private employs a more forcible and rather obscene expression. The above is an example that may be taken as representative of a variety of occurrences that are quite common.

We will now quote a very glaring case, not supposititious but

an actual fact.

The general commanding a Military District in Ireland appeared unexpectedly at a winter exercise of one of his brigades, and the general situation at the time of his arrival having been explained to him by the brigadier, it instantly occurred to him that the operations might be rendered still more interesting by the participation of a cavalry regiment. Accordingly he wired to a cavalry barracks some miles away, ordering instant march on a place and for a purpose named in the message. It was about 9.30 A.M. on-a hunting morning, and half-a-dozen or more officers had already started; mounted orderlies were sent in pursuit, and meanwhile the regiment paraded. Thirty-five minutes after receiving the order the regiment marched, the officers who had at first been absent catching it up en route to its destination, where a message was delivered to the commanding officer on his arrival, informing him that the operations for the day were over! Comment is needless. The general knew what was going to take place days before, and if he desired cavalry co-operation could have ordered it accordingly. Then there would have been no grumbling, and good work might also have been done. Actually if the general had looked more carefully at his map, and considered the problem of 'time and distance,' even he could have discovered that arrival in time was a physical impossibility. What was perpetrated in this case was an act of criminal lunacy, yet the guilty person is, I believe, still at large.

People do not always realise that the soldier is to the end of his service in a state of pupilage. Boys and girls at school are given holidays and half-holidays. Why not also soldiers? was well said: 'All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy.' Actually, soldiers of all ranks are given, in respect to total quantity, an ample amount of leisure; officers get leave and other soldiers furloughs; but the fact remains that the non-working

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hours of ordinary days at headquarters can seldom be turned to useful or pleasant account, owing to the irritating capriciousness of the responsible authorities. Much more work might easily be accomplished, and this reconciled with entire contentment, if only the work was done in accordance with programmes subject to alteration only in cases of real emergency. In a word, it is necessary that officers and men shall know exactly when they are to be at liberty to amuse themselves, if enjoyment of leisure hours is to be proportionate to the number of them. Even in the case of emergencies, moreover, the consequences might be rendered far less disturbing than is usually the case.

Suppose, for example, that the King, or some other high military authority, has suddenly announced his intention of inspecting the troops at whatever station, and that Major Atkins or Captain Brown, of one of the units concerned, has obtained forty-eight hours' leave in order to attend the marriage of his sister, or even to enjoy a first-rate day's shooting. Is not the commanding officer of the unit reasonably entitled to decide for himself whether he can or cannot spare the officer in question? Is it not, moreover, educationally advantageous to Lieutenant Smith that he should have an opportunity of proving, in the absence of the commander of his squadron or company, that he is practically as well as theoretically competent to discharge such abnormal responsibilities? On active service Lieutenant Smith would be required to assume command in case of the death or sickness of his captain; and it is therefore difficult to understand why he should not be trusted to make the attempt at a mere 'Field Day.' This aspect of the matter is, of course, far more important than that of interference or otherwise with the personal convenience of any officer, senior or junior; and if such convenience were sacrificed only in real emergencies, there would be no grumbling.

Some generals allow wide discretion in all things to regimental commanding officers; but others do not, and will even demand reports of all punishments awarded to men apprehended by the garrison police! The present writer has been summoned to produce, at a brigade office, the 'conduct sheet' of a man whom the general considered to have been too leniently dealt with in respect to a 'garrison crime.' The explanation was a 'clean sheet,' and this was, of course, accepted, though with a very bad grace, as sufficient. But by such proceedings the independence as well as the authority of commanding officers is liable to be impaired. The 'guard reports,' which are examined at inspections, should afford to inquisitive generals all the information they need as to the manner in which commanding officers administer justice; and the general behaviour and performances of the corps will always faithfully reflect the success or failure of the disciplinary system

in use. The real condition of a unit—that is to say, the competency of its commander—can be rightly judged only in reference to the following considerations: (1) Efficiency in tactical exercises, (2) smartness and precision at drill, (3) good order and cleanliness of quarters, (4) behaviour and appearance of individuals when walking out on duty or for pleasure. If in these four respects a corps is fully up to the mark, it may be taken for granted that though the guard reports happen to record many very severe punishments, those punishments have been justly awarded; or, if punishments are few and light, that serious crime is not screened or condoned, but is veritably absent. Judgment, in short, must be passed according to results, and not be based upon paper evidence. So also in respect to the granting of leave to officers, and furloughs and passes to the men; the state of the corps will show whether the indulgences granted are deserved by those who receive them and warranted by the general conditions in which they are granted. In a word, the commander of an efficient unit ought rarely to be interfered with by his general, and the commander of an inefficient one should give place to another who is competent to run alone. The proper rôle of a general is first to be a wise Mentor, and secondly a just judge; but in no circumstances to act the part of a Martha.

The following are conditions which the present writer considers indispensable to reconciling general contentment with

strenuous training:

(1) No drills, training, or inspections, nor any duties not absolutely unavoidable, should be performed on Sundays or Bank Holidays; nor after 12 noon on Wednesdays and Saturdays, except during Divisional or Army manœuvres.

(2) No private soldier in receipt of 'proficiency pay 'should be

taken for ordinary 'drill parades,' except

(a) As a punishment for 'slackness.'

(b) To assist in the tactical drills of young soldiers.

(3) Regimental commanding officers should be at liberty to grant 'short leave' to officers, or passes to other ranks, at their own discretion, even though absence from a parade ordered by superior authority must consequently result.

(4) Divisional and brigade commanders should not, between the 15th of October and the 15th of April, have power to order any parades not included in a programme of work previously issued,

unless in emergencies created by higher authority.

(5) A proportion of Reservists, say, forty in the case of an infantry battalion, should be attached to each unit in order to set free for training and other services soldiers who are now 'employed' as servants, waiters, cooks, etc., etc. The men of this 'reserve section' should perform a modified course of

musketry, and be in the ranks of their companies during the concluding week of the annual field training. The active service outfits of these men should be kept in the quartermaster's stores of their unit, instead of being retained at the depôt. In normal circumstances only the canvas working dress would be worn by employed Reservists, but they should draw clothing allowance to the value of one suit of Service dress and a pair of boots

annually, and be supplied with 'part-worn' greatcoats.

(6) For any 'employments' not filled by Reservists, and for orderly-men and fatigue work, soldiers of at least four years' service should, as far as possible, be utilised. These men should be permanently detailed for their duties, with their own consent: they should be excused all parades, except on very special occasions, and as a rule be in the ranks only during company and battalion training. One man who has no parades to hinder him can get through more work in the day than three ordinary fatiguemen detailed from the duty-roster.

(7) There should additionally be attached to every garrison a certain number of Reservists and ex-soldiers for garrison employ-

ment and fatigues.

(8) Coals should be delivered at barrack rooms by Army Service Corps wagons, or by the regimental transport, and be carried in by men of the Reserve section.

(9) All cleaning of latrines to be performed by 'barrack-

labourers.'

(10) Ankle-boots, of superior quality and of light weight, should be supplied to soldiers, on payment, to be used by them as they please, except on parade.

(11) Every soldier who is in possession of a 'permanent pass' should be permitted to leave barracks dressed in plain clothes

when not on duty.

(12) A permanent pass should entitle the holder to go away for 'week-ends' and Bank Holidays when not on duty, provided that every man shall attend Church Parade at least once per month. But absence from Church Parade by any man who remains without special permission within the area of the garrison, shall involve forfeiture of the permanent pass.

(13) A certain sum of money, calculated at the rate of, say, one shilling per man, should be entrusted to the commanding officer of each regiment or battalion for expenditure at his discretion, in order to promote efficiency by the award of prizes for skill at arms, scouting, and signalling. Such encouragement is especially needed in the case of signallers, to whom no appreciable inducements are now offered.

(14) Larger buildings should be provided for regimental workshops in order that soldiers may be enabled to learn, or keep up,

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trades, under the supervision of the pioneer-sergeant and his assistants; and a suitable allowance should be granted to cover the losses suffered on account of materials spoiled by beginners.

(15) All ordinary repairs, or alterations of barracks and other Government buildings should, as far as possible, be executed by soldier-workmen at the normal rate of civilian wages, subject to a deduction of 40 per cent. on account of the cost of upkeep of the regimental shops, in which the men learn or practise their trades. In existing conditions soldiers can have few opportunities of working at trades; but with the Reserve section available to ease the pressure in respect of employments and fatigues, the principal difficulty would, to a large extent, be removed.

(16) The normal proportion of the rank and file permitted to re-engage for the completion of twenty-one years' service should be raised from 10 per cent. to at least 25 per cent., and no really good soldier should in any circumstances be refused permission. The proportion of the married establishment should be raised from 3 per cent. to 4 per cent. The latter increase would be worth its cost, owing to the correspondingly increased numbers of the best of all recruits—soldiers' sons born in the regiment; and the former is vital to the efficiency of the Army.

(17) Army Reservists of good character who wish to rejoin the Colours should be free to do so, temporarily or permanently, whenever their unit is below the authorised establishment, provided that they make their applications before the expiration of two years from the date of transfer to the Reserve, and that

temporary returns are for not less than six months.

(18) No soldier should ever go to prison. Conviction by court martial or civil court of a crime for which a period of 'detention' would be insufficient punishment should carry with it summary dismissal from the Army; so that the prisoner would have already reverted to civil life previous to receiving sentence of imprisonment.

(19) Soldiers convicted by the civil power of minor offences, for which sentences not exceeding two months are awarded, should be handed over to their commanding officers, on demand, and by them committed for periods of 'detention' corresponding to the original sentences of imprisonment. But should the commanding officer decide, with the approval of the general officer by whom district courts martial are locally convened, that the offence committed is one involving disgrace to the Army, the civil conviction should take its course, and thus include dismissal from the Service. The Army has no use for men of blemished character, whose presence in the barrack-room is distasteful to self-respecting soldiers.

The present writer is firmly convinced, as the result of much

study and inquiry, that if the conditions specified in this article were conceded by the authorities, the ranks of the British Army would very quickly be filled to overflowing with young men of fine physique and unimpeachable respectability. If the Army is to obtain recruits of the class required, in sufficient numbers, it must furnish a career of which military service forms, as a rule, only a part; and the period spent with the Colours must, although very strenuous, be also pleasant. Life cannot be altogether pleasant to men of superior class when it has the following disadvantages:

(1) Association with 'wasters,' often dishonest as well as

filthy in their persons and habits.

(2) Liability to clean out privies and drains, and to perform a variety of other uncongenial tasks not even remotely connected with soldiering.

(3) Chronic uncertainty as to the hours of work and of

recreation.

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The above and other less serious disadvantages that irk the soldier would almost or entirely cease to exist under a new system reformed as I have already suggested.

In conclusion I will add evidence to show how seriously 'fatigue work' interferes with training, as well as with the

pleasantness of life in the Army.

In September 1900 I joined—as a reserve officer—the 'details' of my old regiment attached to the 3rd (Militia) battalion at Devonport. I was full of zeal, and most anxious to devote myself to the training of the 250 young soldiers who were being, I had imagined, strenuously prepared for future service in South Africa. The morning after my arrival I attended parade at 7 A.M., and, to my horror, found less than a dozen men. On one occasion during the period September 1900 to April 1901, during which I remained at Devonport, there were seventeen men on an instructional parade, but on no other as many. The garrison fatigues and duties, including very large fatigue parties for the dockyard and the gun-wharf, daily took nearly all the men we had. The explanation of this is that, while the 'duties' were detailed as usual, the garrison was, owing to the war, abnormally small. The regimental officer real training there was none at all. cannot train his men if he is not allowed to have them at his disposal for the purpose. We sent to South Africa in October 1900 a draft composed of men absolutely untrained and who had never so much as fired off a rifle! A little later, in December I think, we despatched a draft which had performed a 'modified course' of fourteen rounds, in accordance with an order received as the result of our protests on the previous occasion, but otherwise equally untrained.

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One thing more. Many officers of the District and Garrison staff were in the habit of lunching at our mess, always in great haste owing to the pressure of work which kept them busy, from early morning until late at night. On one occasion, when the severity of everybody's daily task had been dilated upon, I asked the following question of the nearly thirty officers present: 'Is there,' I inquired, 'any officer in this room who can say that since he got up this morning he has done, or expects to do before he goes to bed, anything whatever to promote, directly or indirectly. the fighting efficiency of the British Army?' Not an officer of them all could make the desired reply, nor could I myself. It was in the very bitterness of my soul that I had asked the question. for the hopeless impossibility of so much as attempting to do any work of the nature suggested was to me a daily source of passionate vexation. The barracks were full of young soldiers sorely needing to be trained, but as they were continually occupied in other ways, by order of superior authority, nothing could be done to prepare them for the war in which they were soon to play their inefficient part. A few thousands of pounds, a mere drop in the ocean of expenditure on the war, devoted to employing civilian labour for the performance of civilians' work would have made all the difference. Truly, 'improvident economy' is an hereditary vice of British Governments! Might not even mediocre intellects be reasonably expected to understand that soldiers cannot be trained for war unless kept available, as a general rule, for training; and that many men who would gladly enlist in other conditions decline to do so while so-called 'soldiering' means playing the parts of scavengers, housemaids, navvies, or dockyard labourers? The 'Advantages of the Army' are few in number, and chiefly illusive; but the disadvantages, immediate and reserved, are many and real. Meanwhile, the military authorities flatter themselves that they are doing their whole duty by altering mess-waistcoats, interdicting green whistle-cords and reintroducing, for rifle regiments exclusively, a convenient method of carrying the rifle (when skirmishing through thick coppice, marching in file, or walking in and out of barrack-rooms), which a previous exercise of reforming activity had universally abolished!

A. W. A. POLLOCK.

THE TERRITORIAL FORCES

I had the good fortune to be sent to South Africa to give a helping hand to General Smuts in the formation of a citizen army, and now I am back again seeking for information regarding the four-year-old Territorial Force which was brought into the world under such great expectations during the latter part of my tenure of the Eastern Command. I have little or nothing to do with politics, I have no axe to grind, but I have the same love for my country that others have, so it was with anxiety that I asked those best qualified to give me an opinion as to the state of health of this four-year-old child.

I did not go to the parents, for parents are generally rather too optimistic regarding the growth and capacity of their first-born. Nor did I go to the man in the street, with whom little ever seems to agree, but I did go to the men who have no reason for speaking anything but the simple truth, who had attended this prodigy as experts, and their evidence is discomforting. I am not alluding to the Imperial Yeomanry, for their position does not seem greatly affected by the change.

In one respect the Territorial Force can, without doubt, claim a great advantage over the old Militia and Volunteers, for instead of willing amateurs, the divisions and brigades are now in the hands of professional officers, assisted by an up-to-date staff. Had the Militia and Volunteers been afforded the same advantages and the same encouragement, they would naturally have proved a far more efficient force.

proved a far more efficient force.

My wish in this article is to give a helping hand to the Territorial Army, not by shutting my eyes to its failings, but by pointing out quite shortly some of the reasons why its growth in size and efficiency seems to me to be retarded.

I have many a time, when speaking in South Africa, quoted two paragraphs from Lord Kitchener's admirable report on the

Australian Defence Force. They are as follows:

The first principle is that the Citizen Force cannot be efficient unless the nation as a whole takes pride in its defenders, insists upon the organisation being real, and designed for war purposes only, and provides for properly educating, training, and equipping their officers and men.

The second principle for a successful Citizen Force is a complement of

the first. The force must be an integral portion of the national life. The citizen should be brought up from his boyhood to look forward to the day when he will be enrolled as fit to defend his country. He should be accustomed to practise those habits of self-devotion to, and emulation in, the execution of his duty, of reticence, and of prompt obedience to lawful authority, which are essentials to the formation of patriotic and efficient soldiers.

If we in the Mother Country are willing to learn anything from our Colonies, it is that we should do all that lies in our power to encourage with money, by word and deed, such voluntary movements as are the Cadet Corps, the Church Lads'

Brigade, the Boy Scouts, and others.

In South Africa we have made the cadet force our bed-rock, on it we build our citizen force, out of it comes, and will come, love for their country, discipline, knowledge of the rifle and how to make the best use of it. The cadets in Natal, where cadet corps are compulsory, are the equals in marksmanship of a good shooting battalion in the Regular Army. In officers and men the cadet Corps, I feel sure, will give of their best to the citizen army, and I believe the same may be said of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

Can we honestly say the same for the Mother Country? Have we done as much as we could have done for the present and future protection of our country by giving support to our lads? Have we done one quarter as much as our Colonies have done and are doing? Are our needs less or more than theirs are?

Then as regards the Territorial Force. Have we given it the same generous and loyal support that South Africa has given to

the citizen army?

It is perfectly true that in England and South Africa alike the party in opposition have given their loyal support to the Government, otherwise no Bill could have passed either in England or in South Africa, or supposing it had done so, it must have proved a failure later on. But have the colleagues of the late Secretary for War given him the same support that General Botha and his Ministry have given to General Smuts? Have they made the country feel as General Botha has made South Africa feel, that the Territorial Force has their loyal support, and that they mean to do all they can to make it a success?

The Labour party is child's play to the Bush Veld party that General Botha gained over to his side. Without General Botha's aid and that of his colleagues General Smuts could never have carried his Defence Bill through the House, or at any

rate, have secured the support of the Dutch and Boer.

Of course, there are difficulties in the way in South Africa as there are in England; but one and all, English and Dutch,

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ny as ch, followers of the Government, or supporters of the Opposition said 'it has to be'; that it seems to me we have to say in England, if the Territorial force is to prove the efficient force we should all wish it to be. The employers in South Africa form a troublesome factor, as they do in England, but they come in for drastic treatment in the Colony.

In the Defence Act, the effect of section 8 is as follows:

It shall be the duty of any employer to give all proper facilities for enabling citizens in his employ punctually and faithfully to carry out

a. The prescribed period of military training in the Defence Force;

b. The service in a Rifle Association;

c. The Cadet training to which they may be liable.

Any employer who fails to give the facilities aforesaid, or who prevents, or attempts to prevent, or penalises, or attempts to penalise, any employé, or person seeking employment from him from entering upon and carrying out the training or service aforesaid shall be guilty of an offence.

Section 109 names as penalty a fine not exceeding 100l., or in default of payment, imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding one year, or imprisonment without the option of a fine, or both fine and imprisonment.

In other words South Africa means to have a citizen army worthy of the country and of the empire; she intends to bring up her youth to realise the fact that their first duty in life is to their country, and, in sporting parlance, she warns employers off the course if they do not run straight.

I do not wish to draw a comparison between the employers in South Africa and those in England. The position of the employers in England is one of the greatest difficulties of the voluntary system of service.

Every employer of labour in South Africa is equally affected by the Defence Act, because where no direct compulsion exists it is, nevertheless, just behind the door, to be called in at a moment's notice. My quotations from the Defence Act, I think, show this quite clearly.

In England the case is quite different, only, perhaps, one employer in fifty, or in a hundred, is affected, and no direct, no implied, no possible compulsion is present, or invocable; the result is that the patriotic employer is placed by the State at a distinct disadvantage—a disadvantage which increases directly with his patriotism, since the more of his hands that he allows to join the Territorial force the more his pocket suffers. Not only does he suffer for the time, but he may be unable to carry out a large and valuable order, which his unpatriotic neighbour takes up, and his custom is gone for ever. This is where the voluntary system is so scandalously unfair, penalising the patriotic and bolstering up the unpatriotic employer. I can recall to mind, in the days of the Militia and Volunteers, cases of intimidation on the part of employers that I could not have believed possible in a country that at any rate professes to possess feelings of

patriotism.

Where I think General Smuts has shown great common sense is in not destroying the forces he found 'in being' when he entered upon his defence scheme. He accepted the Natal Militia and the Volunteers of Cape Colony and the Transvaal under certain conditions, but in the event of a sufficient number not coming forward for the quota deemed necessary, then the residue will have to be supplied through the ballot.

Here, again, it seems to me we might with advantage learn a

lesson from South Africa.

Is the danger less to this country than it is to South Africa? Is the loss of trade to the employers greater, is the loss of money and of time greater to those undergoing training in England than in South Africa? I cannot think so; and I call to mind what a back-Veld Dutchman said to me: 'We want to have something between the militarism in Germany and the apathy in England.'

My experience of the Dutchman is that he generally hits the

right nail on the head.

In South Africa each district has to find its quota, so might each county in England find its quota. In Wiltshire we can do

so, why not in the other counties?

But it is one matter to have the numbers, it is another, and a very serious matter, that the force should be efficient. I cannot believe that this can be the case unless the infantry attends a training camp for at least fourteen days in each year, and unless the Field Artillery are given every facility for field practice. An inefficient artillery is simply an encumbrance, even more, a positive danger in the field, as it at all times requires protection, whilst harmless as a weapon of offence in inexperienced hands.

I write with but one object—namely, to point out how essential it is to do our utmost to make this Territorial force of value. Better far to put all the money spent on an inefficient force into making our Regular Army still stronger and even more efficient, unless the country is prepared to go one step further and make each county furnish its quota of men, and these men in a state of efficiency.

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LABOUR AND INTERNATIONALISM

THE more closely one studies the social movement at the present time the deeper becomes one's conviction that every question of national policy, whether domestic or foreign, should be considered in the first instance in its relation to the welfare of labour within the nation. It is the neglect of this duty-often on the part of people otherwise patriotic-which is mainly responsible for the internationalisation of the working classes, expressed in the device on the banners of every labour procession, 'Proletarians of all lands, unite!' It is, on the other hand, the want of a proper public sense of the interdependence of the external and internal life of a nation which lays us open to a sudden panic such as that of last autumn, when it was discovered that the railway strike was paralysing the country in face of a threatened foreign invasion; and which rendered us indifferent to the warning contained in paragraphs in a few of the best informed daily newspapers announcing the coincidence this summer of a strike in the French ports with the London Docks Strike.

That there is to-day an international spirit moving among the working classes, giving rise, not always where distress is greatest, to anti-militarist and anti-patriotic tendencies, no one can deny. It is not proposed here to deal with its causes in any detail; nor is it possible within the limits of this article to discuss them in their bearing on the preparation for national defence, account-

¹ In the Nineteenth Century of March 1907, under the title 'Conservative Opportunists and Imperial Democracy,' I referred to one of the causes of this in the following words: 'Whatever may have been the faults of the old land system, the man in the country in former days had a deeper conception of the value of national independence, a deeper sense of the common interest of all classes of society in its defence, than the modern artisan who lives in a tenement, and whose employer is often merely a board or syndicate, deprived for him of all individuality, and often recognising no responsibilities beyond those of a paymaster. For men such as this-wandering in times of industrial depression far from their families in search of employment-patriotism must be the most extraordinary rather than the commonest of virtues. If they are to be given a country to die for, if they are not to turn in despair to vain illusions of internationalism and crude socialistic imaginings, a number of positive changes and reforms are necessary in the conditions under which they live.' At the close of that article I ventured to say 'there will be a rude awakening for them (i.e. Conservative opportunists) when the democratic sentiment that they have ignored and refused to lead is, in its isolation in a Little England, demanding the confiscation of property.' CC-0: In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

ing on the one hand for the resistance of a section of the working men to any attempt to establish a system of universal military service which, in their opinion, would strengthen the forces which might be used against their class during a strike, and on the other, for the opposition of some among the governing classes to the creation of a citizen army, adequate for the defence of these islands, which might be less amenable than the existing army for the suppression of a revolt of labour. It is rather intended to suggest the inferences, to be drawn from the past history of internationalism, as to the effect of this spirit on the attitude of labour towards national defence should national independence be suddenly

and overtly threatened.

Internationalism, that is to say the union of men of different nationalities in a common cause, is not an idea, as is sometimes believed, that has suddenly sprung up in the revolutionary soil of modern times. It has always existed. Whenever men have been moved by a great ideal they have sought to gather to its support, in a common faith, men of all nations. The greater the ideals the greater have been the efforts; and where they affect humanity most profoundly, as in face of the oppression of the unknown, they have most nearly succeeded in breaking down national barriers. The missionaries of the Christian religion for instance—in obedience to the command which was at first confined 'to the lost sheep of the house of Israel,' but was ultimately extended 'to all nations'-were internationalists, and the Roman Catholic Church has so far been the most successful of all international organisations in the western world. With a common ritual, a common language, a common standard of conduct and morals, and an internationalised clerical hierarchy, it was well equipped to overcome those differences in character and in interests which have grouped mankind in nations rising and falling, ebbing and flowing in the struggle for the possession of the earth. Had these differences been artificial, as maintained by a school of thought which existed in all ages and is not without its representatives to-day, they would surely have disappeared before so potent a force. And yet, as any text-book of history tells us, nations of the same religion warred against one another, and nations opposed in religion joined forces against a common foe. National interests persisted and dominated all To go back no further than the century following the Reformation, when, if at any time, Roman Catholics might have been expected to unite in defence of their religion, we find the aid of the armies of Protestant England welcomed by Roman Catholic nations of the Continent, and the great three-faced Cardinal in France, who suppressed Protestants within his own borders to insure a united nation, siding with German Protestants

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in the religious struggles of the Thirty Years' War in pursuance of a foreign policy which made for the national aggrandisement of France. Throughout this period, as in all others, it is seen that wherever a people has arrived at a consciousness of national unity the forces of interest and sentiment interpenetrating produce a patriotism which is the dominating motive of their action.

As the ideal represented by the Roman Catholic Church failed to produce internationalism, so have all subsequent ideals failed. In the eighteenth century the philosophers preached 'the rights of man' to the oppressed among all peoples. France formally accepted the new ideal, and the armies of the Revolution started out on their international mission to unite mankind in a democratic brotherhood. The aristocratic governments whom they attacked ultimately defeated them at Waterloo, having learnt from the disasters that befell their arms that the only way to avert the danger that threatened them was by an appeal

to the patriotism of the peoples whom they governed.

Napoleon conquered, it was thought that democracy was crushed; but aristocracy had an uneasy feeling that the seed had been sown widecast by the French, and that the accursed thing, the governed asking for equality in the government, might spring up again—as it did with a vengeance all over Europe thirty-three years later. So it endeavoured to render its own internationalism permanent and met in Congress for that purpose at Vienna, where it was lavishly entertained by the impoverished Its object was to form a kind of Austrian Government. European aristocratic trade union; emperors, kings, princes, kinglets, and princelets, all were there; Turkey alone was not invited. This Congress was the parent of, and may be and has been quoted as a precedent for, all international congresses that have met subsequently on a class basis, socialist, trade union, or There was only one, democracy, The enemy? syndicalist. otherwise called French ideas.

Every Power struggled to But nationality asserted itself. aggrandise itself. Small nations with natural affinities sought to be united, but the big nations kept them asunder-for the time being-just as Richelieu had kept the German States apart two centuries before. Aristocracy found itself too weak to overcome national instincts even among the representatives of aristocracy at the Congress; just as the same instincts triumph at a Socialist Congress to-day. So it fell back upon religion.

The Emperor of Russia, Alexander the First,2 persuaded Prussia and Austria to join him in founding the Holy Alliance

² It will be remembered that his descendant initiated the International Peace Conferences at The Hague at the end of the same century shortly before the Russo-Japanese War.

in the name of 'the very holy and indivisible Trinity.' The three monarchs, guided by the 'sublime truths taught by the eternal religion of God our Saviour,' agreed to be 'united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity,' and to give 'aid and assistance to each other on all occasions and in all places regarding themselves in their relations to their subjects and to their armies as fathers of families. . . . Considering themselves all as members of one great Christian nation, the three allied princes look upon themselves as delegates of Providence called upon to govern three branches of the same family. . . . Their Majesties recommend therefore to their peoples, as the sole means of enjoy. ing that peace which springs from a good conscience and is alone enduring, to fortify themselves each day in the principles and practice of those duties which the Divine Saviour had taught to men.' Nearly all the Powers signed the document committing them to the ideas of the Holy Alliance.

But aristocratic internationalism had failed. The Congress temporarily recast the map of Europe and from it resulted the Quadruple Alliance of Austria, Prussia, and Russia to which England for a short time gave her adherence, and which was ultimately directed—whether under the influence of Alexander the First or of Metternich does not here affect the argument—to the suppression of revolution in any State of Europe. The revo-

lutions of 1848 were the consequence.

It was in 1864 that the principle was first formulated 'that the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves.' With these words opens the preamble to the constitution of the International Working Men's Association, famous throughout the world under the abbreviated title of 'The International.' This organisation, which is now almost forgotten in England save for its association with the name of Karl Marx, is the direct ancestor of all the great organisations which combine workers, on a class basis, in their struggle with capital. One of the chief supporters of the syndicalist movement in France said recently that the organisation directing this movement was the 'historical continuation' of the International.4 And Ferdinand Pelloutier, the founder of French syndicalism, observed in 1895 that the syndicalist organisation was the final outcome 'of the prophetic advice given thirty years ago to the proletariat by the International.' But it is only with the

³ This was in a sense a continuation of the 'League of the Just' formed by German exiles in Paris in 1836, reorganised as 'the Communist League' as the result of a congress in London in 1847, and dissolved in 1852.

⁴ E. Pouget, Le Parti du Travail, p. 16.

⁵ Fourth Congress of the Bourses du Travail: Compte rendu du Congrès (1895), p. 22.

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international aspects of this association that we are here concerned.

It was said of this, as it might be said with equal truth of syndicalism and other similar movements, that 'the child born in the Paris workshops was put out to nurse in London.' It is difficult to ascertain what was its material or numerical strength. Bismarck was stated, and is believed by many authorities, to have thought it of sufficient influence to use for the discomfiture of France. In 1869, just before the war, strikes broke out all over France. 'According to the French police, these outbreaks were planned by the International, and it was even insinuated that Count Bismarck "had known how to win the graces of this all-powerful association" with a view to incapacitate France for attacking Prussia,' writes one of its founders. The outbreak in Paris from the 18th of March to the 29th of May 1871, in which 30,000 communists lost their lives, was at the time attributed by many to the International. One of these who had at first held the International entirely responsible for the beginnings of the Commune remarked later, in his evidence before the commission of inquiry instituted by the Government, that socialist ideas and the action of the International in relation to the 18th of March had no more effect than that of 'a little packet of gunpowder thrown into a fire.' 7

The organisation of the International, which never existed with any approximate completeness except on paper, was based on autonomous local groups, federated locally in districts, and culminating in national federations. Over these national federations presided the General Committee in London. The need for international organisation was argued from the premise that no local or even national association could frustrate the attempts of employers to import foreign labour to overawe their workmen. 'The emancipation of labour,' says the preamble to the rules, 6 'is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists. . . . '

One instance of its international activities is given by Professor Beesley in the article already quoted. In 1870, just before the opening of the war between France and Germany, the Central Committee of the International in London recommended the British Amalgamated Society of Engineers to give financial support to the Paris iron-moulders who were on strike. proposal was laid before 299 branches of the society; 7045 members voted for granting a loan and 557 against, and the loan was therefore approved.

Those who maintain that national traits are not innate should

⁶ Professor Beesley, The Contemporary Review, November 1870. ⁷ Evidence of Jules Favre, Enquête sur le 18 Mars, II. 41.

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note the following facts in connexion with this vote. 557 members who voted against granting the loan 234 were The Edinburgh branch declined to vote at all, stating that one 'should look at home first,' Leith inquired as to the security for the repayment of the loan, Glasgow (sixth branch) considered that when the loan was repaid the members should decide by vote what should be done with the money. On the other hand, seven English branches suggested that the money should be given instead of being lent.

In 1870 internationalism, as represented by the new ideal, once more was swept away by patriotism. On the eve of the war with Germany the Paris section of the International issued a protest and an appeal to the German working man. A mass meeting of working men at Brunswick, the headquarters of the German International, founded in 1869 under certain restrictions imposed by the law, sent the following reply: 'With deep sorrow we are forced to undergo a defensive war's as an unavoidable evil; but we call at the same time upon the whole German working class to render the recurrence of such an immense social misfortune impossible, by vindicating for the people themselves the power to decide on peace and war.' There must have been a Bismarck among the working men who drafted this reply.

Then came the crushing defeat of the French armies and the siege of Paris. The members of the International who were within the suffering city were unable to resist the flood of patriotic sentiment which for five months filled the hearts of two and a half millions with a sublime courage. And when the end came, the 'capitulard' replaced for the time being the capitalist as an object of hatred for the militant working man. One of the leaders of the International was among those who wanted to fight to the bitter end and wrote: 'We must arm against the Prussians first; against the bourgeoisie afterwards.' The Paris Committee of the International, too poor to support a daily or even a weekly paper, accepted the hospitality of the columns of La Lutte à Outrance, a title which is sadly wanting in international sympathy. Then in the terrible weeks of the Commune the Paris Committee of the International gave its adherence to the short-lived Commune Government; seventeen of its number were members of this Government and agreed to a manifesto which embodied communist doctrines in an appeal to humiliated patriotism and to hatred of those who had surrendered France to the Prussians. And yet, in September 1870, the French representative on the General Committee of the International in London, watching things from a distance, had written that the workmen ought to leave the 'vermine bourgeoise' to make peace with the

8 The italics are not in the original.

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Prussians and think only of their own organisation. A short time afterwards he recorded bitterly that many socialists were 'singing in chorus with the bourgeois and thinking only of their country.'

No ideal has yet succeeded, when tested by experience, in replacing patriotism, based on nationality, as the force producing the maximum of association of which mankind is capable. For of all the virtues patriotism remains that which is common to the greatest number of the human race, and is unequalled in the sacrifice of individual interests which it commands and obtains. There has always been a small minority in every nation, discontented, oppressed, or incapable of adapting themselves to the conditions of the nationality within which they exist. who have been prepared to seek the amelioration of their lot in association with a rival nationality. The nation which has allowed them to continue in its midst and has yet ignored their grievances has done so at the risk of its own existence. That has been one of the dangers ever present to the minds of statesmen. In its most elementary form it was expressed by Napoleon when he said: 'The workman without work is at the mercy of every intrigue; he can be incited to revolt; I fear insurrections caused by a want of bread; I would fear less a battle against 200,000 men.' But while there is no one, not a fool, so conservative as not to recognise and to endeavour to obviate that danger, political efforts directed to that object alone would tend to reduce to a minimum the fund of patriotism which it is necessary to maintain at the highest possible level if a nation is to attain its greatest development. All shades of politicians of intelligence so fully appreciate this now in Great Britain, rivalling one another in their schemes of social reform, that the point need not be laboured, and it is unnecessary to dwell on the absurdity of expecting any sense of patriotism among those whose life, under national conditions, can give them no reason to love their country.

But some of those who attempt to gauge the tendencies of the present without reference to the past see forces at work which will, they believe, obliterate national frontiers. In our own country this is to some extent due to the temporary reaction following as a natural result the movement to arrive at a still higher form of organisation by a closer association of the five nations of the British Empire. Those, however, who expect practical results from the recurrence of attempts to realise the dream of universal peace, overlook the fact that the spirit of strife actuates all classes at the present day to an extent unsurpassed in history. The working classes have declared war on capital and on the governments which afford protection to capital. Not a day

passes without a struggle between the forces on both sides. arrests, imprisonment, attacks on the police by the working classes, and counter attacks of the forces of law and order. It is rather in the belief that each side in the struggle that is going on represents interests which are common to all nations, that a tendency to internationalism is to be sought. Capital it is claimed has become cosmopolitan in its operations. And vet it is difficult to reconcile this line of argument with the fact that nation still wars against nation—that hardly a pamphlet is published in support of any opinion held by the working classes which does not maintain that these wars are instigated by and carried on in the interests of capital. Nevertheless the working classes of all nations regard capital as a common enemy.9 Will they, in their struggle against the common foe, succeed as they have never succeeded in the past in forming an association on a fighting basis which ignores the distinctions of nationality?

Until some willingness is shown by the working men of one country to make serious sacrifices on behalf of the working men of another, it will be difficult to offer tangible evidence of any new development in this direction. It has been shown how the German working class failed to take any serious step to prevent the war of 1870. On the 19th of February 1912, at the Congress of the French Socialist party, Mr. Keir Hardie, who was present, announced that within a month a million miners would come out on strike in Great Britain, and called upon the miners in other countries to come out in sympathy and thus prevent war. A slight movement which took place among the German miners is not claimed by anyone to have had any connexion with this suggestion. International action of the kind contemplated, that is to say positive action to forestall a possible move of the Government, would, on the part of groups of men, as of individuals, imply discipline. It is possible, it is indeed likely, that the working classes would take action to hamper any Government that embarked on a war of aggression. Bismarck had to stretch the art of diplomacy beyond the conventions sanctioned by history to persuade the working classes of Germany even in 1870 that the war was a 'defensive' one, and thus afforded a text for the reply of the Brunswick men already quoted. On the 1st of October 1911 the Confédération Générale du Travail in France called a special conference in view of the danger of war with Germany and the European complications threatened by the Turco-Italian war. This body decided to issue a circular to every trade union reminding them of the decision of the Confédération that 'workmen shall without delay reply to any

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⁹ 'Je crois que, dans l'état présent du monde, toute révolution nationale sera écrasée sous la coalition extérieure de la finance qui est bien, elle, internationale et sans patrie.'—C. A. Laisant, La Bataille Syndicaliste, April 26, 1912.

declaration of war by a revolutionary general strike.' The complete trade-union organisation was to be set in motion so that every trade unionist, every peasant and workman, men and women employés, should be given to understand that the declaration of war was in itself a signal to them to cease work immediately. But the discipline that alone could ensure the success of such a counter-move is entirely wanting in the autonomy, increasing rather than diminishing, which is the essential condition of all federations of trade unions. In Great Britain the fact that there had been no secret as to the approach of a strikethe actual date of its commencement was necessarily known some time beforehand—and that the Navy had been able to lay in large stocks of coal, would, at any rate in some measure, have nullified the effect of a general strike even if it had taken But until the day comes when autonomy has been developed into a new and more powerful instrument of common action than any yet known-a day which may be nearer than those who are wedded to the older forms of government suspect -until that day comes, nothing but the discipline which is foreign to the growth of autonomy can ensure the simultaneous action of the trade unions of even one country to bring about a general strike in the face of patriotism aroused to the highest pitch of activity.

How then could it be hoped that the still looser and more rarefied autonomy which unites the trade unions of different nations could under such circumstances stand the strain of a demand for concerted action? Those who believe that such an event is possible are either blinded by their hopes or ignorant of the elementary facts of the case. Many are people who have never left their own country and are carried away by theories which seek to prove that ethnological barriers are artificial. They beg the question when they assert that, because English and Scotch and Welsh trade unions of the same trade can act in common, there is no reason why British and French and German should not do The British group is capable of common action precisely because it represents component parts of one nation -the result of common interests, geographical position, and historical affinity—with one government; its spirit of unity is instinctive, and is the same as that which has created, in spite of differences of language more widespread than is generally realised, the bond of common nationality and common patriotism from (Incidentally it may be observed which flows common action. that it is one of the paradoxes proving the confusion of political thought in England that the advocates of internationalism in our own country are generally found among those who are devoting all their efforts to the establishment of a distinct nationality and a separate patriotism in Ireland.)

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But internationalism does not obtain many recruits among those who are intimately acquainted with foreign countries. The more one gets to know the French, for instance, the more one perceives that their success in action depends upon qualities possessed by neither the English nor the Germans, and that to demand of them the suppression of those qualities in favour of common action would be to condemn them to failure Take the recent miners' strike in Great Britain, which was deliberately planned and carefully organised for months in advance, the sinews of war slowly accumulated, and the very date of its commencement announced beforehand. That was the British way of doing things. The French simply could not act in this way. With them the sympathy which produces common action is not a stream of deep and calm resentment, but a flame that leaps and darts as it spreads onwards, bursting forth unexpectedly and not to be fired by a controlling force at a moment preordained. Nothing less than the stars fighting for the working classes in the most marvellous conjunction could produce a general strike simultaneously in the two nations.

At the end of August 1909 an International Conference was held in Paris under the auspices of the Confédération Générale du Travail. The Committee of the Confédération in their report to their own Congress in the following year stated that their representatives at this Conference had found themselves on many points in disagreement with their foreign comrades. 'Between the foreign trade-union tactics and ours there are great differences. We proceed in a totally different spirit to theirs.'10 Before an effective international confederation can be formed 'it is necessary that the foreign trade-union organisms should become absolutely autonomous like the French organism. Time alone and the events of the economic struggle can lead the foreign organisations to realise this necessity.' It is evident therefore that the most advanced French school does not regard common international action as more than a pious wish that may be realised in the future. With some justification its leaders consider that their organisations are in a further stage of development than those of, say, Great Britain and Germany. How indeed could it be otherwise when the French can look back a century and a quarter to a successful revolution, and for sixty years have enjoyed universal manhood suffrage? This points to one of the essential conditions to international action: an

¹º In 1907 one of the French Syndicalist leaders referred to 'le génie de notre classe ouvrière française, avec son sens aigu et supérieur, souverain, de l'action, sa nervosité ardente, tout ensemble primesautière et réflèchie, la réflexion étant rapide, ramassant dans le bref raccourci d'un instantané tous les éléments d'un problème, avec la sûreté et la rapidité de l'intuition qui, bien supérieure à l'analyse, ne laisse pas la volonté s'émousser dans les brumes d'une ratiocination infinie.' CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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ments rieure ation identical development, at a given moment, of corporate organisa-That brings us back, round the vicious circle from which there is no escaping, to the question of nationality. For even if it is granted that the path of progress is the same for all mankind. national differences have caused nations to move at varying rates

along that path.

The argument that the greater facilities for intercommunication which science has secured must tend to the unification of the human race is based on the postulate that material obstacles to intercourse are the chief cause of national divisions. Romans, with the most primitive means of transport, unified by force of arms a greater portion of Europe than any modern nation now possesses; and far distant self-governing peoples are to-day united by a common bond to Great Britain, while peoples close to her shore who were once her subjects are now merged in a foreign nation. And further, every great discovery of science applied to facilitating means of communication establishes new complications and new interests for the nation that adopts them, thus creating fresh causes of rivalry with other nations. Even in the presence of an appalling national disaster, when a great ship, the embodiment of all the latest discoveries of science applied to international communication, sinks in the ocean, the rivalry of nations is at work, before the traces of death have been removed, seeking to make profit from disaster for the shipping lines in which each is individually interested.

In short, the efforts towards internationalism that have been made in all ages under the influence of great ideals show no more signs of practical achievement to-day than at any former period; and it may be repeated that it is within each nation itself that the hopes of the working classes must be realised, and that consequently the maintenance of national independence is the first condition to their consummation. is indeed rare to find among the working classes representatives of any positive international tendency; but there does exist among them a tendency, not likely to be overlooked, which is

inspired by feelings and reason of a negative order.

The working classes believe that the governing classes have always acted against them in international accord, whether as aristocratic governments that combined against France at the time of the Revolution, or as capitalist governments of a later The address which the General Council of 'the International' issued to all members of the association on the 30th of May 1871, entitled 'The Civil War in France,' ascribes the suppression of the Commune to such a combination between the German and the French governing classes. 'Paris, however, was not to be defended without arming its working class, organising them into an effective force, and training their ranks by the war itself. But Paris armed was the revolution armed. A victory at Paris over the Prussian aggressor would have been a victory of the French workman over the French capitalist and his State parasites. In this conflict between national duty and class interest, the Government of National Defence did not hesitate one moment to turn into a Government of National Defection.' It then goes on to draw a picture of the French Government endeavouring to persuade the German army to put down the Commune, and of Bismarck urging the French Government on to the suppression of the working classes.

Documents such as this are published and soon forgotten, but their effect remains; they are the foundations on which is built that history, for long a legend recorded only in the hearts and minds of the working classes, but which is now beginning to be written from their point of view, to counteract the history of scholars and politicians which they regard as necessarily prejudiced in favour of the governing classes. Their internationalism is little more than a negative tendency towards a defensive international association of working-class interests. So long as they have reason to believe, or even think that they have reason to believe, that the governing classes will sink their patriotism and their nationality and combine to maintain their domination of society, so long the working classes will in self defence endeavour to organise themselves on similar international lines. negative tendency hitherto has never led the working classes to be false to their patriotism when it has been put to the ultimate test, and the impartial historian of the future will no doubt maintain that their record is at least as good in this respect as that of the governing classes. But virtue that has contemplated its own surrender is only half intact, and the patriotism that begins to draw refined distinctions between anti-nationalism, non-nationalism, and inter-nationalism, between offensive and defensive nationalism, has lost much of its strength.

That nation is most likely to see the 'emancipation' of its working classes which is able to pursue its social development in peace, secured by the strength of its patriotism against any fear of foreign invasion. But the nation or empire which allows discontent to develop in its midst, which throws the forces of the State automatically on to the side of capital in its struggle with labour, may have to depend for its defence on a revolutionary spirit similar to that which sent the half-starved French armies

conquering across Europe.

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SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF LORD CHESTERFIELD¹

II.

In September 1733 Chesterfield married Melusine von Schulenburg, the daughter of the Duchess of Kendal and George the First. 'She is described,' says Strachey in his Introduction to 'Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Son,' 'as amiable and accomplished, adjectives commonly applied in the eighteenth century to ladies about whom there is not much to say!' Indirectly she brought her husband 20,000l.

In the following letter Chesterfield tells of his marriage:

A Londres ce 14 Oct. V. S. 1733.

Voyez, Mon Cher ami, le pouvoir que votre example a sur moy; depuis que vous étes marié, Je n'ay pas été en repos, que Je ne le fusse aussi, et a la fin m'y voicy; menant une vie reglée et Domestique, et devenu le parfait modele des maris, en Angleterre, comme vous l'étes dans les sept Provinces unies. Pour que la conformité entre nous soit encore plus parfaitte, et pour resserrer de plus en plus (comme disent les Princes); les noeuds de notre ancienne amitié Je travaille actuellement de toute ma force a_faire une petite Epouse legitime, pour Monsieur votre fils legitime, de sorte que Notre Alliance sera parfaitte moyennant ces doubles marriages.

Du Marriage a la guerre, la transition est peut etre assez naturelle; Et la voicy il me semble dans toutes les formes, et meme une guerre qui a la mine de durér assez longtemps; Car Je croy qu'il faudra du tems a L'Empereur pour regagner, ce que selon les apparences il perdra en Italie cette année.

Et de l'humeur dont il est, plutot que de cedér par traitté un pouce de terre en Italie, il se fera rossér, Jusqua ce que les puissances maritimes seront obligéz de venir a son secours pour conserver L'Equilibre de L'Europe. La France paroit bien revenuë de son assoupissement, et Louis Quinze commence a parlér dans le Style de Louis Quatorze. Vous autres Messieurs vous avez fait selon moy bien sagement, de ne vous être pas precipitéz dans tout ce brouillamini; Mais au contraire de vous être assuréz le Loisir, moyennant votre Neutralité, de voir un peu le pli que prendront les Affaires, et de vous y mêsler seulement quand il y ira de vos interéts, et pas plutôt. Notre Ministère pourtant se dechaine contre cette démarche, et assurent L'Empereur qu'ils auroient faits des merveilles pour luy, si votre Neutralité, ne leur eut lié les mains; Enfin Horace Walpole le frere du Chevalier Walpole, sera chez vous en peu de Jours, pour remediér a tout cela. Et il vous proposera de prendre des engagemens pour agir conjointement avec nous L'Année prochaine, c'est là la Commission dont il est

The first instalment of letters appeared in the August number of this Review.

chargé aupres du Pensionnaire et du Greffier, Mais si Je vous connois Je croy qu'il aura de la peine a y reussir. Parceque premierement, selon touttes les apparences, vous voudrez voir un peu ce qui se fera cette année, avant que de prendre des engagemens pour L'Année qui vient; et en second lieu vous nignorez pas assez les affaires de ce païs içy, pour ne pas scavoir. que dans la situation presente de nos Affaires Domestiques, il n'y a gueres d'apparences que ce Ministère icy puisse subsister six mois; Mais qu'il est totalement impossible qu'il puisse subsister apres le choix du Nouveau Parliament, dont une grande Majorité, leur sera tres certainement contraire, tant les esprits de toutte la Nation sont aigus contre eux. de sorte que Je doute fort que vous voulez prendre des engagemens pour L'Année prochaine avec un Ministère qui vraysemblablement ne durera pas celle çy. d'autant plus que vous scavez par experience, le changement general de Système, que cause un changement de Ministère chez Nous. On est las icy, d'avoir été depuis plusieurs années, les premiers a nous fourrér dans touttes les brouilleries de L'Europe, a en payér les fraix, et a nous chargér, pour les terminer, de tous les engagemens onereux, et des garanties dangereuses et difficiles, de quasi touttes les pretensions, de tous les Princes de L'Univers.

Nous attendons le Prince d'Orange bientôt icy, mais nous ne le retiendrons pas longtems, car il doit s'en retourner dix Jours apres son Marriage; il vous rammenera une Princesse Laquelle si Je ne me trompe vous plaira beaucoup; Elle a en verité beaucoup d'esprit, et touttes les bonnes qualitéz qu'on peut souhaitter; C'est surement un bon parti pour le Prince, mais il (est) sur aussi qu'il la prend a des conditions bien dures. Pour nous autres particuliers nous faisons mieux nos petits marriages; et nous nous assurons de L'utile, aussi bien que du doux. Adieu Mon Cher ami, soyez persuadé, qu'il n'y a pas au monde un homme qui vous aime et

qui vous honore plus que

CHESTERFIELD.

The Government could hardly have suspected Lord Chesterfield of treasonable designs, but for some reason or other they took more interest in his correspondence than was agreeable to him. He writes in November 1734:

J'ai differé de vous remerciér de votre lettre du 28 Octbre jusques a ce que je le pusse faire en toutte sureté, Occasion que j'ay a la fin trouvé par le moyen d'une des personnes de la suitte de la Princesse Royale, car il est vray qu'on ouvre assez Volontiers a la Poste, les lettres qui me sont addressez, ou que j'addresse aux autres. Vous m'avez fait un tres sensible plaisir en m'assurant dans vôtre derniere que vous me conservez bien encoré quelque place dans votre souvenir et votre amitié, je vous jure que j'en connois tout le prix, et que je tacheray toujours de le meritér. A L'Avenir pour que je ne manque plus des lettres dont vous voulez bien m'honorér, je vous envoye cette Addresse, moyennant laquelle elles me seront rendues en toutte sureté, et meme sans étre ouvertes.

/To Mrs. Martin at the Smyrna Coffee House in Pall Mall,

+ London / +

et mettre sur le couvert une croix comme cela + +

It is satisfactory to know that the new method of addressing letters proved successful.

He is very despondent about political matters.

Voicy une Conjoncture bien delicate et bien Epineuse, La Maison d'Autriche a deux doigts de sa perte, et celle de Bourbon, a un point de

Grandeur et de Succés, qui ne laisse pas que d'etre tres redoubtable; L'Empereur est perdu sans le secours des puissances maritimes, et les puissances maritimes sont perduës si elles le luy donnent, et peut etre dans la suitte perdues si elles ne le luy donnent pas. Mais enfin des deux mauvais partis, je suis assez de votre sentiment, que celuy de la Neutralité, test le moins mauvais, au moins de cette maniere nous ne serons mangéz que les dernieres.

The English Ministry seems to have been playing fast and loose with the Powers. After explaining that England was not in a position to declare war against France, Chesterfield, in a long letter, says:

Car je scay aussi de science certaine qu'en meme temps qu'ils font les bons Valets aupres de L'Empereur et qu'ils pestent contre votre Neutralité, Ils jurent leur grand Dieu, a la France et a L'Espagne, qu'ils ne veulent pas entrer en jeu. . . .

Pardonnez moy, Mon Cher ami de vous avoir ennuyé si longtems, par des raisonnements peut étre assez biscornuës, mais vous scavez que je me croy en droit de vous les jetter a la tête, je pense avec vous tout haut, et depuis que je ne suis plus dans les Affaires, il se peut bien que j'y pense fort mal, car il est sur que j'y pense fort peu. Je pense beaucoup plus aux douceurs d'une vie particuliere, que je tache de rendre aussi peu ennuyeuse qu'il m'est possible, par la lecture, et le commerce de quelques amis; parmi ces douceurs, le souvenir d'un Ami absent fait comme vous, ne m'est pas des moins sensibles, permettez moy que je le reveille de tems en temps, en vous reiterant les assurances, de L'estime et de L'attachement avec lesquels je seray tant que je vivray

Votre tres fidele et tres zélé Serviteur,

CHESTERFIELD.

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Vous prieray je de faire bien mes complimens a Madame.

In a letter dated December 27, 1734, Chesterfield has something to say concerning the extravagance of the Ministers.

Nos Ministres icy fondent touttes leurs esperances dans ce nouveau Parlement, sur les bruits qu'il font repandre d'une paix prochaine, en attendant pourtant, ils demanderont plus de quatre millions sterlin pour le service courant de cette année, ce qui a un million de pres, est autant qu'on a payé dans le plus fort de la derniere Guerre. Ils auroient fort souhaitté que vous eussiez fait quelque augmentation cette Année pour Autorizer par votre exemple celle qu'ils ont fait içy, et qui est aussi couteuse qu'inutile.

Je ne vois pas que la mort du Roy de Prusse, doivent [sic] naturellement causer aucun grand changement; Le Nouveau Roy 2 selon touttes les Apparences marchera dans les traces de son Pere (a sa Brutalité pres, car on dit qu'il est bon) il a les mêmes interets, et Bergues et Juliers n'auront pas moins d'appas pour luy qu'ils n'ont eu pour son Pere, et par consequent produiront les memes ménagements.

Chesterfield then goes on to discuss an event which had apparently caused no little stir in the social world of the Hague.

² Frederick the Great. He did not, of course, succeed his father, Frederick William, until more than five years later.

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Je suis bien surpris, et bien faché de L'avanture du Wallgraeff, quoyque Franchement je luy ay toujours remarqué une certaine Bizarrerie, qui tenoit un peu de la Folie. Je ne scay laquelle seroit la plus grande folie des deux, de renoncér a son païs, et a ses amis, pour faire le Catholique, ou L'amoureux. Depuis quelque tems deja le Monde a été trop eclairé, pour qu'on aye fait le Chevalier errant en Religion ou en Amour; et L'on se contente et du Culte, et des femmes de son païs. Je plains sa famille qui en L'un ou L'autre cas en souffrira. Il me semble qu'il auroit pu bien se passer d'envoyer chercher sa femme, qui ne peut y etre que de trop, que ce soit religion ou que ce soit Amour.

In another letter Chesterfield returns to the Waldgrave:

J'admire la conversion du Wallgraef par le moyen d'une personne qu'on dit est aussi peu belle que sainte. Sa chute en est d'autant plus dangereuse car si c'eut été la beauté qui eut opéré sa conversion, on auroit pu croire que la beauté une fois passée, L'erreur eut cessée en meme tems, mais il n'y a pas de retour d'une passion fondée sur la Laideur.

The marriage of the Prince of Orange and the Princess Royal, in the arranging of which Chesterfield had a share, does not seem to have been an ideal one for the lady; at any rate she wished to return to England more often than her father thought right or fitting.

Je ne scay que vous dire par rapport aux voyages de la Princesse Royale, on en a été autant surpris icy que vous pouviez l'etre en Hollande... Mais le Roy a voulu absolument qu'elle alla retrouver son Mary. Il est certain qu'elle ne se plait pas trop chez vous, elle a de la Hauteur, vous en avez aussi, et cela ne s'accorde pas.

Le Prince gagne-t-il du Terrain chez vous, et est ce parce que vous le craignez, ou parce que vous ne le craignez pas, que vous autres Republicains,

vous vous adoucissez a son egard?

Chesterfield has something to say on the relative strength of the parties in Parliament (14th February 1735).

Il y a eu aujourdhuy long debat a la Chambre basse sur L'augmentation des troupes, où la Cour ne l'a emporté que de cinquante trois voix, et cela meme par L'absence d'une trentaine de Membres de L'opposition, qui etoient ou malades ou a la campagne. Ceux de la Cour ont insisté sur cette augmentation comme necessaire pour donnér du poids au plan; a quoy on a repondu que cette augmentation de huit mille hommes etoit ou trop, ou trop peu, en cas de guerre c'etoit trop peu, en cas de paix c'etoit trop, a quoy on a ajouté que votre Republique, qu'on regardait comme tres sage n'avoit pas augmenté un homme, et qu'on esperoit que L'Angleterre, ne s'embarqueroit pas dans une guerre que conjointement avec vous autres. Sur cet article la Cour n'a pas voulue se declarér, mais on scait fort bien qu'elle ne veut ni n'ose entamér une guerre sans vous. Et je suis tres convaincu, qu'on ne payeroit pas icy les taxes necessaires pour faire la guerre, si vous n'etes point de la partie. Ce sont içy des faits que les parties belligerentes n'ignorent nullement, et sans doute elles prendront leurs mesures sur ce pied la. La force du parti opposé dans la chambre basse, donne aussi a penser a nos Ministres et les fera aller Bride en main; ils etoient aujourdhuy deux cents et huit, outre les trente, qui etoient absens, pt.

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ils ens, au lieu qu'au commencement du dernier parlement, L'opposition n'étoit que de quatre vingt cinq et s'est accru jusqua cent quatre vingt, si bien que par cette regle, qui ne manque que rarement, Le parti opposé dans ce Parlement icy deviendra bien tôt la Majorité. . . .

Le Conte qu'on vous a mandé de mes dames, est en partie vray, La Reine les rencontra sur le grand chemin et fit arreter son Carosse pour parlér a la Duchesse de Kendall; qui alla a la Cour en particulier deux jours apres, où elle n'avoit pas été d'un an et demi auparavant. Mais pour Madame de Chesterfield elle n'y est point allée, et n'y va pas. Le But de S.M. etoit de faire soupçonner que j'etois en pourparlér avec elle par le moyen de la Duchesse, et par consequent donnér de la jalousie, mais cela n'a pas reussi.

In August Chesterfield writes again, saying that he has been so busy running about the country, that he has hardly stopped long enough in any one place to write a letter thence.

D'ailleurs, qu'occupé malheureusement dans ma province par des fermiers et des païsans, et par des details de campagne que j'entends gueres, et que j'aime encore moins, je n'aurois pu tout au plus vous marquér que le prix des denrées et des bestiaux. Mais me voicy de retour a Londres, et vous n'en serez pas quitte a si bon marché.

Now follows a little bit of gossip.

Je suis veritablement faché de la deroute generale de la famille de Welderen, car selon ce que j'apprends le Comte ne la fera pas longue non plus. Je souhaitte toujours beaucoup d'especes a ceux qui les font circulér, ce que cette famille la ne manquerait pas de faire. Je suis tout edifié de la devotion de Tilie, qui travaille a son salut dans le couvent, j'espere qu'elle a eu autant de prudence a choisir son couvent, qu'une Dame de Condition a Paris en a euë en dernier lieu; qui pour avoir menée une vie un peu trop gaillarde, receut les ordres de la Cour de se retirér dans un Couvent, elle ne demanda pour toutte grace, que celle de choisir son Couvent, ce qui luy etant accordé elle choisit celuy des Cordeliers.⁴

War between France and Austria seems imminent, and it is France, of course, of whom Europe is afraid.

J'avoue que le dangér est tres grand, et même assez proche etant tres persuadé (quelques belles paroles que la France puisse donnér) qu'elle ne s'arretera pas en si belle carriere; Elle touche au moment qu'elle a tant souhaittée depuis des siecles, de ruiner la puissance de la Maison d'Autriche sa rivale, et il n'y a pas d'apparence que par un pur esprit de Moderation, elle s'en desistera, sur tout dans un tems, ou elle scait bien que les puissances maritimes ne sont pas en si bon état de s'y opposer, qu'elles pourroient L'étre a L'Avenir. Que faire donc direz-vous? Voila ce que je ne vous diray point, car je ne scay point; je regarde la paix comme totalement impossible, et la guerre comme ne l'etant gueres moins. Vous scavez bien mieux que moy les raisons pourquoy la guerre vous est presqu'impossible, obéréz comme vous l'étes, et les raisons pourquoy nous ne pouvons pas la soutenir mieux que vous sont de notorité publique; c'est a dire que nous sommes egalement endettéz a present comme nous L'etions a la fin de la derniere guerre, et

Franciscan friars.

³ It must be borne in mind that the French word couvent applies equally to convent and monastery.

cela par un tissu de negotiations depuis vingt ans, egalement ridicules, et ceia par un cissa de liegoratione de contraires L'une a L'autre, qui nous ont toujours rendus une moitié de L'Europe enemie, et qui par consequence nous ont obligéz de faire touttes les depenses d'une guerre, pendant que nous ne jouissions que du simple nom de la paix. . . .

Mais voicy assez de la Politique, qui ressemble a cette heure a la Metaphysique, plus on y avance, plus on s'y perd, et il faut tout esperér des causes

occultes.

Vous ne me dites rien de certaines nouvelles particulieres, dans lesquelles je m'interesse plus que dans les publiques, c'est a dire celles qui vous regardent; vous ne me dites mot du Jeune état general, en qui pourtant je prends beaucoup de part; vous ne me dites pas non plus s'il est accompagné d'un bon nombre de freres ou de soeurs, dequoy je ne doute pourtant nullement. . .

Adieu, Mon Cher ami, que ce soit guerre ou paix, treve, armistice ou telle autre situation qu'il plaira aux politiques de nous donner, je me declare, offensivement, et defensivement, pour toujours et contre tous

Votre tres fidele, et tres humble serviteur.

Chesterfield has certainly a charming way of ending his letters. There is a postscript to this one.

On travaille icy de toutte force a retablir la paix entre L'Espagne et le Portugal, ce qui feroit croire, qu'ils n'ont aucune intention de faire la Guerre, puisque dans ce cas, leur differend seroit une circonstance a cherir et a cultivér. Mais pourtant comme il se sont employez si utilement il y a peu d'années, a reunir la France et l'Espagne, je ne reponds plus de rien.

In the next letter, however, dated 'a Londres ce 2d. Septbre V.S. 1735,' he writes very fully on the political situation, Baron Torck having evidently written to him, asking for his views on things in general.

Mais enfin puisque vous voulez scavoir mes Idees quelles qu'elles soyent,

les Voicy.

Je suis tres persuadé que la France ne fera pas difficulté d'accorder un armistice, car questce qu'elle y peut perdre? Toutte L'Italie est deja enlevée a L'Empereur; et en Allemagne un Armistice le ruine, tout autant qu'une guerre. Je ne doute nullement aussi que la France ne consente negocier tout l'hyvér une paix generale, et n'y paroisse meme fort portée; Mais je suis en même temps tres convaincu, que reellement elle ne songe 3 rien moins qu'a la paix, et que touttes ces belles paroles, ne tendent qu'a amusér les puissances qui pourroient autrement prendre L'allarme, et 50 declarér pour L'Empr. Pour jugér naturellement ce qu'un autre fera, je croy qu'il faut se mettre a sa place, et pensér ce qu'on y feroit soy même. Or si vous etiez premier Minstre en France arreteriez vous en si belle carriere et ne profiteriez vous pas d'une si belle occasion de ruiner entierement la Maison d'Autriche dans le tems qu'elle n'est point soutenuë par aucun de ses anciens Alliéz? Et vous ne declariez vous pas plutot garand du Traitté de Westphalie, formér un parti dans L'Empire, en faire examiner les griefs, et sous ce pretexte, faire dire un Roy des Romains a votre gout? Moyennant quoy, et le demembrement des Etats de la Maison d'Autriche, qui s'ensuivroit naturellement, vous ne laisseriez point dans L'Europe une

⁵ Chesterfield's pet name for his friend's eldest son.

totalité de puissance, qui pourroit vous tenir tête pour un mois seulement.

Mais vous me direz, que de telles demarches jetteroient L'allarme parmi

touttes les autres puissances, et les porteroient immediatement au secours de

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L'Empereur; j'en conviens; Mais premierement il faut du tems pour faire ces alliances, et les preparatifs necessaires, pour leur donner leur effét: Et la France employera ce tems la, a considérér, si cette partie formée contre elle est assez forte ou non, si elle doit s'arréter; bien sure, qu'en tout cas, elle pourra faire la paix alors, a des conditions tout aussi avantageuses, qu'elle la pourroit faire a present. Mais de croire que la France veuille s'arretér, avant que de voir, une telle partie liée contre elle, et en etat d'agir, il faut avoir un degré de foy, qu'en verité je n'ay pas. Ce que je dis icy, ne porte pas, pour L'augmentation de troupes qu'on vous presse de faire, au contraire je croy que vous auriez tort, d'ajouter un seul homme, a moins que ce ne fût en consequence d'un plan solide, et fondé sur des puissantes alliances, et surtout avec le Roy de Prusse; qu'on pourroit certainement faire entrér dans un tel plan, moyennant quelques avantages qu'on pourroit luy assurér par rapport a Bergues et Juliers, et dont il pourroit, et meme je croy, voudroit vous dédomagér en votre particulier, par la cession de quelque chose a votre convenance, comme la haute Gueldres, ou quelque autre morceau. Sans un tel fondement, vous ne feriez qu'irriter, par votre augmentation, sans être en etat de vous deffendre. Mais qu'a la fin il faudra en venir a un tel plan, pour arrêtér (s'il ne sera pas même alors trop tard) les progrez de la France, c'est de quoy je suis tres persuadé.

Les inimitiez personelles et Domestiques, entre notre Cour et celle de Prusse, sont causes que nous ne voulons pas nous prétér, a aucuns pourparlers avec ce Roy la, ce qui est bien facheux dans la conjoncture presente, vu qu'il seroit un parti bien necessaire, a toutte alliance qu'on voudroit formér, surtout par rapport a vous autres, qu'il environne en quelque facon.

Les esperances dont quel qu'uns semblent se flatter que les Alliez se brouilleront entre eux, me paroissent les esperances du monde les plus frivoles. A propos de quoy se brouilleroient ils? La France ne demande rien pour elle même en Italie, il luy suffit que L'Empereur L'aye perdu; et pour le Roy de Sardaigne il faut necessairement qu'il se contente, de ce que la France et L'Espagne voudront luy donnér. Car a cette heure il depend absolument de ces deux Couronnes, lesquelles je considere comme unies pour longtems.

Autrefois pendant que L'Empereur possedait le reste de L'Italie, le Roy de Sardaigne pouvoit opter quel parti il vouloit prendre, ayant la France a portée pour L'appuyér contre L'Empereur, ou L'Empereur pour L'appuyér contre la France.

Mais a present il seroit bien tot ecrasé, entre la France et L'Espagne, s'il s'avisoit de pendre un parti, qui leur fut desagreable. Grand avantage que celuy cy pour la France, qui n'a plus rien a craindre comme autrefois, du coté du Dauphiné et de Provence.

Quand je dis que je regarde L'Espagne et la France, comme unies pour longtems, c'est que je ne vois rien qui puisse faire naitre aucun differend entre eux. Au contraire je vois de bonnes raisons pour leur Union. Les Anciennes Sources de querelles entre ces deux Couronnes, ne subsistent plus aujourd'huy; c'etoit pendant que L'Espagne appartenoit a la Maison d'Autriche, que ce que la France pouvoit luy enlever, soit en Italie, soit en Flandres, etoit autant de pris sur L'Ennemi; Mais a present le cas est si fort contraire, que c'est sur la France, que L'Espagne, ou Don Carlos doit compter pour leur conserver, leur acquisition d'Italie, que touttes les autres

puissances de L'Europe, aimeroient mieux, peutetre, revoir entre les mains de L'Empereur, et que la France est la seule interêssée qu'elle n'y retombe pas.

Writing again from London on the 26th of December of this same year (1735) Chesterfield wishes his friend the compliments of the season, and goes on to say:

Je vous ecris a present, pas pour vous lâchér un compliment a cette occasion, mais pour vous dire une verité toutte simple. C'est que je vous souhaitte du fond de mon coeur une bonne et heureuse nouvelle année, suivie de tel nombre d'autres que vous souhaittez vous même; qu'elles soient touttes aussi heureuses que vous les meritez, je seray content. Nous sommes presque toujours, les causes de nos propres malheurs, ou par la mechanceté du coeur, ou par le travers de L'esprit et comme vous n'avez rien a craindre de ces quartiers la, il ne me reste qu'a vous souhaitter de la santé, le bonheur le plus essentiel de la vie, et peut étre le seul, qui ne depend pas de nous mêmes.

Voicy donc une Paix, et une paix inopinée, je croy pourtant qu'elle n'en est pas moins la bien venuë chez vous, car vous avez beau dire, Mais si la guerre avoit encore durée, il vous auroit fallu y entrér bon gré ou mal gré.

This was the peace proclaimed by the Third Treaty of Vienna, which ended the war of the Polish Succession.

Waged in the first instance between France and Austria on behalf of their respective nominees, Stanislaus Leszczynski and Augustus the Third, Elector of Saxony, to the Polish throne, this war seems to have embroiled all Europe. Eventually Stanislaus renounced his claim to Poland, and received as compensation the Duchy of Bar, with the promise of Lorraine for his lifetime. For the fulfilment of this promise he had to wait some two years, the Duke of Lorraine succeeding the Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1737. France, on the death of Stanislaus, was to take possession of Bar and Lorraine.

The Emperor had the satisfaction of seeing his candidate firmly established on the throne of Poland; of getting back some of the Italian territory which he had lost; and of receiving from both Louis the Fifteenth and Augustus the Third the assurance

that they would guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction.

There were sundry other changes in the map of Europe, the most notable being the founding of the Kingdom of the Two

Sicilies, with Don Carlos as King.

There is a cessation of the correspondence for nearly three years; then in September 1738 Chesterfield writes again, playfully ascribing his friend's silence to the fact that he had been travelling about in his 'Empire.'

Je commence aussi demain un voyage a Bath, mais pour une cause fort differente, et pour laquelle j'espere que vous n'aurez jamais besoin de faire un voyage; je veus dire pour le retablissement de ma santé, qui depuis deux mois a été fort derangée, et ces eaux me remettent ordinairement pour le reste

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de l'année. Mes migraines et mes Vertiges ne me quittent jamais pour longtems de sorte que d'esespérant de faire une paix solide avec eux, je me contente de suspensions et d'armistices, par le moyen des expédiens.

The peace of 1735 did not last long, and Chesterfield writes in this same letter:

Il me paroit que les affaires de L'Empereur vont de mal en pis. . . . Croyez vous veritablement qu'il vend le Luxembourg a la France? il me semble que vous ne devriez pas étre indifferens sur cet Article. La France gagne tous les jours a petit bruit, et L'Empereur perd, sans qu'on s'en allarme, pour moy je regarde deja la France comme la Maitresse de L'Europe, et de plus, le chapitre des accidens est encore en sa faveur, comme la mort de L'Empereur ou de L'Electeur Palatin. L'une ou l'autre, luy fournira une occasion d'agir, et sans doute avec succéz, car je ne vois aucune puissance de L'Europe, en etat de s'y opposér. . . .

Mes respects a Madame Torck, et a mon petit etat general.

Another-long silence, and then in March 1741 Chesterfield writes again to Baron Torck, who had given to some Dutchman, just then going to London, a letter of introduction to his old friend.

a Londres ce 24ieme Mars V.S. 1741.

Mon Cher ami,—Monsieur Vanderhoop, ne pouvoit pas se recommandér a moy plus efficacement, qu'en m'approchant, comme il a fait, une lettre de votre part; qui m'a fait un plaisir proportionné au regret que j'avois auparavant, de n'en avoir pas receu, depuis si longtems. Que ce soit paresse, affaires, ou oubly meme, qui a causé votre silence, je vous le pardonne tout, en faveur d'un repentir, qui m'a donné une si veritable joye. Et je vous recois a bras ouverts comme L'enfant prodigue, qui fut plus fêtoyé, que celuy qui n'avoit pas péché. Serieusement je sens un si veritable plaisir au renouëment de notre commerce, que je vois bien que je vous aime même plus que je ne croyais, et c'est beaucoup dire que cela.

En s'addressant a un Etat General, il y auroit de L'impropriété a ne pas crachér un peu de Politique, quoyque je n'en soye gueres au fait, ma situation ne m'y menant point, et mon inclination encore moins; Mais la Scène que je ne vois que de loin, me paroit assez triste, je vois L'ancien Systeme de L'Europe totalement reaversée; La Maison d'Autriche ruinée et La France presque sans coup férir, Maitresse de L'Europe. Chacun semble convenir du fait, Mais chacun en rejette la faute, sur son voisin, Nos Messieurs icy disent, que peut on faire, Les Hollandais ne veulent pas agir, et que pouvons nous faire sans eux? Peut etre que vous dites la meme chose de vôtre coté des Anglois; Mais tant y a qu'en attendant, il n'y aura plus en Europe de Contre poix a La France; car au bout du compte, quelque fiere et mal conseillée, qu'aye pu étre la Maison d'Autriche en dernier lieu, c'etoit pourtant notre principal boulevart, contre celle de Bourbon; et quand elle sera demembrée comme je L'envisage bientôt il sera bien difficile, pour ne pas dire impossible, de combinér tant de parties separées, dans un tout, pour s'opposér a la France. Et nous payerons bien chér a mon avis, la paix, si nous L'achettons aux depens de la Reine d'Hongrie. toujours éte Imperialiste, etant elévé dans ce Systeme pendant qu'il etoit a la mode, et j'ay toujours considéré chaque atteinte qu'on y donnoit, comme une acheminement a notre perte. La demarche inopinée qu'a fait le Roy de Prusse, a étée bien facheuse dans cette Conjoncture, et il auroit pu en

⁶ Frederick the Great's invasion of Silesia.

prenant un parti tout opposé, et en se declarant pour la Liberté de L'Europe, jouér un tres grand Rôle, et avoir acquis une Gloire tres solide, et même a la longue, plus conforme a ses veritables interets; du moins plus conforme a un Anti-Machiavel. Ce Gaillard lu [? là] sera bien incommode, ou je me trompe, et je suis faché qu'il est Votre Voisin de si pres.

After several pages devoted to politics, Chesterfield concludes his letter with more private matter.

Selon ce que vous me marquez, les plaisirs ne sont pas bien vifs a la Haye, elle a perdu a la deroute de la Maison de Welderen; je plains cette famille, qui accoutumée depuis si longtems, au grand monde, ne s'accommodera gueres de la retraitte. Quoyqu'a un certain age le goût de la dissipation passe ordinairement; au moins cela m'est arrivé a moy; et je ne demande plus que le repos, accompagné de la santé; Mais pour ce dernier Article je n'en ay gueres; Et j'ay été si Mal tout cet hyver, que je croyois que la piece alloit finir; je suis un peu remis a present, et on m'assure que je me retabliray tout a fait. Il faut voir, pour la mort, je ne la souhaitte ni ne la crains, Mais pour la santé pendant qu'on est dans ce monde, c'est ce qu'il y a de plus precieux; La Votre j'espere est parfaitte, comme aussi celle de Madame, et du petit Etat General, que je saluë de tout mon coeur.

The correspondence languishes for another three years, and is resumed in September 1744. Chesterfield finds the political situation very critical. Charles the Sixth had died in 1740, and Charles Albert of Bavaria had been elected Emperor early in 1742, so the Empire and Austria were no longer synonymous terms. All Europe was ablaze, the flame having been kindled in the first instance by the ambition of Frederick the Great.

'Depuis longtems j'ay trouvé notre situation facheuse, et je n'en ay jamais espéré une bonne fin. Mais, bon Dieu! où en sommes nous a present? Quel surcroit de forces, L'alliance de Frankfort ne nous oppose t-elle point? La partie contre nous, est a present, selon moy irresistible; et c'est par la sagesse seule, et non par les armes, que nous pouvons nous tirer d'affaire. Mais cette sagesse, ou est elle? il est assez clair qu'elle n'est point chez nous; Si elle est chez vous, employez la sans perdre du tems, et en bons Voisins et alliez, faittes en sorte que nous en profitions un peu. Je m'explique, En confiance s'entend, car avec vous je pense Milord Carteret, pour acquerir la faveur du Roy, flatte le penchant naturel, mais malheureux, qu'il a pour ses etats d'Hannovre; et luy fait envisagér au moyen de la guerre, et aux depens de L'Angleterre, de grandes acquisitions pour son Electorat. La Reine d'Hongrie encourage ces Idées, et promit tout de son coté pour obtenir tout du notre; dans l'illusion qu'elle se fait, que l'argent d'Angleterre, joint a ses forces à elle, est capable non seulement de la retablir, mais de la dedomagér et meme de L'aggrandir. Chose impossible. Sur ce faux principe nous avons rejetté comme des fous le traitté de Harque, et comme plus fous encore, conclu celuy de Worms, par lequel nous nous obligeons a une guerre, et a des subsides eternels.

Cette fausse demarche a euë les suites qu'elle devoit naturellement avoir, a donnée L'allarme aux Princes de L'Empire, surtout au Roy de Prusse,

^{&#}x27; Frederick's book Anti-Machiavel was published anonymously in the autumn of 1740...

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qui voyoit bien qu'on luy en vouloit, et a produit le traitté de Frankfort du 22^{ieme} Mai.

The Union of Frankfort was an alliance formed by the Emperor (Charles Albert of Bavaria), several of the German Princes, France, and Prussia. This strong coalition arrayed against England and Austria naturally alarmed the English Ministers, and in 1744 Chesterfield was sent to the Hague on an important mission. His duty, as he tells us himself in one of his letters to his son, was to 'engage the Dutch to come roundly into the war and to stipulate their quotas of troops, &c.'

The French on their side sent the Abbé de la Ville to try

and persuade the States-General to remain neutral.

Chesterfield was successful, and the Dutch joined England. He writes one letter from the Hague in 1745, urging upon Baron Torck the same reasons that he had already given to the Dutch Ministers.

Curiously enough, he only once mentions the '45, and that merely incidentally. Writing from Dublin on the 31st of Decembe (the year is not given, but presumably it belongs to this same year), he discusses the difficulty of finding a general for the next Continental campaign.

A Dublin ce 31 Dec. V.S.

Mon Cher Ami,-J'accuse a la fois vos deux lettres que j'ay receu bientôt L'une apres l'autre, et je regrette celles que les Francois m'ont enlevéz. Par rapport a la premiere je suis entierement de votre sentiment, et je croy qu'on ne pourroit pas mieux faire que de prendre le Prince Guillaume pour General la campagne prochaine, si pourtant campagne y a. J'y entrevois pourtant des difficultéz, chez vous, aussi bien que chez nous. Que ferez vous de votre Prince Waldeck, que vôtre parti Antistadthouderien a erigé contre le Prince d'Orange, et qu'il ne voudra pas abaissér? Et comment ajusterions nous le commandement entre Notre Duc et le Prince Guillaume, que ne voudroit point se contentér d'etre ad Latus. Et il nous seroit impossible de donner au Duc un commandement subordonné. Mais a propos de Campagne, Comment la ferons nous et comment la ferez vous du tout? Nous avons une rebellion dans notre sein, repoussée a la verité, mais nullement eteinte; Nous sommes menacéz tous les Jours d'une invasion; où est le moyen donc d'envoyer des troupes en Flandres? et toute la Rhetorique de Monsieur de Boterlaer [? Bokelaer] ne pourra pas nous persuadér de nous degarnir chez nous, pendant que se dangér dure.

Chesterfield tells his friend nothing about his Viceroyalty in Ireland, which is disappointing; but continues to discuss the situation on the Continent at great length. The following letter is dated London, the 24th of June. There is no year given, but from internal evidence it would appear that it was also written in 1745.

Le coup vient de manquér où nous le croyions le plus sure. Les forces combinées de L'Autriche et de la Saxe destinées pour l'object favori, 8

^{*} Presumably that of regaining Silesia from Frederick.

et par consequent les meillures, sont battues, mais battues dans les formes par L'armée Prussienne, inferieure disoit on, en nombre et en discipline, et composée de gens forcés, et qui n'attendoient que le moment pour désértér.

L'Electeur de Baviere ne veut nous vendre son secours qu'a un prix anquel il est impossible de L'achettér; et celuy de Saxe intimidé en dernier lieu, et toujours faux comme un vieux jetton, traine surement quelque chose avec la France. La Russie dit tout nét qu'elle ne veut pas agir directm^t ni indirectement contre le Roy de Prusse; mais a la verité moyennant des subsides enormes, nous offre des troupes pour la Flandre, ou pour le bas Rhin, qui pourroient peut être y arrivér dans un an d'icy.

Je ne dis rien de la Flandre, ou notre armée n'est precisement que ce qu'il faut pour être un temoin peu accredité des conquêtes que La France

jugera a propos d'y faire. Voicy au vray notre situation.

And so bad does Chesterfield hold that 'situation' to be, that he urges the advisability of coming to terms with Frederick on the basis of the Treaty of Breslau, which gave him Silesia.

Bref, je croy que la neutralité du Roy de Pruse a present, vaut bien la garantie des Puissances Maritimes pour le traitté de Breslau; et apres tout ce que nous avons faits pour la Reine d'Hongrie, il me semble que nous sommes en droit, de L'exiger d'elle, pour son salut aussi bien que pour la nôtre. Mais tout cecy entre nous.

Pour la paix, je la tiens absolument et egalement necessaire pour vous et pour nous. . . . Or je ne voy aucune maniere de portér la France a une paix raisonnable, qu'en lui montrant par cet accommodement avec

la Prusse; une egalité ou même une superiorité de Forces.

It is interesting to compare with this letter another, and to all appearance an earlier one, in which Chesterfield says:

Nous sommes entréz dans une guerre, uniquement par des vuës particulieres, et sans que cet Equilibre de L'Europe dont on parle toujours tant, et qu'on connoit si peu, y aye euë la moindre part, et nous y sommes si bien, que franchement je ne voy ni les moyens de la continuér ni ceux d'en sortir. . . . Où sont les forces, les Alliéz, les sommes immenses d'argent, necessaires pour la faire avec apparences de succês? Croit on pouvoir retablir la Maison d'Autriche au point de servir de contre poix a celle de Bourbon? Croit on pouvoir luy procurér, au depens, et en depit de la France, les Equivalens qu'on luy a promis? Chimeres! La France n'en est pas encore la. D'un autre coté, comment en sortir? Trahira t'on les engagemens Sollemnels qu'on a pris avec la Reine d'Hongrie en L'abbandonnant pour une paix qui loin de la retablir, loin de luy procurér quelque dedomagement, ne fera que fixer son malheur, et le pouvoir de la France sur L'Europe? Il y auroit et du dangér, et du deshonneur. Voila pourtant ou nous en sommes nous autres. Yous vous étes laissez entrainér insensiblement, et vous voila a present dans la Galere aussi bien que nous, et peut être même plus, graces a la mér qui nous environne, et qui n'a que la moitié de cette bonté pour vous.

This letter is a very melancholy one, but it has rather a nice postscript.

On debite icy que le Roy de Prusse est devenu fou, et qu'il est enfermé. Il n'y aurait point de mal a cela; du moins cette puissance la ne seroit

o This refers to the battle of Hohenfriedberg, fought on June 5.

1912 CHESTERFIELD'S UNPUBLISHED LETTERS

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né. oit plus en question pendant quelque tems, et vous auriez les coudées plus libres. J'aime beaucoup mieux les fous qui sont enfermés, que ceux qui ne le sont point.

In this same letter, which is a very long one, dated from London, the 7th of May (but with no year), Chesterfield thanks Baron Torck for a letter, evidently the first after a long silence on both sides, for he says, after expressing his fear that he might have lost the Baron's friendship:

Mais a present que je voy que cette longue suspension de notre Commerce de lettres n'a pas donné d'atteinte a vos sentimens pour moy, comme surement elle n'a rien changée aux miens a votre egard; occupé uniquement du plaisir present, je bannis les regrets inutiles du passé. La paresse s'en est mêlée de part et d'autre, et a un certain age, la paresse a bien des charmes; du moins je sçay, qu'a present elle me tient lieu des plaisirs. Je m'y prête volontiers, et les objets auxquels j'etois autrefois si sensible ne me frappent plus assez vivement, pour me reveillér d'un assoupissement si commode. Je végéte, pour ainsi dire au lieu de vivre; je me proméne pour ma santé, je lis pour mon amusement, et je frequente les societez ou je peux étre le plus a mon aise, et ou mon esprit, aussi bien que mon corps, peut se reposér dans un bon fauteuil . . .

Vous ne m'avez rendu que justice, en vous persuadant de la part que je prenois a ce qui vous touchoit de si pres, que le doit faire Monsieur votre fils. Je suis ravi d'apprendre que jusqu'icy il repond a vos voeux; Mais oubliez, si vous le pouvez qu'il est unique, ou du moins elevez le comme s'il ne l'etoit point. Il a bien de quoi tenir, et a votre tendresse pres, je ne crains nullement pour luy. Mais je m'apperçois que je vous accable de mon cacquet, et qu'en me dedomageant de la sorte d'un long silence, je vous y replongeray. . . .

As has been already noted, the last of these letters was written in 1747. Chesterfield died in 1773, Baron Torck in 1761. Whether there was any resumption of the 'Commerce' between the two men during those fourteen years, that is from 1747 to 1761, I do not know.

These letters, however, show Chesterfield in a very pleasant light as a friend.

K. M. LOUDON.

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THE CASE FOR AND AGAINST EUGENICS

MR. BALFOUR, as the principal guest at the inaugural banquet of the Eugenics International Congress, inverted the part of the prophet Balaam. Invited to bless, he remained to curse. It is true the cursing was of the mildest character, but the following sentence in his speech, if read apart from its context. involves a condemnation of the movement. 'The idea,' said the speaker, 'that you can get a society of the most perfect kind by merely considering certain questions about the strain and ancestry, the health and the physical vigour of the various components of that society—that, I believe, is a most shallow view of a most difficult question.' Yet the same speaker, with that detachment of mind and leaning towards philosophic doubt which are amongst his most salient characteristics, had earlier in the same speech used language which his hearers not unnaturally interpreted in the very opposite sense. 'I am one of those, said Mr. Balfour, 'who base their belief in the future progress of mankind in most departments upon the application of scientific method to practical life. . . I hope, and I believe, that among the new applications of science to practice it will be seen in the future that not the least important is that application which it is the business of this International Congress to further.'

Why this divided voice? Why this mingled blessing and banning of the new movement? Why are Eugenists told almost in the same voice that their aims are practical and salutary, yet shallow and chimerical? Why do so many men of the highest intellectual eminence, including not a few of the leaders of science-biological and medical-and of social reform, look upon the cause of Eugenics with ironical cynicism, patronising tolerance, or at best reluctant and tepid sympathy? It is the purpose of this article to investigate this ambiguous attitude, to explain it, and to suggest that it is not a satisfactory or final attitude which men fully informed upon all the facts and

circumstances of the case can rightfully assume.

A movement of social reform may be condemned for any one of three reasons. First, its object may be either obviously wrong, or too perilous to social stability or national welfare to

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usly e to justify us in contemplating it. For example, the equalisation of property and incomes. Secondly, the object may be good, but clearly unattainable in the present state of society. For example, the abolition of national armaments and the proclamation of a world peace. Thirdly, the object may be good, or at least defensible, but the means adopted for its attainment may be subversive of civilisation. For example, the destruction of property and assaults upon public men by promoters of the Woman's Suffrage movement.

Now, to which of these objections is the cause of Eugenics fairly exposed? Is it to its aim? That aim, to quote once more the well-known words of Galton, is 'the study of agencies under social control that may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations.' Does anyone object to that? Does anyone allege either that these agencies are sufficiently known already, or incapable of fruitful study? But, it may be answered, the study of such agencies is all very well, but what about the action—the practical policy—to which such study must be supposed to conduct? To this it may be replied, on the one hand, that Eugenists have been hitherto very sparing in their recommendations of definite measures of reform—the better control of the feeble-minded, and the dissemination of Eugenist principles through the ordinary educational channels summing up their practical policy, at least in this country; and, on the other hand, that more knowledge of the laws of heredity and the conditions requisite for the production of a healthy race will of itself inevitably lead to an abatement of some of the existing evils.

But, perhaps, it is the second objection-viz., that its aim, however good, is really unattainable—which falls most heavily upon the Eugenist movement. Many think, quite honestly, that the promoters of the movement are a group of harmless enthusiasts or ill-balanced faddists who are pursuing ends obviously chimerical, if not also just a little impious. It is gravely suggested that we are not well advised in trying 'to play Providence' in so important a matter as the promotion of future racial welfare. The gardener who prevents weeds from seeding, or who grafts healthy stocks, 'plays Providence.' The breeder who, in pursuit of strength, beauty, speed, or even produce for our markets, selects certain strains and rejects others, 'plays Providence.' Our laws, which forbid marriage to persons under a certain age, 'play Providence'-play it, shall we say? in a very tentative, hesitating, and ineffectual fashion. The promotion of racial fitness for man, the elimination of degenerate elements, and the encouragement of good stocks-good not only physically but good intellectually, morally and spiritually-must

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necessarily be a difficult task with slow-breeding man, a task of which the results cannot in the nature of things be soon apparent; yet few biologists will deny that the problem is not insoluble, but simply one requiring infinite patience, wide knowledge and research, and much time for its solution.

As to the third possible objection to the Eugenist movement—viz. that it is being promoted by illegitimate methods, I am not aware that anyone has suggested such an objection to the young, moderate, and eminently sane propaganda which has

hitherto been carried on in this country.

After these preliminary observations, let us inquire more in detail into the objects of the Eugenist movement, and deal as thoroughly and as respectfully as may be possible with the critical or unfriendly, when not overtly hostile, attitude assumed towards it by men and women whose opinions are entitled to every consideration.

The Eugenist movement has a negative and a positive sidethe former, as the more obviously practicable, usually taking precedence. The negative side is to discourage the propagation of bad stocks. The positive side is to encourage the propagation of good stocks. Negative Eugenics, then, seeks to prevent, or limit, the propagation of deaf mutes, the feeble-minded, some forms of insanity, habitual criminals, and certain forms of heritable diseases, of which haemophilia is a good example. Cancer, epilepsy, dipsomania, and tuberculosis are conditions which also demand consideration. As to tuberculosis, modern pathology has no doubt taught us that, strictly speaking, the disease is not hereditary, but those who are disposed to question the influence of family tendency in tuberculosis should consult the researches of A. Riffel, who, by an exhaustive examination of family records, reaches the conclusion that phthisis and other tuber cular affections arise chiefly, and almost exclusively, in certain families. What is inherited is, of course, susceptibility to infection, but from the Eugenist point of view this does not essentially differ from actual inheritance of the disease.

As to insanity, it has been said that 'no child is born insane,' and, if we define our terms strictly, this statement may be allowed to stand. But, again, from the Eugenist point of view this is a distinction without a difference. The child is born feeble-minded, its brain tissue is poor in quality, it is incapable of responding successfully to the reactions of its environment, it succumbs early and easily to the stress and strain of life; if not an actual, it is a potential lunatic. It comes to the same thing in the end. Poverty of nervous tissue the neuropathic constitution—takes on many forms, now

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of feeble-mindedness or idiocy, again of hysteria, epilepsy, habitual criminality or alcoholism. But through all the sombre record there runs the strand of inherited defect. These persons are handicapped at the start of the race of life. That some of them, through happy chance and favouring circumstance, may run a fairly successful race is, no doubt, true, but it is a fight against odds, if one may change the figure.

The Eugenist seeks to restrict the propagation of these misfits of Nature, and few persons who have given the subject serious attention will affirm that this aim is either illegitimate or wholly impracticable. Let us endeavour, however, to do full justice to the objections which may be urged against such The most plausible of these objections is the undoubted fact that physical or moral defects may co-exist with qualities which are important for the race. Caesar, Alexander. and Napoleon were epileptics. Cowper was a melancholic. Pascal a neurasthenic, Spinoza, Keats, and Mozart were tuber-Chatterton, Nietzsche, the Brontës, John Davidson might be added to the list of the physically or morally unfit, and that list might be expanded indefinitely. Genius, in fact, has a somewhat sorry record from the strictly Eugenist point of view. We have to console ourselves with the serene humanity of Shakespeare, the Olympian calm of Goethe, and

the unquenchable optimism of Browning.

What reply is the Eugenist to make to this objection? The reply that the case of genius, using the word with reasonable strictness, is too exceptional to furnish any rule for guidance in matters of racial interest. We cannot account for the 'genius' upon the ordinary lines of evolution. We have to call him 'a sport,' 'a mutation,' 'an accidental variation,' thereby under specious phraseology concealing, or seeking to conceal, our profound ignorance of the conditions which gave Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe, Dante, Hugo, Byron, Newton, Lister, and a host of other names which might be mentioned are not accounted for by anything that is recorded of their families. They tower like magnificent mountain peaks high above their surroundings, and they spring, if not from the absolute plain, at least from a plateau of very moderate elevation. But genius is one thing-let us frankly admit that we can neither account for it nor legislate for it—but ability, talent, is quite another matter. It is to be regretted that Galton, to whom the science of Eugenics owes both its name and so much of its inspiration, called his famous book The Inheritance Genius, when he really meant, as any reader of the book can see, The Inheritance of Ability. Genius is not inherited, and anyone who will reflect upon the conditions of the

case will easily realise that it is many millions to one against its being inherited. But ability, talent, capacity are inherited, and so are their opposites—weakness of intellect, feebleness of will, sluggishness of aesthetic or moral sensibility. Are we to have our asylums and workhouses flooded with swarms of degenerates on the chance—the remote chance—that once in a hundred years or so they will produce a musician or a poet?

A second objection involves the same difficulty, only in a more subtle form. It is argued that the 'degenerate' may possess latent properties of a valuable kind which it may be important to transmit to the next generation; that a man who is useless as an individual may not be useless as a parent. This may be granted, while we still retain our opinion that men do not gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles. There are a few cases on record where the rogue or the wastrel has become the parent of a musician, a poet, a discoverer, or a statesman. But we may fairly reply that such cases are infinitely rare and cannot be made the basis of any theory or allowed to obstruct the progress of social reform. Probably, if we probe the matter more deeply, some distinction should be drawn between the degenerate who comes of a good, or moderately good, stock and the degenerate who is the offspring of degenerates. Of the former something may be hoped; of the latter little or nothing.

A further objection, of still more sweeping range, is the contention that 'we do not know enough to suppress anything.' This amounts to the assertion that of the laws of heredity nothing is certainly known, or nothing, at any rate, upon which action can be based. Will anyone really support such a contention in all its nakedness? Granted that the laws of heredity in some of their ramifications are exceedingly obscure. Granted that in this department of science, inferior to none in interest and importance, we are still upon the threshold of inquiry, still in the penumbra of the full illumination which the future will undoubtedly bring. Granted that there is every reason why we should walk cautiously, and put a check to the enthusiasms born of imperfect knowledge. But no biologist really doubts that the laws of heredity, as observed in plants and animals, apply to man; apply, if you will, with the reservations and qualifications which the complexity of the subject demands. Like produces like.

> Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis: Est in juvencis, est in equis patrum Virtus, neque imbellem feroces Progenerant aquilae columbam.

Horace was a Eugenist before his time. The whole experience of mankind, the general structure of all organised civilised society

bears witness to this principle; and the Eugenist, in reminding us of it, is returning to ultimate and elementary principles—is, in fact, propounding a truism.

The last objection to be noted under this head is the contention that the chronic pauper and the habitual criminal are what they are, not through any evil strain or innate defect, but because our highly artificial social system does not know how to utilise We are asked to believe that such persons could, if they would, 'break their birth's invidious bar' and 'grasp the skirts of happy chance.' We are invited to offer 'la carrière ouverte aux talents,' and assured that then all will be well. Given 'equality of opportunity ' and emulation, and ambition will do the rest. It is a seductive programme, but it is as one-sided as the contention of some enthusiastic Eugenists that stock is all, and environment relatively null. We cannot too often remind ourselves that the problem before us has two sides, and that in the present state of our knowledge it is quite impossible to appraise finally or accurately their relative importance. Seed and soil, stock and environment, nature and nurture, both are indispensable elements in a highly complicated problem, both are of enormous importance; and the Eugenist and the Environmentalist should studiously eschew an attitude of mutual hostility or suspicion. The success which has attended such work as that carried on by the late Dr. Barnardo, and many other tillers of a previously neglected field, shows conclusively that out of waifs and strays, the flotsam and jetsam of our great cities, quite good human stuff can be manufactured. Progress is not to be limited by the methods of It is increasingly dependent upon psychical racial selection. Who shall appraise the enormous influence exerted conditions. upon generations of the wild tribes of Arabia by the uprising amongst them of a great personality like that of Mahomet? natural selection is more and more limited in its operation by the laws and customs of civilised society, the influence of great personalities, great discoveries, great ideas comes more and more into play. But all this may be freely admitted by the Eugenist while he asks the pertinent question—Is any competent observer convinced that the enormous and incalculable improvement which has taken place in environmental conditions in England during the last fifty years has been accompanied by any corresponding improvement in the quality of the British stock? We are better housed, better fed, better clothed, better educated than our forefathers, we live longer, we are less prone to some forms of disease; but are we more vigorous in body or in mind, more fit'? Probably not many would like to give a confident answer in the affirmative to this question. Has racial progress at all kept pace with environmental progress? A doubt seems at least

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permissible. How far civilisation contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction; whether the life in cities, to which we are so rapidly tending, is permanently compatible with a high standard of physical efficiency; whether the increase of comfort and luxury makes for racial decline—these are important questions too large to be debated here. To these discussions the Eugenist makes one contribution, which he ventures to think is an important one. He simply asks us to reflect whether amidst all our schemes of social reform, all our panaceas for the coming millennium, which somehow seems to delay, we may not be overlooking one vital and fundamental consideration; whether, in short, we are not to a dangerous extent breeding from the wrong stock.

Let us turn to the positive side of Eugenics, which is generally felt to involve even greater difficulties than the negative side. How are we 'to encourage the propagation of good stocks'? Various suggestions are thrown out, such as the following:—Spread wholesome Eugenic doctrine throughout the community, so that public opinion and personal sentiment will more and more conduce to desirable unions. Promote the early marriage of suitable persons. Beware of taxing the capable and thrifty for the benefit of the pauper and the wastrel, lest you discourage marriage amongst the former and encourage marriage amongst the latter. Keep down the cost of living, which tends to delay marriage and so to diminish fertility. Endow motherhood, and give it the honour which it may fairly claim. Subsidise marriage or give exemptions from taxation to the fathers of families of a certain size.

It is to be observed that the foregoing programme is not one which the strict Eugenist could wholly approve. Not motherhood as such, but good motherhood, is his ideal. Large families may be either a boon or a burden to the State, according to the quality of the offspring. The subsidising of marriage, without due precautions, might tend to accentuate existing evils. Let us consider, however, the objections which might be raised to these proposals from the point of view of the biologist, the sociologist, or the statesman.

Selective breeding is not the simple and obvious matter which it may appear to be to those unversed in practical details. It does not always or necessarily lead to the production of permanent or stable varieties. It ends not infrequently in the <u>cul-de-sac</u> of sterility. That is the experience of the stock-yard. What guarantee have we that a similar result may not ensue in the case of man? To this objection there can be no final or definite answer. Only experience can decide the point, and experience,

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nite nce, in the case of such a slow-breeding creature as man, can be only slowly gathered. With our present knowledge we may, however, fairly say that selective breeding is better than haphazard breeding. The stock-raiser may sometimes be disappointed with his present results, but it would never occur to him that he would get on better if he left these matters to chance.

A more subtle difficulty is raised by the question—Do we want the accentuation of special qualities? Would the well-being of society be really promoted by the deliberate and conscious production of the exceptional man or the exceptional woman? Is it not a fact that the exceptional man and the exceptional woman are always more or less out of harmony with their surroundings, and frequently die childless? The list of the great men who have either remained unmarried or have died without issue is a long and formidable one. Kant and Hume, Newton and Lister, Beethoven and Handel, Pope, Dr. Johnson, Nietzsche, Carlyle—such are only a few out of many great names which might be mentioned. It is not without reason that to some it has appeared as if there were some inverse ratio between the fruit of the body and the fruit of the brain.

If we reflect over this argument we shall soon convince ourselves that it involves precisely the same fallacy as that which suggests that we should not endeavour to suppress insanity lest haply we suppress genius. The Eugenist does not propose as a definite aim the production of the exceptional man, still less of He puts the case of genius aside altogether. the genius. wind bloweth where it listeth.' Genius may arise where and when it will—be it observed, however, that it only very rarely arises in the lowest strata of society—its production is not a practical aim. But it is quite otherwise with the production of talent, ability, practical efficiency—the qualities which make a man or a woman a serviceable social unit. No careful student of Galton's works and other similar literature can doubt that suitable matings enhance the probability of such assets accruing to the State in larger measure.

The question of subsidising marriage and motherhood raises an economic and social problem of the utmost complexity—one not to be settled by mere superficial considerations. Such subsidies, if not carefully safeguarded, might easily work untold mischief, with probably some compensating benefits. But no one has yet suggested any machinery whereby such subsidies could be directed into the best channels, given where deserved, and withheld where not deserved. We are rapidly enlarging the area of State action, and this is a tendency which it seems neither possible nor desirable to resist. But it involves some curtailment of the liberty of the individual, and nowhere is such

curtailment likely to be more irksome than in the sphere of marriage. The element of economic pressure cannot be allowed to invade the sphere of sexual relationship further than prevails at the present time without serious inconvenience. Mercenary marriages are already more than sufficiently common in some ranks of society, and nothing can be more contrary to sound Eugenic doctrine than the increase of such marriages.

Perhaps the most practical and feasible step towards the production of good stocks lies in such adjustments of economic doctrine and social theory as would tend to promote the earlier marriage, and hence the increased fertility, of the socially valuable units. Unhappily, the tendency at the present day is precisely in the opposite direction. The increasing cost of living, the growing tendency to throw the burdens of the inferior classes upon the thrifty, prosperous, and capable classes, the tendency of the professional and other well-to-do classes to postpone marriage to a later and later date, or to evade it altogether, the growth of luxury-all of these factors are working towards the lowering of social efficiency—they are anti-Eugenic. Here the politician and the tax-gatherer come in. It is to be feared that not many of our parliamentarians have had any training in biology. Probably they would smile if it were suggested to them that such training could help them in the solution of social problems, yet nothing is more certain than that biological law and economic practice are vitally related. Our legislation proceeds on the assumption that all that is necessary for social progress is improvement of the environmental conditions—better houses, cheaper food, lighter and shorter labour, better education -care as to the quality of the stock being apparently relegated to Providence. It will be a great gain when all thoughtful people come to realise that this is a partial and one-sided view which leaves out of account essential elements of the problem. No one questions the enormous influence of environment, and no one denies that improvement of the environment can be rapidly effected, and its results made quickly manifest. But the fruit which ripens most rapidly is not always, or even usually, the best. Chi va piano va sano; chi va sano va lontano-as the Italians say. The Eugenist does not expect to see speedy results from his propaganda. He knows that in the nature of things that is impossible. He is content to plant, believing that others who come after him will garner the harvest. He may take to himself the well-known lines:

> Others, I doubt not, if not we, The issue of our toil shall see, And children gather as their own The harvest which the dead have sown, The dead forgotten and unknown.

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Probably the most formidable objection which can be made against any active policy of Eugenics is the contention that we are not yet ripe for action, and that we should await the accumulation of more precise data by experts; that the need of the day is research, not legislation. This view is held by many who are genuinely interested in the subject, and whose opinions are entitled to every respect. It is a good argument against extreme or precipitate action, but even those who hold such views will hardly deny that there is a certain limited field where action is possible. Few people of good will and average intelligence will deny that the effort to control the feeble-minded and prevent their propagation is worthy of approval and support. Every physician knows enough about the laws which concern the inheritance of disease to give advice—when that advice is honestly sought-which puts him in the category of practical Eugenists. The evil effects of premature marriage and excessive child-bearing are too manifest to require further research before we can suggest useful action. There is a certain pedantry in suggesting that we cannot move hand or foot until the experts have spoken the final word—a pedantry, one ventures to think, singularly alien to the temper of our nation. To those who advise that we should move slowly and circumspectly, as in a difficult, perhaps perilous, field, we should take heed, but if we are told not to move at all because of lack of precise knowledge, we may fairly reply that what is wanted is not so much more knowledge, however important and desirable that may be, as more courage.

It has been suggested in some quarters that the Eugenist movement is anti-democratic—is, in fact, essentially aristocratic in tone and tendency. It may be doubted if such a notion was ever present to the mind of any active worker in the field of Eugenics, either in this or in any other country, but fas est et ab hoste doceri. If it is anti-democratic to devote care and thought to the purity of the national stock, one can only say 'so much the worse for democracy.' Aristocracies have tried to keep their blood pure from alien and inferior admixture, but they have in many cases tended to fail and die out, and in so far as they have done so their failure must be attributed to some breach of sound Eugenist doctrine. Caste is a word of somewhat sinister significance, but no cautious observer will pronounce the caste system of the East wholly evil. Neither is it wholly good, and only biology, on which Eugenics rests, can draw the line accurately between the evil and the good. How far aristocracies have become effete through the evil effects of too close inter-breeding, how far through the influence of luxury, how far through the withdrawal of that 'struggle for existence' which is Nature's stern method of maintaining efficiency, are questions too large to

be discussed here, but upon some at least of these questions the researches of Eugenists may be expected to throw light. Eugenics does not favour a rigid caste or a close aristocratic exclusiveness. It knows and recognises that such systems, though not without their advantages, may tend, and, as a matter of history, have sometimes tended to degeneracy.

Let us revert to the question with which this article began. Why do men of light and leading, biologists, physicians, social reformers, statesmen, adopt such an ambiguous and equivocal attitude towards the subject of Eugenics, neither blessing nor banning, reluctant to ignore and still more reluctant to support. 'damning with faint praise' or commending with hinted censure? The reply which most readily suggests itself is that the subject, like its name, is new; that relatively few people have yet taken the trouble to understand it; that it is one of admitted difficulty and complexity; and that it touches personal susceptibilities and family pride in a very tender point. But it cannot be ignored. it raises clamant issues, it challenges proof or disproof, support or opposition, acceptance or rejection. It cannot be put aside by such a shallow and frivolous scoff as that Eugenists are trying to introduce the principles of the stud-farm into human society. Such is not the aim, but no one need be ashamed to take a hint from Nature, either from plant or animal. Mendel watched the growth of a common garden plant and transformed our views upon heredity. Darwin made observations upon the pigeon which shook ancient biological theory. One of the strongest recommendations of Eugenics is that, as Major Darwin pointed out at the recent International Congress, its principles are a necessary corollary of the general doctrine of evolution. It is a necessary factor in that application of science to practice, which Mr. Balfour reminded us is only at its beginning, but which is certain to advance at an ever-accelerating speed. Mankind, 50 long crippled by ignorance or hampered by obsolete tradition, is more and more entering into its heritage, more and more grasping the helping hand which science holds out. Legislation is tardily, reluctantly, and grudgingly recognising some of the plain inferences of biology. We are ceasing to blame Providence for our own errors and failures of duty. We are becoming ready to admit that preventible evils ought to be prevented.

The Eugenist movement is one which is certain to advance and gather strength, however great may be the obstacles in its path. The recent International Congress, of the great success of which from the point of view of organisation, scientific value, and sustained interest there can be no second opinion, proved beyond cavil that the movement has taken firm root in all

civilised countries. Germany and France are already actively at work. Italy, Denmark, and Norway are moving. America is going ahead-perhaps a little too fast. But every new movement has to discover its limitations, to regulate its pace. research and educational work carried on by Karl Pearson and his coadjutors at the Galton Laboratory with so much energy and thoroughness is gradually furnishing that solid basis of careful observation and solid inference upon which every successful movement must ultimately rest. The public mind, as shown by the widespread interest exhibited by the Press of many nations in the recent Congress, is aroused and prepared for some forward movement. It is becoming more and more clearly realised that no false modesty and no unworthy pride shall be permitted any longer to prevent thinking men and women from facing the problems raised by Eugenics.

A word in conclusion as to the methods of Eugenics. movement is at present mainly one of research and education. Practical action is for the moment almost confined to an effort to secure more efficient control of the feeble-minded. gation of such persons is well within the limits of the possible. It is to be hoped that sterilisation of the 'unfit,' which is at present being practised, with dubious results, in several States of the American Union, will not be pressed. Even if it could be justified, which is doubtful, public opinion in this country is not ripe for so drastic a proceeding. The public conscience would be shocked by it, and a promising movement would probably receive a rude check. Many feel instinctively that we might purchase a biological benefit too dearly at the cost of a spiritual wound.

Eugenists will probably accomplish their greatest and most lasting work by promoting research, disseminating knowledge, and helping the evolution of a better social conscience and a

higher standard of social duty.

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RAILWAY PROJECTS IN AFRICA AND THE NEAR EAST

SEVERAL railway projects of importance have recently been placed before the public for consideration in England, France, Germany, and Russia, projects which are intended to attain two chief purposes: unbroken railway communication (1) between Calais and India, and (2) between Capetown and the Mediterranean. construction of these great trunk lines for the last ten years has depended less on the amount of money they would cost than on the assuagement of international jealousies, rivalries. If these last could be allayed by some happy solvent of the ambitions of the four greatest Powers in the Old World-Britain, France, Austro-Germany, and Russia-not many years would elapse before we might be able to travel from London to Capetown, or London to the chief cities of India, with no more sea passage involved than the crossing from Dover to Calais, from Tarifa to Tangier, or Constantinople to Scutari. Indeed, even these brief sea passages might be overcome so far as change of carriage went by sea ferries or tunnels; but in any case they would be matters of comparatively trivial discomfort compared with the hateful experiences in eight months out of the twelve to be endured in a sea journey up or down the British Channel and across the Bay of Biscay; or, again, between any port in France, Italy, or Greece and any port on the African or Syrian shores of the Mediterranean. there is a choice between a railway and a steamer journey, the mass of the travelling public decides in favour of the railway, which nearly always means a saving of time, sometimes actually a saving in money, and is attended by greater safety and far less monotony. Look at the rush which is made for seats in the train from Moscow to Pekin, or to a Pacific port from which Japan is reached in a few hours' water passage; despite the long journey from Flushing to Moscow, despite the vexatiousness of Russian passports, the bad ventilation of the carriages, or the cold, the dust, the heat, the smells, the fleas, and the other items of discomfort which attend this long single-line journey across the steppes of Russia and the vast wildernesses of Siberia.

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How often since this line has been running-or, let us say, since the war with Japan was over—has one heard of accidents involving loss of life or loss of property on the Trans-Siberian railway? Practically not once. The dangers to life, or even the discomforts of a train journey from Calais to the southernmost extremity of Spain, are trivial compared with those which have attended during the same period of existence the transport-service of modern steamships across the Bay of Biscay to ports in the English Channel. The disaster to the Titanic has given much less impetus to the preference for railways over steamship travel than the unrecorded experiences of many a passenger up or down the English Channel or across the Bay of Biscay; and the recent accidents to important steamers of the P. and O. line both in the Channel and at the entrance to the Mediterranean, the unforgettable wreck of the Drummond Castle off Ushant and the Jebba off Plymouth, will long live in people's memory as instances of the sea risks which are run even when first-class steamers are used. Of course, in regard to the Americas, qualms of this kind are of no avail; and fortunately the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company and the German, French, and Dutch boats plying between North-west Europe, the Gulf of Mexico, the West Indies, and South America have been singularly free from bad accidents or alarming experiences, partly because their course down the Channel is simpler, and because they avoid the Bay of Biscay 1 and the icebergs of the Atlantic as much as possible. But in regard to reaching America by railway-across Siberia and through Alaska-the project, though it was discussed a great deal at one time, is beyond the horizon of practical politics; and is perhaps unrealisable through climatic difficulties until science has got a greater control over climate.

But the commercial marine of England and other maritime countries need not fear the rivalries of railways as regards having

1 It has always been a matter of surprise to me, referred to previously in several of my articles in this Review, that so far as South America, the West Indies, West and South Africa are concerned, the never-to-be-exaggerated dangers and discomforts of the Bay of Biscay and the English Channel are not avoided by all steamers, plying in the directions mentioned, calling at Lisbon to take up or to disembark passengers. There is excellent railway communication between Calais and Lisbon, and the only difficulty which stands in the way is the 'cussedness' of the Portuguese Government, which for reasons best known to itself does not wish Lisbon to be a port of call for foreign shipping of importance, and effects this purpose by the imposition of preposterous port dues and the most vexatious treatment at the Customs House which they can devise for passengers landing from foreign steamers. The British Government has exercised much influence over that of Portugal in regard to wiser measures of colonial development, but it seems powerless to induce either the monarchy or the republic of this westernmost State of Europe to make Lisbon what it might be—a free port and the most important place of call for shipping in all Europe. This need will be much increased by the opening of the Panama Canal. But, failing Lisbon, why not Vigo or Corunna?

plenty of work to do and reasonable profits to make, any more than railways have really suffered from competition with motor cars. For bulky goods, for persons who benefit in health from a sea voyage, and for a multitude of other uses, ships and sea travel, instead of growing less when the great Trans-African and Trans-Persian railways are made, will increase in order to keep pace with the commerce which those railways would create.

In France there has been a revival of interest since the recent settlement with Germany in regard to the Trans-Sahara railway: and the idea has been broached that this line might take the place in British ideals of the Cape-to-Cairo route. At the present day the Cape-to-Cairo through-railway system extends northwards from Capetown to the southernmost province of the Belgian Congo; but as month after month goes by it is steadily approach. ing Nyangwe on the Lualaba Congo-the place made for ever famous by the journeys of Livingstone—and from Nyangwe it is already constructed in portions, and will before long be complete as far as the French post of Zemio, near the borders of the Bahral-Ghazal province of the Egyptian Sudan. The railways have recently been opened as far as El Obeid in Kordofan, and it is not a very desperate undertaking to continue the line from El Obeid to Zemio. Then when the additional blankextraordinary that it should exist !- which still separates Assuan from Wadi Halfa (a gap inadequately filled by river steamers) is completed, the Cape-to-Alexandria line across the Egyptian, Sudanese, French, Belgian, and British territories will be complete. But even then the passengers who loathe sea travel (eight out of ten persons of all nationalities) will find themselves at Alexandria or Port Said with three to six days of sea passage intervening between Egypt and the port of disembarkation in Italy or France. It is true, however, that when a better state of affairs comes about in regard to the Turkish Empire the Egyptian railways may be linked with those of Jerusalem, Damascus, and Aleppo, and it may be possible to travel by rail from Egypt to Constantinople, and thence to all parts of Europe.

But the alternative route that the French are now suggesting deserves, I think, very favourable consideration at our hands, politically and commercially. If once the paralysing dread of an attack from Germany were removed—as it might be, if only Britain, Germany, and France could come to an understanding—France would easily find in her immense reserve of capital the money to make the Trans-Sahara railway. This line at present only extends for about 700 miles from Oran into the Moroccan Sahara, across the lofty plateaus of Inner Algeria. From the present termination of this line at Colomb-Beshar, the railway might be carried along a route presenting practically no engineer.

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ing difficulties of importance, and across a region less afflicted with drifting sand than many other parts of the Sahara, to the base of the Ahaggar mountain mass. Here the line would bifurcate; the western branch proceeding to the banks of the northernmost Niger, and thence linking up Senegal, Sierra Leone, the Ivory and Gold Coasts with Europe (all the railways in these countries are tending towards some point like Bamba on the northern Niger); while the eastern bifurcation would proceed from Ahaggar via Agadés to Lake Chad (at Agadés another offshoot would link this Trans-Saharan line with Kano and all British Nigeria). Eastwards of Lake Chad it would be continued to Zemio on the great Mubangi-Wele River. Zemio would be a most important junction with the Cape-to-Cairo line, and from Zemio over that Cape-to-Cairo line the passenger would proceed will be able to proceed in a very few years—to Capetown and all parts of British and German South Africa, and by the Lobito Bay-Katanga railway to Angola. From Zemio likewise a branch would be carried to effect a connexion with the Uganda-Mombasa railway, while no doubt another would traverse German East Africa, and again another link up Addis Ababa and Somaliland with the Uganda system.

But the great desire of the traveller would be, not to travel to and from Capetown via Alexandria, or even Algiers, but by way of Tangier in the north of Morocco, within reach, through a steam ferry, of the Spanish railways. Of course, from Colomb-Beshar in South-east Morocco one can proceed by rail at the present day to all parts of Algeria and Tunis, and down the coast of Tunisia to near the frontier of Tripoli. But, in what should be the main line of communication between Western Europe and Capetown and all other parts of Tropical and South Africa, Algiers is very much off the direct route. Oran is less so, but the steamer passage from Cartagena to Oran can be very stormy and disagreeable, and is too long for a steam ferry. Consequently, the great Trans-African railway must eventually start from Tangier, a place as to the political future of which Britain, France, and Spain are now negotiating. There is a talk of internationalising Tangier, but it is a question whether such internationalisation might not be better achieved by restoring the town to the control of Great Britain, the last European Power to own it. However that may be, the Trans-African railway must enlist not only the sympathies of France and Belgium, but those of Spain, for the railway from Colomb-Beshar to Tangier, to avoid physical difficulties as much as possible, must proceed northwards to Fez, Larache, and along the coast of the Spanish sphere of Morocco to Tangier. It would then, by means of a steam ferry, be linked up with the Spanish railways and the whole railway system of Europe.

With the resources of modern engineering, the making of a railway across this comparatively narrow strip of desert between South-east Morocco and the northern Niger, or Agadés, is not an undertaking more difficult or expensive than many an Australian railway which has been quietly built without straining the resources of Australia. It would certainly be no more difficult than the Trans-Persian railways, which are only difficult because of the political and ethical wrangles which are hampering their construction. Such a railway would be an enormous philanthropic boon to Africa. It would give the Tuareg raiders a new interest in life, far more absorbing than that of robbing and murdering brother tribes or negro peoples. The Sahara is by no means unpossessed of great resources. It is a ridiculous mistake to imagine it as being everywhere a vast sea of drifting sand. The line projected would pass through a country that is rather rocky than sandy, and wind round the bases of great table mountains and plateaus, on which there is a cool climate and from which descend intermittently streams of pure water; mountains by no means denuded of vegetation, and sufficiently provided with pasture to maintain considerable herds of animals, flocks of sheep and goats, and troops of horses and asses. These regions contain deposits of phosphates and veins of minerals. Once the upper Niger or the oasis of Agadés is reached, the railway is within the area of the Sudan-a region which, so far as climate and soil are concerned, should be one of the greatest cottonproducing districts in the world. Throughout the whole course of the line there are scattered at intervals forests of date-palms, producing dates of excellent quality; and the importance of the date as an article of food is only just beginning to be realised. The wonderful climate of the Sahara is of singular efficiency as a health restorative, a fact which the opening-up of Egypt has made clear to us; while the reconquest of the Sahara from its shameless mistreatment by Nature is one of the noblest objects to which any nation can apply itself—an object which, moreover, will in course of time yield a rich reward in the unveiling of great resources. Meanwhile it is an interesting feature in the discussion of these railway projects (a discussion carried on within the four walls of offices, commercial and political, rather than in the Press) that it would strengthen the position of Belgium as the future ruler of the Congo State, since this region, for its strategical position in the future of Africa, is best held by a small, neutral European nation than by any one of the Great Powers. This fact should be an additional inducement to the Belgian Government to set its house in order, and to remove the very real objections to its administration which are still raised by the Congo reformers and Rhodesian pioneers.

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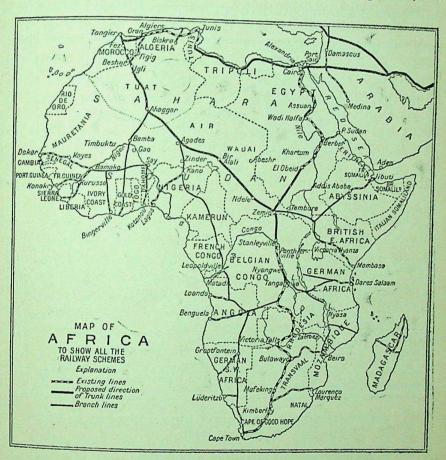
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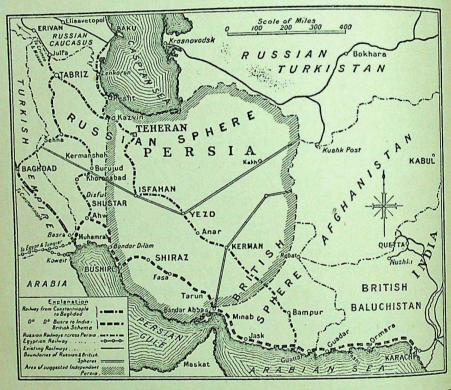
The obstacles which at present lie in the path of a direct railway communication between India and Europe are not connected, as already stated, with lack of money to promote such a linking up, but with a variety of theoretical objections—sentimental, strategical, and political. The sentimental ones are those which deprecate any further interference with Persia lest this shockingly misgoverned region should become more or less governed and advised by two or three nations of Europe, who, though their own home administrations are far from perfect, can



MAP OF AFRICA TO SHOW ALL THE RAILWAY SCHEMES.

nevertheless point to peoples under their sway who are more numerous, more prosperous, and much happier than the present inhabitants of Persia. But these objections will not prevail, nor need the construction of railways across Persia really affect the independence or the distinct nationality of Persia, a region which will always be Persian, and probably always more or less independent. Sentiment plays a part in this, too, as it has done so much in the politics of mankind during the last two thousand years. Greece would have remained a forgotten and desolate prolongation of the

Turkish Empire had it not been for the glorious past history of Greece; Egypt would long ago have been annexed outright by Great Britain but for the nobility of Egypt's past in the days before she was most unhappily conquered for Islam. [In fact, the easiest way for the present ruler of Egypt to attain complete independence for himself and his successors between Alexandria and Wadi Halfa would be for him to dissociate himself from Islam as the established religion of his country, and to re-christen his eldest son Ramses.] In like manner the part which Persia has played in the world's history will, when the curse of Islam is lifted from



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE BRITISH AND RUSSIAN RAILWAY PROJECTS IN PERSIA AND TOWARDS INDIA.

the schools of that country, promote a feeling of national self-respect which may abate the present love of civil war and of private and public robbery; while at the same time it will always raise up for Persia champions among the enlightened nations of Europe who will oppose the effacement of her nationality. But for a long while to come the best which that country can do for herself is to follow the counsels which she receives from St. Petersburg, London, and Delhi.

The strategic objections raised, and recently revived in The Times, are: (1) that a railway through Persia to India connecting that Empire either with the Russian system of railways in the

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north-west, or with the projected German-Turkish Baghdad line,2 will deprive India of its inaccessibility on the land side for the armies of the continental European Powers; (2) that it will prejudicially affect British shipping by taking away passenger and mail traffic to transfer them to a railway system almost entirely in the hands of foreigners; and (3) thereby weaken our interest in the Suez Canal. I think it will be found that a calm examination of these protests (singularly like in character to the protests on the part of Lord Palmerston when he attempted to obstruct the digging of the Suez Canal) will show their insufficiency as deterrents from a policy which would permit or even actively encourage the linking up of the railway systems of India with those of Nearer Asia. It is, of course, quite right on the part of The Times and other journals and reviews to insist on these projects being most carefully examined before the country is committed to their acceptance. But when all due weight is given to military opinion (sometimes a little behind the times, both from an ethical and an ethnical view-point), I think it will be granted that the objectors to the Trans-Persian railway projects are in the wrong when they veto any Trans-Persian railway; but are in the right when they discourage the creation of a line traversing Persia far inland, via Teheran, Isfahan, Yezd, Kerman, and Guattar. railway best suited to considerations of strategy from the British point of view would be one which proceeded from Basra via Bushire to Shiraz and Bandar Abbas, and from Bandar Abbas followed closely the coastline of Southern Persia to Baluchistan until it was linked up with the Indian system at Karachi. This would enable the Trans-Persian railway, from the point where it entered the British sphere in Persia, to be easily reached, supervised, controlled, defended, or attacked from the sea coast of the Persian Gulf. Consequently, such a line, so long as Great Britain held the seas, could not be used easily for the invasion of India, neither could it be easily attacked and destroyed by any Afghan or Persian rising against the new order of things. On the other hand, the line via Yezd, Kerman, etc., would pass comparatively close to the borders of fanatical Afghanistan, would lie for a good deal of its course through the Russian sphere of Persia, and might be made much more use of by Russia for any menace or attack on the Indian frontier in conjunction with Afghanistan. Of course, in regard to this last consideration and the vulnerability of India generally, it must be remembered that a Russian railway has long since

² Which before many years are over will have connected the western end of the Persian Gulf with Calais, except for the break of two or three miles of sea between Constantinople and Scutari.

been constructed to the very frontier of Afghanistan, to Kushk, point not much more than 450 miles from the Indian frontier; and that if Russia alone or in alliance with Germany (and a Russo. German alliance is a very possible conjunction in the future) became inimical, this Kushk line would give her the power of invading Afghanistan with an overwhelming force of soldiers. rapidly overrunning that country, and (assisting her invasion to some extent by rapid railway extension) attempting the invasion of India, in all probability with the co-operation of the plunder-loving Afghans. Such a project, however, has, I believe, passed for a long time to come beyond the range of practical politics in the minds of Russian statesmen. are far too much concerned with the needs for strengthening Russian influence and control in the heart of Central Asia (Chinese Mongolia and Turkestan), the development of Siberian resources, and the staving off of the flood of Chinese immigration. and have not the slightest desire to embroil themselves with the British Empire in order to attempt the conquest of India.

Nor is a similar danger to be feared from Austro-Germany if the Baghdad line is completed to the Persian Gulf and links up with the Persian railways. By the time Austro-Germany has attained her full and legitimate expansion in becoming the dominant commercial power in the Turkish Empire and among the Slavic and Albanian peoples, Teutonia will have become as peace-loving as Great Britain now is. What has either Austro-Germany or Russia to gain from attacking the British in India? The cost of such an enterprise would quickly make them bankrupt, and the victory would truly be a barren one. They mightit is conceivable-effect the submergence and destruction of the British power in India, but, having done so, neither they nor any other possible conjunction of white nations possess the necessary resources to reconquer India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. No other European Power could ever replace Great Britain in India. If the British Empire fell in that region its place would be taken by a congeries of Asiatic States, but the civilisation of all Southern Asia would have received a set-back so frightful that it would be the worst calamity which had yet attained the human race.

On the contrary, the best security for Great Britain on the Ganges and the Indus (as on the Nile) would be the growth of German commercial interests and investments in the lands watered by the Euphrates and Tigris. Next to that of Great Britain, no other European Power carries on such a considerable and lucrative trade with British India as Germany alone, still more Germany and Austria-Hungary combined.

Of course, as I have pointed out in other writings, the

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arrangement of the Russian sphere in Persia was most clumsily conceived by the diplomatists who settled it some years ago. The Russian sphere should have extended from Tabriz, Resht, and Kazvin, to Bandar Dilam on the Persian Gulf, thus giving Russia a short and direct access to the warm seas of that gulf, and supplying the trade of the Caucasus and Southern Russia with that direct access to the seas of Southern Asia which Russia is entitled, by her proximity, her mass of population, her lawful ambitions, to acquire. The British sphere over Persian Baluchistan is a modest one in area and absolutely necessary to us, since it cuts off always-hostile Afghanistan from gun-running access to the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea. Moreover. it is a region in which there are not many real Persians, or in which even the Persian language is widely used: it is either ethnologically a part of Arabia or Tartary, or to a great extent belongs to Dravidian Baluchistan. In between the existing sphere and Armenian-Georgian-Kurdish-Arab Persia (the Tabriz-Shustar-Muhamrah strip which ought to be the Russian sphere) stretches real Persia, the country really inhabited by the Persian race speaking the Persian language. This, indeed, should be created a buffer State, and given every encouragement to maintain its independence and to develop its resources for the benefit of the Persians, even if to assist in that end the area of the British sphere were considerably diminished. But the fact that a section of the railway from Mesopotamia to India ran through a part of real independent Persia, near the coast of the Persian Gulf, would not be inconsistent with the existence of an independent Persia; any more than the fact that the future railway route to India likewise ran through Bulgaria and Turkey need disquiet the minds of patriotic Bulgarians and Turks. Russia, of course, would link up Caucasia with this Indian railway at some such place at Ahwaz, and would thus obtain access to the Gulf at the port of Bandar Dilam; or she might cross the Indian railway and proceed straight for the Persian Gulf at some suitable place, such as Muhamrah or Bandar Dilam.

I have no doubt any such arrangement would be of immense benefit to Russian commerce, but why this fact should so distress British strategists I cannot think. We cannot expect to have everything in this world; and the constant objections which are made to this or that loosening of control or lessening of the dog-in-the-manger policy because Germany, France, Russia, Belgium, or some other country would profit thereby seem to me idiotically short-sighted and arriéré. All these countries are good customers of ours, and the more they prosper the more they buy from us; while all the time we are trying to sit on everything we cannot

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use we not only fetter our own advance, by raising up great enmities, but our very efforts to play the dog-in-the-manger distract us from pursuing profitable business on our own account. Moreover, it must not be forgotten by the strategists that if the Russian or the German tortoises protrude their heads and necks from their armoured shells, and acquire a seaboard here, there, and elsewhere, the rest of the Kruger metaphor can be applied. The tortoise may be making an excellent meal by its lack of reserve, but it has given hostages to fortune, it has become very vulnerable, especially to a great sea power. The Russian sphere in Persia as at present arranged is a menace to the peace of Asia. The Russian sphere re-arranged, giving Russia direct access to the northernmost end of the Persian Gulf, would be of immense benefit to Russia commercially, would be an enormous relief to Persia, and much less disturbing to India.

The other objections of those who oppose a railway to India through Persia are that mails and passengers would have to pass through Germany, that the railway would be inimical to our mercantile marine, and would cause our interest in Egypt to

slacken.

A Germany made friendly by reasonable concessions in regard to the Nearer East or in any other direction would be as good a country as any other for British passengers and mails to travel through. But if by that time the British people were so silly as to maintain an attitude of dislike to Germany (who has the best managed, most comfortable railways in the whole world) it could be easily arranged, no doubt, that mails and passengers went through France, Italy, and Austria to Constantinople before they embarked on the line of the Germans and Turks which was to take them to Baghdad and Basra. But why should it be any better to secure the railway access to India through Russia? It is less direct, in the winter time it is far more severe climatically, and, unless the whole character of the Russian Government changes, it is a journey made very disagreeable and difficult in the matter of passports. And even then to attain Russia by railway you have to traverse Germany in her greatest breadth, unless you perform a portion of the journey by the very disagreeable sea voyage across the North Sea and Baltic.

But there is an alternative route which will certainly be developed in course of time, that through Spain to Tangier and all along the north coast of Africa from Tangier to Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Alexandria, and Ismailia. A British railway might well be constructed as an appendage to that of Baghdad from Ismailia across Northern Arabia to Koweit, which would link on to the

Trans-Persian railway at Muhamrah.

What a lot of railway making! the impatient reader may

exclaim. Yes; and can the civilised nations of the world put their money into any better enterprise with more certain results of great good? Scarcely a railway has ever failed ultimately to pay and to create a settled happiness in the place of unsettled miserable conditions. Railway-making is the best form of religion; it makes the desert blossom as the rose; it wars successfully with the Arctic conditions of Russia and of the Yukon; it brings peace to regions which for two thousand years have been incessantly at war; it creates towns, centres of human habitation and colonisation; it enables mines and artificial manures to be worked to great advantage; it gives access to and control of valuable forests. It is the world's best civiliser, while if war is to be waged it brings such a war to a far more prompt conclusion.

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So far from railways affecting the mercantile marine prejudicially, the more that railways are made and worked the more goods there are for ships to carry, the more inducements there are to travel and to spend money; and the permeation of the world by tourists is one of the best solvents of idiotic national hatreds.

As to the effect on Egypt of a direct railway communication with India: such a railway through Persia would certainly require as its complement a railway across Northern Arabia to the Suez Canal. But Egypt would remain more than ever the necessary focus of the British Empire, even though it enjoyed great powers of self-government under its own sovereign. The control of Egypt will remain under all conceivable conditions as necessary to Great Britain after the Indian railway is made as before; partly because of the Suez Canal and the ever-increasing fleet of ships passing through it-stimulated as they will be by the development of India, Persia, and Mesopotamia—and partly by the existence of the British East, South, and Central African Of course the Mesopotamia-India railway achievement would be rapidly followed by the linking up of the Burmese and Malay Peninsula lines, and thus considerably shorten the journey to Australia. But the very existence of Australia, of the Dutch East Indies, of the two Americas and the West Indies, of Madagascar, and the valuable Pacific archipelagoes, would always be a sufficient reason for the maintenance and increase of our mercantile marine. What railways will principally do on land will be to bring goods down to the sea coast for sea transport.

H. H. JOHNSTON.

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THE 'NE TEMERE' AND THE MARRIAGE LAW IN CANADA

THE Decree Ne Temere was issued from the Vatican on the 2nd of August 1907, and, after due notice, came into force on Easter Sunday, the 19th of April 1908. With marriages contracted before that date it is not concerned. Neither does it affect marriages contracted between persons who are not, and never have been, Catholics. The validity of purely Protestant marriages is recognised—such unions, whether solemnised in a church or before a registrar, are fully acknowledged, all things else permitting, as real and true marriages. With the purpose of the papal legislation, at least, no one is likely to quarrel. For the evil which the Pope is combating—the diversity of marriage laws-is one with which statesmen in their province, too, will have to grapple. Only a few months ago The Times observed:

It is not very creditable that we are in these days of enlightenment in a condition of greater confusion in regard to the fundamental social institution than was the world five centuries ago. The endlessly diverse marriage laws of the States of America, the variety to be found on the Continent, and even in the same country, the differences which exist in the United Kingdom and in our Colonies—these divisions are a reproach to our time, whether they indicate ethical anarchy, or perplexity, or indifference in matters than which none are of more consequence.

And the writer went on to support the appeal for a uniform marriage law throughout the Empire. For only in a simple

uniform law can a real remedy be found.

Unfortunately, the trend of the time is not towards uniformity but to growing diversity. How remote from the world of practical politics is the dream of a single marriage law for the British Empire is realised when we remember that such legislation appears to be impossible even in the case of the United Kingdom. The marriage law of England differs from that of Ireland, and the Scotch law differs from both, and no statesman or political party thinks of attempting a change.

Until the Ne Temere came in force the uncertainties which were due to the diversities of the civil law were paralleled by those which were due to the diversities of the canon law. There

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were countries in which the Council of Trent had been promulgated, and others in which it had not been promulgated; and there were other countries in which it was enforced only as a matter of discipline. So it frequently happened that the validity of a marriage came to depend upon a question as to the domicile of the parties. Nor need it be pointed out how easily questions concerning domicile lend themselves to doubt, and therefore to litigation. The Ne Temere enacted one simple law for all Catholics, and made the validity of the marriage independent of the domicile of the contracting parties. Its effect, speaking broadly, was to simplify, and in some important ways to make less stringent, the legislation of the Council of Trent against clandestine marriages. Henceforth a marriage which is Catholic, or mixed, must be celebrated in the presence of the parish priest, or the Ordinary, of the place where the ceremony is performed, and in the presence of two witnesses. A rule so simple leaves no room for misunderstanding. It has no application to marriages contracted by non-Catholics between themselves, but a Catholic must be married in accordance with the Catholic form here prescribed, whether the other contracting party be a Catholic or not.

The essential difference between the new law and the old, between the legislation of Trent and the Ne Temere, is that, while the former made it necessary that every marriage should be contracted in the presence of the parish priest of one of the parties, the latter requires the presence of the parish priest of the place in which the marriage is solemnised. Obviously, in these days of change and travel, it is a far simpler thing to ascertain who is the parish priest in the charge of a particular district than to determine to what parish this or that individual properly belongs.

It would be pleasant to be able to add that this rule laid down in the Ne Temere is now the universal law throughout the Catholic Unfortunately, circumstances have proved too strong, and already the purpose of the papal legislation has been partly frustrated. The law is not universal; it started with an exception. In spite of the Ne Temere, mixed marriages may be canonically contracted without the presence of a priest by persons domiciled in Germany. The Bull Provida, which unified the Catholic marriage law for the German Empire, requires for the validity of a marriage contracted between two Catholics that it should be solemnised before the parish priest of one of the parties and in the presence of two witnesses. But this rule is not necessary for the validity of a marriage when only one of the contracting parties is a Catholic. The Provida sapientique was issued only in January 1906, and it was no doubt thought inexpedient when the general legislation for the Church took shape in the Ne Temere to re-open the question in the case of the German Empire. Not the less the whole position is obviously and seriously weakened

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by this signal exception to the general law. In the case of Hun. gary also, what may be called a partial exception has been made At the urgent representations of the Bishops the operation of the Decree Ne Temere has been postponed in that country for a period

of ten years.

It may be objected that however desirable for the removal of uncertainties, and for the simplification of the Catholic marriage form, the Decree has opened a new era of conflict between Church and State in many parts of the world. Differences between the canon law and the civil law there have always been, and probably always will be; but it would be easy to exaggerate the practical inconveniences which result from them. For instance, no Catho. lic can admit that a divorced man, whose discarded wife is still living, can contract a marriage that is valid in the sight of God And this attitude of dissent from the teaching of the civil law is not confined to Catholics. Thousands of Anglicans hold the same views as to the indissolubility of the marriage bond. Again, what is the position of the Established Church in face of the statute which legalises marriage with a deceased wife's sister? edition of the Book of Common Prayer—the edition 'printed for the new reign '-tells us marriage with a deceased wife's sister is unlawful. And yet Parliament some years before made such

unions perfectly valid.

Happily, when we talk of conflicts between the law of the Church and that of the State, we do not necessarily mean that there are conditions of war. When a Catholic speaks of the canonical nullity or validity of a marriage, he means its nullity or validity in the judgment of the Catholic Church and in the sight The Church has no power to change the civil law of marriage. Therefore, notwithstanding the recent Decree, if two persons, of any religion whatsoever, against whose marrying there is no legal impediment (that is, no civil impediment according to the law of England), marry one another in England according to the requirements of English law, their marriage is (and such marriages will continue to be), in English law admittedly valid and binding, whether a priest or other minister of religion be present or not. It has to be recognised that the two systems of law, the canon law and the civil law, exist side by side and that a marriage may be good in the eyes of one and bad in the eyes of the other, and vice versa. That the consequences of the differences are not unendurable may perhaps be inferred from fact that, though since the Decree came in force hundreds Catholic marriages have taken place in every diocese in Great Britain and Table 1 Britain and Ireland, the only instance of hardship of which public has heard is the McCann case—of which it is enough say that it certainly owed some of its importance to the magnificant structure of D. M. ing atmosphere of Belfast.

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In the famous Hebert case, of which so much has been heard in Canada, the marriage of two Catholics, who had been married in the Province of Quebec by a Protestant clergyman, was declared null and void, first by an ecclesiastical tribunal and then by a civil court. There was nothing surprising in either decision. The marriage was in any case canonically void because the law of the Council of Trent, requiring the presence of the parish priest of one of the parties, prevails in Quebec and had not been complied with. The decision of the civil court merely confirmed what was at that time the almost universal belief that upon the issues raised in the Hebert case the law of the Church and the law of the State were identical-in fact, that the law of the Church was the law of the State throughout the whole of the Province of Quebec. The leading case, Durocher v. Degré, seemed decisive.

In ordinary circumstances, therefore, the decision in the Hebert case would probably have passed quite unnoticed; but it came at a moment when public opinion was deeply stirred, and a controversy, involving all sorts of appeals to racial and religious prejudices, was in full blast. There is always a good deal of that sort of inflammatory material lying loose in Canada which any chance spark may set into a blaze. The Orange lodges in Toronto are in robust health, and the Catholicism of Quebec is intense. The promulgation of the Ne Temere Decree had given offence from the outset, and in the English-speaking provinces, where its object was generally misunderstood, it was soon resented as a new species of papal aggression. Then in the summer of 1910 came the great Catholic demonstration on the occasion of the Eucharistic Congress in Montreal. vast crowds it drew, its gorgeous ceremonies, the presence of the Prime Minister and other members of the Government in the procession of the Blessed Sacrament through the streets, the public Benediction upon the mountain side above the city, and above all the flamboyant, and sometimes imprudent, speeches for which the Congress was the occasion, all combined at the same time to excite public feeling, and to rivet the attention of Canada upon the position of the Catholic Church in her midst. The Hebert case became a party watch-word. At the instance of one of the parties, who was not represented at the first hearing, the case was retried, and with the result that the decision Of this second decision, it is enough to say here was reversed. that in its turn it is now under review, and that the case is at present pending in the Superior Court in Montreal.

While the Liberal party was still in power, great pressure was brought to bear upon the Government to induce it to bring in legislation imposing a uniform marriage law for the whole

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of Canada. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, fortified by the opinion of the then Minister of Justice, Sir Allen Aylesworth, refused to consider the question, on the ground that the legislation asked for would be ultra vires of the Dominion Parliament. The subject was again brought forward after the General Election, but Mr. Doherty, Minister of Justice in the Borden Cabinet, also was of opinion that questions concerning the solemnisation of marriage fell under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Provincial Legislatures. Nevertheless, a Bill was introduced in the Federal Parliament by an independent member, and the country seemed committed to a disastrous conflict. Certainly if the Bill had been discussed, as it must have been, not only in Parliament but in the Press and on the platform throughout the Dominion, appeals would have been made to the racial and religious passions of the people which might have been fatal to the peace of Canada. Throughout the French-speaking provinces such a measure would certainly have been regarded as a direct attack upon the most sacred and fundamental of the liberties of Lower Canada. and as a denial of the rights secured to its people by the Quebec Act of 1774. Happily, Mr. Borden was equal to the occasion, and showed himself at once conciliatory and firm. The introduction of a Bill in the Parliament of Ottawa had changed the situation. To allow the country to become involved in an agitation certain to bear bitter fruits of discord and disunion hereafter for the sake of the Bill which, even if it were carried through all its stages, might yet have to be disallowed as unconstitutional, was clearly at once dangerous and futile. Accordingly the Government decided to take the opinion of the Supreme Court of Canada as to whether or not the proposed legislation would be within the jurisdiction of the Federal Parliament. The terms of reference on this point were:

1. (a) Has the Parliament of Canada authority to enact in the whole or in part Bill No. 3 of the first Session of the Twelfth Parliament of Canada, intitled 'An Act to

amend the Marriage Act'?

The Bill provides as follows:—1. The Marriage Act, chapter 105 of the Revised Statutes, 1906, is amended by adding thereto the following section: 3. Every ceremony or form of marriage heretofore or hereafter performed by any person authorised to perform any ceremony of marriage by the laws of the place where it is performed, and duly performed according to such laws, shall everywhere within Canada be deemed to be a valid marriage, notwithstanding any differences in the religious faith of the persons so married and without regard to the religion of the person performing the ceremony. 2. The rights and duties, as

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married people, of the respective persons married as aforesaid, and of the children of such marriage, shall be absolute and complete, and no law or canonical Decree or custom of or in any province of Canada shall have any force or effect to invalidate or qualify any such marriage or any of the rights of the said persons or their children in any manner whatsoever.

(b) If the provisions of the said Bill are not all within the authority of the Parliament of Canada to enact, which, if any, of the provisions are within such authority?

The question here submitted turned upon the interpretation of two clauses in the British North America Act 1867. Section 91 assigns the subject of 'Marriage and Divorce' to the Dominion Parliament, but Section 92 gives the Provincial Legislatures the exclusive power to legislate with regard to 'the solemnisation of marriage.' How are these sections to be reconciled? During the argument at the bar it was contended on the one side that the true construction of the Act of 1867 gives all questions relating to the essentials of the contract of marriage-its definition, the capacity of the parties to enter into it, and all the circumstances on which its validity depends—to the Dominion Parliament; while to the Provincial Legislatures are assigned evidential formalities, useful for authenticating the contract—the neglect of which might involve penalties, but would not serve to invalidate the contract. the other hand, it was contended that out of the general subjectmatter of 'Marriage and Divorce,' given over to the jurisdiction of the Parliament of the Dominion, there had been carved out a distinct and essential part—'the solemnisation of marriage'which was reserved exclusively for the provinces. Certainly it is difficult, for anyone familiar with the circumstances under which the Union effected by the British North America Act was brought about, to believe that the separate provinces ever intended to surrender to the Federal Authority exclusive control over all the essentials of marriage, while reserving to themselves power to regulate the 'frills and trimmings'-the ceremonial accessories of the contract. The British North America Act, as is expressly recognised in the preamble, was in the nature of federal compact, and a compact between provinces differing in race and religion, and it is incredible that it should have been intended to surrender to a new authority anything touching the lives of the people so intimately and so vitally as the control of the law affecting marriage.

Of the five judges before whom the case was argued, four held that the proposed legislation in the Dominion Parliament was ultra vires, and that questions as to what forms of solemnisation

are necessary for a valid marriage can be determined only by the Legislatures of the separate provinces.

The second question submitted to the Supreme Court of

Canada ran:

2. Does the law of the Province of Quebec render null and void unless contracted before a Roman Catholic priest a marriage that would otherwise be legally binding, which takes place in such province (a) between persons who are both Roman Catholics, or (b) between persons one of whom

only is a Roman Catholic?

It is not easy to see why the second branch of this question was submitted. No one doubts, for instance, that a clergyman of the Church of England is competent in Lower Canada to unite a Catholic and a Protestant in lawful matrimony. validity of such marriages has never been challenged in the courts of Quebec. Possibly it was desired to have it placed on public record that the lawfulness of such marriages is not affected by the Ne Temere. If so, it was an unnecessary precaution. No one suggests that the civil law of Quebec is affected by the papal Decree. The law of the Catholic Church, as it existed at the time when the civil code of Canada came into force, is incorporated, as far as marriage is concerned, in the civil law of Quebec; but this does not give any legal validity to the provisions of the Ne Temere. This becomes clear when we examine Article 127 of the civil code, which became law the year before the British North America Act was passed. The Article says: 'The other impediments recognised, according to the different religious persuasions, as resulting from relationship or affinity, or from other causes, remain subject to the rules hitherto followed in the different Churches and religious communities. The right, likewise, of granting dispensations from such impediments appertains, as heretofore, to those who have hitherto enjoyed it.' The word 'hitherto,' referring to a state of things existing in 1866, forbids the inclusion of impediments created or revived at a later date. In other words, it would require a new Act of the Legislature to bring the civil law of Quebec into harmony with the papal Decree. These marriages -mixed marriages contracted without the presence of a parish priest—though since the Ne Temere they are canonically null, were declared on the 17th of June by all five judges of the Supreme Court of Canada to be legally valid.

At this point it may occur to some reader, familiar with the legislation of the Council of Trent, to ask how, if the law of Quebec admits the ecclesiastical impediments which were in force in the Catholic Church in 1866, a mixed marriage celebrated otherwise than in the presence of a priest can possibly

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be held to be legal. Admittedly the Decrees of the Council of Trent laid it down that marriages contracted otherwise than in the presence of the parish priest, or a priest deputed by him, or by the Bishop, are null and void. But by what is known as the Benedictine Declaration, originally issued in 1741, it was provided that 'In regard to those marriages which . . . are contracted without the form established by the Council of Trent by Catholics with heretics, wherever a Catholic man marry a heretic woman or a Catholic woman marry a heretic man . . . if, perchance, a marriage of this kind be actually contracted there wherein the Tridentine form has not been observed, or in the future (which may God avert!) should happen to be contracted, his Holiness declares that such a marriage, if no other canonical impediment occur, is to be deemed valid, and that neither of the persons in any way can, under pretext of the said form not having been observed, enter upon a new marriage while the other person is still alive.' This Declaration, which was issued in the first place for the benefit of 'those places subject to the sway of the Allied Powers in Belgium' and the town of Maestricht, was subsequently extended to the Church of Canada and Quebec, as appears from replies given by Propaganda in 1764. These mixed marriages were, therefore, by virtue of the Benedictine Declaration, exempted from the operation of the Trent Decree, and, as that was the state of things at the time when the civil code of Lower Canada received the force of law in 1866, such marriages are legally valid to this day, as has now been unanimously decided by the Supreme Court of Canada.

It remains to consider the other question submitted to the Canadian judges, 'Does the law of the Province of Quebec render null and void, unless contracted before a Roman Catholic priest, a marriage that would be otherwise legally binding, which takes place in such province, between persons who are both Three of the judges, Sir Louis Davies, Roman Catholics?' Mr. Justice Idington, and Mr. Justice Duff, replied that such marriages are not invalid; the Chief Justice, for stated reasons, declined to answer; Mr. Justice Anglin, while agreeing with the position taken up by the Chief Justice, Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, felt that out of respect for his three colleagues he ought to give his decision—and decided against them. The Chief Justice justified his silence on the ground that as the court was of opinion that the proposed Act of the Federal Parliament was extra vires, there was nothing more in issue. If questions arising out of matters connected with 'the solemnisation of marriage' are rightly dealt with by the Provincial Legislatures, and not by the Parliament of Canada, the opinion of the Supreme Court becomes

unnecessary and superfluous. If any decision is required, application should be made to the courts of the province concerned. Sir Charles Fitzpatrick further pointed out that in fact a case is now pending before the Court of Review in Montreal in which these very issues are involved. A decision on the part of the Supreme Court of Canada would, therefore, under the circumstances, be a brutum fulmen—a decision in the air. At the same time it would be open to the objection that it would seem to be giving a lead to, and even to be putting pressure upon, the Provincial Court, which yet in the subject-matter is supreme.

Immediately after the decision of the Supreme Court of Canada was known, it was resolved to carry the case at once to the supreme arbitrament of the Judicial Committee of the The importance which all parties in Canada Privy Council. attached to the immediate settlement of these vexed issues may perhaps be measured by the urgency of the steps which were taken to speed the case across the Atlantic. The Supreme Court of Canada gave its decision on the 17th of June last, and on the 22nd of July the case was being argued before the Privy Council The court consisted of the Lord Chancellor, Lord in London. Halsbury, Lord Macnaghten, Lord Atkinson, Lord Shaw of Dunfermline, and the Lord Chief Baron of Ireland. In a brief judgment the Lord Chancellor, announcing the decision of the Committee, declared the Bill to be ultra vires of the Dominion The essential words were these: 'They [their Lordships consider that the provision in Section 92 conferring on the Provincial Legislature the exclusive power to make laws relating to the solemnisation of marriage in the province, operates by way of exception to the powers conferred as regards marriage by Section 91, and enables the Provincial Legislature to enact conditions as to solemnisation which may affect the validity of the contract.' In regard to the two queries grouped under the second question the Lords of the Privy Council endorsed, in effect, the position taken up by Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, and dismissed them without answer as being in the circumstances 'unimportant and superfluous.'

The net result is that the marriage law of Lower Canada stands where it did; and we now know there is no power to change it outside the walls of the Legislature of the province. What, in fact, that law is, in one point remains in doubt. We must wait the decision in the case now pending in the Superior Court in Montreal, before we can say with certainty whether a marriage in the Province of Quebec between two Catholics which is solemnised otherwise than in the presence of the parish priest is valid in law or not. If it were proper for the present writer to hazard an opinion, he would confidently predict that the

traditional view will be found to be correct, and that such marriages will be held invalid. Article 127 of the Civil Code of Lower Canada already cited says: 'The other impediments recognised according to the different religious persuasions, as resulting from relationship or affinity, or from other causes, remain subject to the rules hitherto followed in the different Churches and religious communities.' Mr. Justice Anglin in his judgment says: 'Inasmuch as 'relationship' and 'affinity' exhaust the genus to which they belong, it is obvious that the 'other causes' referred to in Article 127 cannot be restricted to impediments ejusdem generis with 'consanguinity' and 'affinity.' That would be to deny any effect to the words 'other causes.' The other causes are therefore necessarily impediments of another kind 'recognised according to the different religious persuasions'—presumably of the parties.'

To put forward any other contention is to lose sight of the whole purpose of those who drafted the Civil Code which was to give expression to, and perpetuate, the existing law. Under the civil law of France, which had previously prevailed in Lower Canada, the marriage of Catholics to be valid must be solemnised in the presence of a priest. That requirement of the Church law is recognised and adopted by Article 127 of the Civil Code, and is not complied with in the case of two Catholics married by a

Protestant minister.

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Here it becomes necessary to say another word about the Ne Temere.

If Mr. Justice Anglin proves to be right, and marriages between two Catholics solemnised otherwise than in the presence of a priest are found to be legally invalid, the law of the State and the law of the Church will coincide. Until Easter 1908 there was the same harmony between the civil and the canon law in the case of mixed marriages celebrated without the presence of a Catholic priest. In the absence of other impediments such marriages were valid in the eyes of both Church and State, and for the same reason. Both the civil and the canon law gave effect to the Benedictine Declaration, which had been made applicable to Canada, and granted an exemption from the Tridentine rule, which required the presence of a priest for every marriage in which one of the parties was a Catholic. Unfortunately, this state of things was brought to an end when the Ne Temere came in force. Pius the Tenth has in effect revoked the concession of Benedict the Fourteenth. The law of the State still rests upon the Benedictine Declaration, which in the eyes of the canon law has been annulled.

Clearly there are two ways in which the old harmony between the civil and the canon law might be restored. The Legislature

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of Quebec might in the plenitude of its jurisdiction adapt the law of the province to the requirements of the Ne Temere. Nothing is less likely to happen. Such action would certainly be regarded as provocative, and would inevitably lead to an agitation demanding the amendment of the British North America Act. A movement in that direction would be deprecated by the responsible leaders of all parties, and, whether successful or unsuccessful, would be fraught with the gravest perils to the Dominion.

There remains the other alternative that concession should come from Rome. The difficulties on that side are apparent. and cannot be better stated than they have been by a distinguished Mgr. Bidwell, after speaking of the English canonist. exemption granted in the case of the German Empire, says: 'When the reasons for desiring a uniform law are fully appreciated and borne in mind, it is difficult not to regret that any exception should have been made. Whatever may be the plea for departing, in one country or in another, from the general law, however urgent and weighty arguments in this sense may appear when local circumstances are alone considered, their weight and cogency diminish almost to vanishing point when the question is examined from a wider point of view. Every derogation from the general law is at once a reason and a precedent for a further derogation and a curtailment of its general usefulness. The reluctance of the Holy See to repeal in 1907 the Bull Provida of the previous year is easily understood. But it is still easier to understand, and to sympathise with, the Pope's desire not to mar the effect of the new Decree by allowing further exceptions elsewhere.'

Still, an exception was made for Germany, and in the case of Hungary the operation of the Decree was postponed for ten years. It is at least possible that, if suitable representations were made at the Vatican, the special conditions of Canadaespecially in view of the many years during which the Benedictine Declaration prevailed there—might be recognised by the Holy See as calling for exceptional treatment. On the other hand, if the exemption of Germany and the postponement in the case of Hungary are both intended to be only temporary, the plea of Canada for special treatment would be difficult to sustain.

J. G. SNEAD-COX.

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PERE HYACINTHE'S MARRIAGE

THE subject of the following pages is not so much Père Hyacinthe's marriage as certain statements which have been made concerning it.

To the public, and more especially to that part of it that is old enough to remember the earlier 'seventies, M. Charles Loyson, or, as he was then called, Père Hyacinthe, was known as a Carmelite friar, a distinguished preacher, who vehemently opposed the action of the Vatican Council in defining Papal infallibility; finally separated himself from his Order and from the Church; became an ardent advocate of clerical marriage, and wedded an American widow whose opinion upon that and other religious questions cordially coincided with his own. His subsequent career lies outside the scope of this article, and it is sufficient to say that his attitude of opposition to the Vatican seems to have been maintained during the forty-three years which elapsed between his secession and his death, which occurred at the beginning of the present year.

In making the announcement of his decease certain organs of the Press revived a rather piquant statement made originally by himself, to the effect that in 1872—viz. some time before he was publicly married here in England—he had his marriage privately blessed in Rome by Mgr. Puecher Passavalli, titular Archbishop of Iconium. More recently still, in an article on Père Hyacinthe which appeared in one of the leading reviews, this statement has not only been re-affirmed, but has been enlarged into the more sweeping assertion that his marriage had received the sanction 'of the Church.' What is perhaps still more surprising is that the writer quotes the well-known case of Talleyrand as a precedent of a similar sanction.¹

It is in this assertion as to the blessing of the marriage by Mgr. Passavalli, and its alleged sanction by the Church, backed up by the allusion to Talleyrand, that the chief interest of the matter may be said to centre. That a friar, enjoying the repute

^{1 &#}x27;Père Hyacinthe,' by the Very Rev. the Dean of Ripon, Contemporary Review, June 1912.

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of a successful preacher, should owing to religious difficulties abandon his Order and the Church of his baptism and make, in the manner just mentioned, a practical protest against his clerical obligations, might or might not be considered as an event of importance by writers of contemporary history. Others have passed that way. But that a friar in these circumstances should have his marriage blessed in Rome itself—in luce Urbis—and sanctioned by the Church (whose decrees happen to execrate such unions) would be, to say the least, an occurrence sufficiently unique to come in the nature of a surprise to any canonist, to any serious student of Church history, and most of all to anyone who is acquainted with the ways and workings of the Roman tribunals.

It may be said at once that the statement as to the Church sanctioning the marriage is wholly and absolutely untrue.

In such a case the sanction could be obtainable only from the Holy See and the responsible authorities in Rome. I am authorised to say that neither the Holy See nor its officials have ever sanctioned Père Hyacinthe's marriage, that they have had no cognisance whatever of any marriage of his celebrated at Rome, and that any marriage of the sort, instead of being countenanced in any way, remains condemned by them under the severest penalties of the Church.

This assurance, proceeding from the highest authority, may be indeed very unnecessary, but it disposes of the myth of the Church's sanction being given to Père Hyacinthe's marriage; and it clearly separates the Church and the Roman authorities from all responsibility in anything which might have been done clandestinely by others contrary to their will and without their

knowledge.

It remains to be seen whether there was in the action of Mgr. Passavalli, as a private individual, anything which would give ground or colour to Père Hyacinthe's assertion. It is needless to observe that Mgr. Passavalli held no official post or powers which would have enabled him to celebrate a marriage prohibited by the canons, and that in any attempt to officials at such a marriage he would not only have been acting invalidy and ultra vires, but would have brought upon himself the same ecclesiastical penalties which Père Hyacinthe would have incurred by contracting it.

Here it may be relevant to say a word upon the life and character of Mgr. Passavalli, the more so as his position was it some ways a peculiar one, marking him off from what one is wont to regard as the usual type of a Roman prelate in curia.

Born in 1820, near Trent, he was brought up in an atmosphere of antagonism to Austrian rule which made him for life

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a passionate upholder of the cause of United Italy. At the age of sixteen he joined the Capuccine branch of the Franciscan friars, and before his thirtieth year had become Provincial of his order. Pius the Ninth treated him with special kindness, made him one of the Preachers Apostolic to the Holy See, and on his resignation of that post raised him to the rank of titular Archbishop of Iconium. He was appointed Vicar of the Vatican Basilica, and was chosen to deliver the inaugural sermon at the opening of the Vatican Council. During the deliberations of the Council he became closely associated with the extreme section of those who were most opposed to the definition of Papal infallibility, and on the plea of indisposition he absented himself from the assembly on the day of the final voting. Later on, when he had to choose between Catholic submission or the censures of the Church, he subscribed to the decree, but—if we are to believe Père Hyacinthe—he did so with a mental restriction that would have gone far to rob his adhesion of much of its meaning and sincerity. His career was at an end. During the rest of his days he became alienated from the Vatican and aggrieved and embittered against the Roman Court, of which he was accustomed to speak in terms of rancorous hostility. He ceased to reside at Rome, and spent most of his time in retirement at Morrovalle, a remote village in the Marches.

A strange fact which tallies with his estrangement from the Curia, and one which did much to mould the whole of his subsequent life, was his close and confidential association with a small sect or secretly working band of illuminati, who were gathered together chiefly at Turin. They were the devoted followers of a Polish layman, Andrew Towianski, a mystic, whom they venerated as 'the Servant of God,' despite the fact that his tenets had fallen under the censures of the ecclesiastical authorities. While professing their loyalty to the Catholic Church, they conceived themselves to be in possession of a special and fuller revelation, according to which they were to labour by prayer and self-sacrifice and purity of life to enter into the passion of the Saviour in such a way as to draw down upon the world a fresh outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and thus to regenerate society, civil and religious, and prepare it for a second coming of Christ, which would include the conversion of the Jews and the restoration of the Kingdom of Israel. Ostensibly they deprecated any intervention in matters of dogma, but esoterically they taught the most startling theories as to the reincarnation of souls, the plurality of lives, universality of salvation, and several other beliefs which traversed the teaching of what they were disposed to call 'the official Church.' Passavalli had never seen Towianski, 'the Servant of God,' but

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he seems to have been thoroughly initiated into his teaching by an Italian Senator, Tancredo Canonico, who was himself a lead. ing member of the association. Until his death Canonico con. tinued to be to the Archbishop the exponent of the new light, and not only his devoted friend, but in a manner his spiritual teacher and director. On his part, the Archbishop became the most docile and enthusiastic of pupils. He thankfully avowed himself the 'disciple' of Towianski, and hailed his writings as a 'revelation of revelation' upon the acceptance of which depended the future of Italy and of Christian society. It seems something of a psychological marvel that, even when his native good sense revolted at some of the inconsistencies and puerilities of the system-notably in relation to baptism-and when by his own admission he stood aghast at the prospect of a successive plurality of lives here on earth in a series of fresh bodies, and at all that such an experience might have in store for him, the aged prelate by some process of self-persuasion brought himself not only to accept these strange doctrines, but to believe that in some way they could actually be harmonised with the Catholic faith.

It is noteworthy that as far back as 1893 Mgr. Passavalli, in one of his letters, earnestly advised Canonico to enlist the pen of Antonio Fogazzaro for the promotion of the new ideas. Those who are interested in literary origins or in the pedigree of literary types may be tempted to discover analogies between the ideals of the Servo di Dio and those of Il Santo. It may well be that in such regions of inspiration geniuses are found to run up against one another, especially at those levels where the mists of mysticism lie heavy upon the land, but even to the ordinary reader the affinities of thought and aspiration seem to be sufficiently striking and significant.2 It may be added that to the end of his life the Archbishop continued to be a keen politician. He was in correspondence with Cadorno, and as late as 1884 he wrote to his friend the senator to urge that a clause in the laws of the guarantees should be used for the purposes of further anti-clerical legislation.

These facts make it easily conceivable that, from 1870 onwards, Mgr. Passavalli was not one who, either from a religious or a political point of view, was at all likely to stand very high in the favour or confidence of the Holy See.

It was perhaps natural that when Père Hyacinthe came to Rome in 1872 he should find in Mgr. Passavalli a sympathetic friend and a kindred spirit. They were both opposed to the

² This subject as well as Mgr. Passavalli's relations to Père Hyacinthe are very fully dealt with in two articles in the Civiltà Cattolica, the 20th of April and the 6th of July 1912.

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Vatican Decree, both were fierce critics of the Roman Court, and both were agreed in attributing most evils in this world and the next to the machinations of the Jesuits. The Archbishop brought to the expression of his views the intense feeling and expansive speech which are characteristic of the popular Italian preacher, and it is possible that in the intimacy of their confidential colloquies he may have conveyed to the more literal Frenchman impressions which were beyond his thought, and a latitude of meaning which a fellow-Italian would have been quick discount. Hence the era of cordial friendship was soon to be followed by one of misunderstandings, of disavowals, of mutual recrimination, and finally of lasting estrangement.

It is only fair to say that if these two men were drawn closely together by having antipathies in common, they were held apart by points of deeper difference. Père Hyacinthe willingly fraternised and worked with the Old Catholics and other religious bodies separated from the Church. Mgr. Passavalli, on the contrary, could not be induced, even by the pressure of the German Ambassador prompted by Bismarck, to take any part in the opening of Old Catholic services in Naples or elsewhere; and in the midst of his collusion with the friends of Towianski he joined with them in protesting that there could be no other Church apart from the 'one, only, and true Catholic and Apostolic Church, which has for its head the Roman Pontiff, and with him, for its magistrature, the Episcopate.' 3

There remains the question of fact. In those days of their intimate friendship at Rome in 1872, did Mgr. Passavalli bless the marriage of Père Hyacinthe? Père Hyacinthe, on his return to France, declared that he did. On the other hand, the friends of the Archbishop, his fellow-disciples of the 'Servant of God' who were most in his confidence, and notably the editors of his correspondence, repudiate the statement as utterly inconsistent with all that they knew of the character of the Archbishop. They further maintain that it was precisely this assertion on the part of Père Hyacinthe which caused the breach between himself

and Mgr. Passavalli.

A notable piece of evidence is found in the fact that some years later—1878—Mgr. Passavalli had in his hands a letter in which Pere Hyacinthe seems to have disavowed the fact of the marriage. Writing to the Senator Canonico, the Archbishop says: 'The last letter of Padre Loyson permits me to hope that there may be soon an extraordinary intervention of Divine grace. The two things in it which have chiefly impressed me are these. He declares plainly that he did not receive from me the nuptial

³ See his letter to Melania C. in his correspondence, edited by A. Begey and A. Favero, p. 204.

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blessing—a thing which he asserted both orally and in writing and in the public Press. But then—possibly with a view to prevent me or others from publishing this declaration of hisher couples it with another assertion which is absolutely slanderous—namely, that in former times I exhorted him to hate Rome more than ever, and had blamed him for not hating her enough. That is a manifest falsehood, but put in that way it renders quite useless his above-mentioned declaration' (Ricordi e lettere, p. 10).

From this it seems quite clear that Mgr. Passavalli not only denied having blessed the marriage, but understood that Père Hyacinthe himself had withdrawn his statement to that effect.

When this passage was published in Mgr. Passavalli's correspondence in 1911, Père Hyacinthe addressed to the editors a letter containing an acrid attack upon the Archbishop, who had already been some fourteen years in his grave. The most noteworthy part of his communication is that which refers to the alleged marriage. Père Hyacinthe maintains in it that the blessing of the marriage took place, but in saying so he makes admissions which go far to tone down and qualify his statement. He admits that it took place in a private room; that there were no witnesses except the parties concerned; that it was a sort of secret and 'mystic' proceeding; that it did not mean a marriage in the canonical sense of the word, and that therefore Mgr. Passavalli was able to say that a marriage had not been celebrated.

Here, as far as the available evidence goes, the matter may be left. Whatever Mgr. Passavalli said or did in that private room in the Via Rasella in Rome in 1872, two things remain certain. First, Mgr. Passavalli denied that he had ever married the parties or had given them the nuptial blessing. Secondly, Père Hyacinthe himself admitted that canonically it was not a marriage, or one which either Church or State would recognise as such. It might be added that the parties themselves do not seem to have considered it as a real marriage, as they continued to live apart until the time when they were married in an Anglican church here in England.

It is unnecessary to repeat that, even if Mgr. Passavalli had celebrated the marriage in a public church, and with the ful Roman rite, and in the presence of witnesses, his action, carried out in the teeth of the Church's law, would have been absolutely

^{4 &#}x27;He [Mgr. Passavalli] had approved and even blessed my marriage, but because this blessing, however solemn it had been, was of a private and mystickind, and did not imply exactly a canonical consecration, he was able to say that ne had not married us.'—Letter of Père Hyacinthe to MM. Begey and Favero, Revue Internationale Moderniste, Nos. 7, 8, August 1911.

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unauthorised, and utterly bereft of all Church sanction and validity. In such an attempt he would not have implicated the Church, but would only have implicated himself in the censures of the Church already incurred by Père Hyacinthe.

It is difficult to conceive how any writer acquainted with the facts could have thought of invoking the case of Talleyrand as a precedent for the sanction of the Church being given to the marriage of a person in sacred orders. It happens to be a precedent in the opposite direction. It is well known that the ex-Bishop of Autun, who, during the Revolution, had abandoned the clerical profession, wished, on becoming Foreign Minister under Napoleon, to regularise his position, and petitioned Pius the Seventh for a brief of secularisation. A brief of secularisation in its normal scope and canonical meaning, granted to a cleric in holy orders, would enable him to live, and work, and dress as a layman, but it would not, without special mention to that effect, release him from his vow of celibacy or allow him to marry. It was precisely this leave to marry that Talleyrand most wished to obtain. Napoleon warmly supported his petition, and sent a special envoy to Rome to plead for the concession, and to lay before the Pope a memorandum enumerating ten historic cases collected from past ages, in which, it was alleged, a similar permission had been accorded by the Holy See. Pius the Seventh was quite willing to grant a brief of secularisation in the ordinary form, but he would not go further, and firmly refused any dispensation from vows or permission to marry. The Papal Archivist had no difficulty in showing that the argument drawn from the ten cases was worthless, as in most of them the persons secularised were not in holy orders, and in the others in which the persons were bishops—as in the notable instance of Henry of Portugal—the request for absolution from vows and faculty to contract marriage was distinctly rejected. Although the negotiations were broken off and resumed three times, the Pope remained inflexible. refusal was the more marked as it was made just at the moment when the Holy See was under the deepest possible obligations to both Napoleon and Talleyrand for their invaluable help in the conclusion of the Concordat and the restoration of religion in France. In accordance with the Papal decision a brief was issued on the 29th of June 1802 authorising Talleyrand to live in lay communion,' to 'administer civil affairs,' and 'to wear the secular dress,' but it contained not a word as to any dispensation from his vow of celibacy or any permission to marry. In order that there might be no possibility of mistake as to the purport of this omission, the French Ambassador at Rome officially notified Talleyrand that this part of his petition had

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failed, while the Cardinal Legate in France informed him in writing that the permission to marry had been refused, and Pius the Seventh himself wrote to Napoleon explaining that upon this point he had been unable to depart from the age-long and invariable discipline of the Church.5

Talleyrand chose to ignore all these notifications and married Madame Grand on the unblushing pretence that the brief could be construed as covering the concession which he desired. It would certainly require nothing less than the cynicism of a Talleyrand to interpret a Papal document in a sense which was precisely the opposite to that which had been carefully expounded by the Pope who issued it. As a matter of fact, the sanction of the Church was so rigorously withheld from Talleyrand's marriage that even twelve years later, when Cardinal Consalvi, at the Congress of Vienna, had to answer a letter sent to him by Madame Grand, he was strictly warned by the Roman authorities to see that he put nothing in his reply or on the address which would imply in any way that the Church recognised her position as Madame Talleyrand.

It is a far cry from Père Hyacinthe to Talleyrand, but one can easily realise how intrinsically incredible it would be that a sanction which Napoleon, in the zenith of his power, and on the morrow of the sealing of the Concordat, failed to wring from Pius the Seventh, would be bestowed by the Holy See in 1872 on a friar who was not only ex-communicate, but was actually at the moment in active hostility to its teaching and authority.

There are many to whom Père Hyacinthe's marriage may be a matter of comparative unimportance, but to whom it would seem desirable in the interests of accuracy that misleading assertions which claim for it the sanction of the Church should not be allowed to remain uncontradicted. When uttered and repeated, such statements, especially when stamped with respectable names, are apt to enter into the currency of accepted beliefs, and if allowed to pass unchallenged, can only serve to dehase so far as they go the mintage of historical knowledge in public and popular circulation. J. MOYES.

Westminster Cathedral.

The brief may be seen in Rinieri (II. 265). Most of the documents and facts are given by Theiner in his Histoire des Deux Concordats, and by B. de Tacombe in his Via Printe de M. I. Lacombe in his Vie Privée de Talleyrand, and by F. Loliée in his more recent work, Talleyrand et la Société Française.

According to B. de Lacombe, there is no certain evidence as to the alleged religious ceremony in the Church of Epinay, but even if it had taken place, the action of the curé would have been in the church of Epinay. action of the curé would have been invalid and unauthorised in the eyes of the Church.

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THREE HOURS: 24 AUGUST 410

A RECONSTRUCTION

I FOUND myself on the terrace of the Palatine, but it was not as we know it; the palaces rose high behind me, and the Forum, peopled with white statues, lay below. It was a hot night in the end of August, the air was heavy and thick with the scent of roses in the terrace garden.

The moon was more than half full and hung in the west, south of the Capitol. There were but few lights in the city, for it was late; those who remained awake were mostly gathered in little groups, sitting under the stars in the Forum, in low talk. But all around the horizon was a circle of light, flaring brighter, first at one part and then at another—something apart from the gloom within.

Close by I could perceive that a man sat in an arbour, still, except for a deep sigh now and then. Presently a young woman passed, and coming up near the seat whispered 'Are you here, father?'

'Yes, filiola.'

'It is so hot that I cannot sleep in there by Marcus. I thought I should find you in your old seat. His wound seems worse to-night; he says it pains him inwards; but Gunda is there, and she knows better than we what to do.'

She nestled in close to the old man, and a little cry came from her arms. 'Ah, Marcianus, awake again. I am a poor nurse for thee, with this bad bread, and Marcus ill, and the Dread over us.'

She rocked him; and peering in the dark into his baby face, she said, 'What will those eyes see, long, long, long, after this?'

'What shall we all see?' said the old man. 'Look at that ring of fires, there are the wolves round us.'

But the Goths were here, father, the last two years, and we are still living here. Why should they not go away again?

Remember the horrible famine, and at what a price they left us—all the gold and silver we could spare, it was not taxing but seizing. And then we have tried that Greek fool for a peace-maker, and he did no better for us than the sacred idiot at Ravenna.

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This time the city is promised to the wolves, and they mean to have it. Alaricus told us the first time that we should have nothing left but our souls, and this time there will be no chance of more.'

'But can we not live as well under Alaricus as under Attalus? The flowers will smell as sweet and the birds sing as clear.'

'And what are the birds or the flowers to our slaves when we flog them? We shall be the slaves under Alaricus.'

'He is a Christian, father; the Goths are Christians as well

as we, after all, though they are foul Arians.'

'What is the Faith to us or to them, after we massacred all their youths who were in our training when I was young? If we Catholics could murder all the men and wreck all the women as Arians, what may a foul Arian do to us Catholics? Yet, after all, the walls are strong, and they have fever as well as we. In the race against the fever it is only the bad food that clogs us more than them.'

'Marcus is much better of his fever, father, since we moved him up into the palace; that house of ours is too low, we shall

always be sick there, like the Vestals we turned out.'

A young officer, hearing voices, drew near.

'On your rounds?' said the old man.
'Yes—a hot night—is Marcus better?'

'I fear not yet.'

'There is an ugly rumour about, I have heard it from different quarters, that the brutes of slaves may play false. They would as soon work for a Goth as for a Roman, they do not care, they only think where they will get the best bread—brutes!' And he passed on.

'Ah, filiola, that is our curse, trusting to these slaves. They wrecked our supplies when they escaped to Ostia after the famine. They know too much. We should have lost Gunda then, when the Goths took away all our Goth slaves, if I had not freed her

when you were small.'

'Father, when I think of dear old Gunda, how can a Goth hurt us? She is a Goth, and yet she has been everything to

us, and I would trust her more than Rufus any day.'

'I cannot trust her with Rufus. She always says he killed her husband at the Danube, and that Junius killed her son. But I doubt if she could see them in the dark, and my old troopers are too much to me to be sent away. I cannot spare them, and your mother could not spare her, and so I have never been easy about our house. I asked her once, direct, if she would promise not to poison the men. She only answered, in her Gothic way, that one follower of a lord could not hurt another so long as they were both in the peace of their lord, to break that peace would

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make her untrue. A strange sort of reason-no good law about it. But they never forget as we do. To speak at dinner of the Night of the Danube, if you had Goth slaves, was to have your household a bed of thorns for three days after. We never told you about Gunda when you were small for fear of frightening you; but now when we live this way from day to day you ought to know how she came.'

He then began to tell what his narrow legal soul could hold. 'It seems as yesterday, the first sight of Gunda. It was dawn. The day before had been the turmoil after the great Night of the Danube, and the killing of the men. The camp was all asleep except the guard-drunk with debauchery. The wolves were creeping back along the shore, their bellies heavy with Goth-flesh. As I stood outside of my tent I saw a tattered heap, in what had been a rich garment, shuffling over from the soldiers' quarters up to my feet, and crawling near it said, moaning, "In the name of God, save me." I knew that she was a cursed Arian by that, but yet some power moved me. I dragged her into my tent. for by camp law it would be death for a captive to enter of herself, and a comrade had a Fescennine jest at my picking up such filth.'

He continued: 'I gave her some bread and water, for she had fasted since the Night of the Danube, and had been the sport of the camp day and night. After that I began to turn her out, to tie her up with the horse, and the girl that I had, who could not be trusted near bread or a sword. She entreated to be left inside, out of sight of the soldiers. She said, "See what those filthy men have done," holding up her right arm twisted out at the elbow; every rent of her garment showed her great white limbs covered with bruises. weals and blood. "See what came from trying to defend my honour." I hesitated, she entreated still, and at last said, "There is no help on earth left for me but thee . . . there is no other way but this." Lifting her fallen right hand with her left, she held them together, and said-not as a captiva or a serva, or even an ancilla or a liberta, but like a domina-"Put thy hands outside of mine." Wondering, I did so, I know not why. "I swear to be thy gesith unto death, thy cause is my cause, thy friends are my friends, thy foes are my foes. Accept me." That means much more than our patron and client, it is a bond stronger than even blood-bond, and why should I let this captiva make it? I began to drag her out, when she looked up full in my eyes as she lay huddled on the ground, and said, "I am noble, how can I be untrue?" "I accept thee," I said, and left her there in peace. I took my sword for fear she would fall on it; none could be trusted then not to kill themselves, indeed we lost a great many slaves by their joining hand in hand and rushing down into the Danube to drown.

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'I sent the camp doctor to hook her arm in again, but you know she never could carry you on the right arm. When we shared up the captives, I claimed her, and I had two or three more beside the first girl. I gave them all in exchanging horses to get a good horse, which was most necessary for my return. But I kept Gunda, for she seemed to be more than cattle. There was no need, in our long ride of two months to Rome, to rope her up and drag her along like the others. She was always by my horse, though, being high-born, her feet were not as hard as the others. When they were quite broken, not to lose her I let her sometimes ride on the baggage; but I soon heard of my men grumbling "When the captive rides the baggage, it is time for us to ride the best horse," and I feared to feel a spear in my back. Once I thought she was lost, when we had to ride hard through the forest with the wolves gathering behind us. But she saved herself by her wolf-lore, and three days after, in Viminacium, two soldiers brought her in as a stray captive. She had threatened them with awful pains if they did not deliver her to her owner, and I was glad to get her again, and gave them a triens each. As she could not run by the horse, I actually waited until she could. instead of selling her. She always slept across my tent door, "as a gesith must do," she said, and she begged hard to have a sword, but that was impossible.

'At Rome the trouble was that my grandmother Constantia would not tolerate a Goth in the villa, because my grandfather's head had been cut off by a Goth in the war of Constantine. So I put her in my uncle's house, but all the Goth slaves there thought more of obeying her than their master, as she was of their chief's So we turned her into our garden, where she made a dwelling in an old hut, and had all the garden slaves soon in order, none could disobey her. She covered her hut with twisted osier in the manner of her people, and we called it the Gothic palace, for she still longed for her people and was not so Roman as you

remember her. 'My mother's favourite priest used to try to make her a Catholic, but she clung to her Arian heresy. There was a stir over her heresy, till my father—who hated the priest, and was half a pagan—said, "Leave her alone; a God more or less, what does it matter?" which was so unorthodox, that the priest threatened to excommunicate him, and that stopped the talk about her.

'Then, when I married your mother, Gunda came into our house, and ruled the slaves better than anyone I have known. When you were born, she would nurse you, for she said she must be foster-mother to her lord's child-such is their way. became more Roman then, or perhaps we became more Gothic, for I think she has made you as much of a Goth as a Roman can be.'

'Yes, father; I heard a little of all this, when she used to tell me tales of her old days, but she never let me hear what would frighten me. Dear old Gunda! It was generally about her girl life she talked—the long travels in the wagons, and the camps, and the races across the plains on horseback with her brothers. . . . How sweet those roses smell to-night. . . . Listen! . . . Do you hear that noise over there?' She was all eager ears, holding her breath. 'There . . . again . . . it is a great shout.'

The old man pricked up instantly. 'Yes, I can hear it now

. . . that is hundreds of men far off

It rose stronger and clearer, like a distant waterfall on the silent night . . . louder, like a torrent. The girl shook from head to foot, saying 'What can it be, father?' with dismay in her tone.

He was silent, breathless, every muscle held, with a twitch of his arm or hand in unconscious action. . . . At last he spoke. 'It is . . . the Gothic camp roaring, and all around the Salarian gate . . . that must be the end . . . they are in . . . no camp roars like that but in triumph . . . Roma! Roma!'

Neither could say more; they could but listen and wait. The roar never lessened, but only grew louder . . . shot across with

the sharper note of screams.

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He said, 'The last time Rome heard that sound was when we killed five thousand Goths in the games over there,' pointing to the Coliseum.

They each rose from time to time . . . only to sit down again. There was no better point for seeing and knowing, with its wide view of vantage. To descend to the Forum was to be hemmed in by buildings, with many approaches, all intricate. To turn back across the Palatine was to lose all touch with that dread sound. Yet it was impossible to do anything . . . but equally impossible to do nothing. The tension was broken by seeing figures flying across the Forum from every opening that led from the roar. Soon a bright spot appeared in the sky, and then a flame shot up from the heart of the roar—the houses were fired.

Ever nearer drew the sound, spreading wider out to each side, with the blasts of the Gothic trumpets flashing out upon it all, until across the Coliseum there passed a headlong rush of a great body of men closely packed; they were tramping hard in their run as men that have covered a mile quickly. They headed straight along the road to the Palatine. We could not see them clearly, for the moon was near setting; they were all

dark, going too quickly to keep torches alight. On they bore in a long body of a thousand or more. No guards tried to with. stand them. They were all silent going up the slope, and did not find voice till they began to spread on the top. Straight into the great Palace they raced. Soon the scattered lights were multiplied, and in a few minutes torches were flying along from room to room, and the halls echoing with a torrent of harsh shouts

'Father! Let us go down quick to our house.'

'No, filiola, this is the safest place still. They will not search the gardens for treasure till the palace is bare. The old camp saying of the sack of a city is "Gold first, then women, next wine, and then hell."

It was all too overwhelming for one to act; an individual seemed too trifling to affect events. The forces were too vast for any deeds to turn or check them; one could only hope to be isolated from the great current of action, and try to avoid it like

a river of red-hot lava.

A century of common time seemed to be compressed into the product of an hour. We sat and felt our souls drying up within The girl had unconscious spasms of fright ever and anon, shaking her in every muscle. The old man had seen too many horrors to feel it in the flesh; his anguish was in the mind. He was being cut adrift from every anchor of his thought. All ideas that had been the axioms and pivots of being and action were swept away. Words could not help him; he knew of none that could express such feelings. At last his ancestral instincts prevailed, and raising his hands he called on the spirits of the mighty dead: 'Dive Auguste Pater-Dive Traiane Optime Maxime—Dive Aureliane Restitutor Orbis—Dive Constantine Debellator Gentium.' He covered his head with his mantle, and bowed into a heap. It was more than the end of his life to him; it was the end of the whole world of his being.

Some late comers of the plunderers began to hunt about near us; and the girl, rousing the old man, guided him by narrow ways into the road leading down to the deserted home of

the Vestals.

As they turned aside to their house close to the road and went in, I slunk on in the heavy shadows to the darkness at the back of the temple of Divus Julius. There gathered a crowd of paupers, who had nothing to hide and nothing to lose. were talking of their neighbours' chances, some of the rich plunder that the Goths would have. Others, who had lost all, were crushed by the reverse, and huddled in desolate heaps, or were groaning demented. One old man sat crooning over and over, rocking himself to and fro:

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and when any tried to rouse him he could only say:
'And I have known Constantinus,

Roma capta, Roma capta, Roma caput mundi.

A monk was reciting the Psalter as rapidly as possible, half aloud, only feeling that with the holy words on his lips no harm could fall on him; he at last came to 'O daughter of Babylon who art to be destroyed; happy shall he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us. Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones.' The terrible application so distracted his mind that he could not remember his cue to the next psalm, and continued repeating these verses, trying to find himself.

Every moment figures were flying past in different directions, each seeking for a rest anywhere but where he was. The roar of voices and cries all around in the air of the whole city made a background on which anything individual was hard to distinguish.

Suddenly there came a party of three or four Goths straight across to one of the houses which had been lately adapted in the deserted home of the Vestals. As they appeared, the door was cautiously opened, and they at once went in and shut it. 'Aha!' shouted a pauper, 'they have come back to the old nest and will look after their own. I ate at the feast when the Goth married the pretty daughter.'

Then a Goth came along and felt men down in search of valuables. A richly dressed man went by with a Goth pricking him on: 'You are out late to-night; you had better take a guard home; an angel unawares is better than seven devils in your house,' said the mocking Goth. Another fled by, pursued by a rapacious Hun, and a pauper shouted after them, 'May you get every follis of his; the old skinflint owes me a year's wages.' An Alan running by from behind stripped up the tunic over a man's head in an instant, to see if he had anything on his bare body to snatch off, leaving his head and arms wrapped up helpless. A party of women went by decently guarded by Goths, who had received all their gold for a safe conduct out of the city. Another pauper shouted, 'Divus Julius is the patron of pauperini now; no one else will trust him.'

At this point a rush of Goths came down by various ways from the Palatine, where they had evidently found others already in full possession, with no loose spoils left; seeking plunder, they struck across to the great Basilica Aemilia. The Gothic trumpets blew in the Forum and echoed from every temple.

From this crowd drew off a wary old leader with a party of

Gothic youth under his orders, and turned facing the other way. He drew up quietly below the temple of Castor, saying, 'Leave the big places to others, there are too many doors. Look there' pointing to the old Imperial library which was now a church, just under the Palatine—' see how they flock in . . . all women, . . . that is the women's church of old, I know . . . leave them quiet, there is only one door to guard . . . see how they come! Some of them so heavy with gold they can hardly waddle! . . . No noise . . . wait, my boys.'

A quicker movement of the women, and then a rush of them with the cry 'The Alans are stripping us behind!' 'Close in, boys,' was the sharp order, and in a moment a guarding crescent of swords spread opposite the church door. Threatened thus at their side, seized from the back, the wretched crowd reeled about helpless. The old leader hemmed them in at the open side at once, and said in a commanding voice, 'Your lives and your bodies are safe in the Church, on the faith of a Goth and a Christian. Enter.' Seeing the guard did not threaten them, a rush was made to enter, and many fell in the crowd. As they staggered up, a rabble of Alans—who had not yet caught any plunder in the rear—broke upon them, but a sharp drilled movement of the Goths drove the Alans back and guarded the entrance.

Then, with the lilt of an old pastoral song, fresh of the

Sarmatian plains, the leader sang out:

Now, my boys, the fold is full, And shearing time is come.

'Two come in with me; the rest will guard the door.' Then entering quietly, he said 'Matrons and virgins all, you are safe here in life and person, and I pledge you a guard so long as there is trouble. But you must pay for this.' He began undoing the gold necklace of the nearest woman, and slipping off her heavy bracelets and armlets. The next saw fit to save him the trouble. He cast the gold into the fold of the mantle of one of his youths. The other youth slid his hands down the body of each, in her thin single summer robe, and felt for any hard gear hidden below, slitting the garment and having it out in 8 moment. On they went, each rich dame feeling only too glad when those great Gothic hands had ended fumbling down heronly too glad to be decently done with. After clearing over a few, one acidly protested that she called it all sheer robbery. 'Very likely, this is the Night of Rome, and the Night of the Danube was rape and murder too. If you want to go the same There way as your gold, go to the Huns and Alans outside.' · That was no more to be said. Soon after one youth said, " No. girl is using her hairpin.' 'Through?' said the leader.

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only on the bladebone.' 'Have her out.' Some violent kicking was cut short by quick pricks of a sword in the back, and she bounded forward into the hands of the Gothic youths. They, taking hold of a hand and a foot, quickly slid her along the marble pavement to the door, while the leader crisply said, 'Cast the foolish virgin into outer darkness where are Alans and Huns.' And she was left on the steps outside of the guard. Then in the sharpest tones he said, 'Women, we are not hurting you, and any that touch us go out like that.'

The clearing still went on. Those who had lost all, sat huddled together, and carefully kept at bay those who still were rich. They had no wish then for the contamination of wealth around them, for that would entail another search by those strong, unrelenting hands, which might be easily tempted to

stay too long and be too inquisitive.

The ceaseless roar of shouts and screams was now even almost overwhelmed by the din of thundering and smashing near at hand, as parties of Goths began to break open the houses. These had been left shut up by their owners, who had fled for safety elsewhere. To crash in the doors with beams for battering rams, or hew them to pieces with axes, was no long work; and then the floors were ripped up and the walls battered all over in search of hiding-places of treasure. As soon as the men ran out of one house—often with a swag in their mantles—they began on another.

Sometimes the owner was hidden in the house; and, though I heard the orders given, 'No killing,' yet various permitted forms of persuasion, such as some clubbing or tying up with a twist, were evidently bringing forth fruit. The howls in the houses, and the state of the unlucky owners when they rushed

Hearing a great noise by the house of the filiola, I crept along in the shadows to where I could command the door. There were two Goths ramming it in with a beam; little by little it split and broke up, until most of it fell away from the hinge-pin. Cautiously they stepped in, to make sure that no one was waiting to cut them down from the sides. The father tried to hold them back, but he was at once knocked senseless and dragged outside. In the little atrium a smouldering fire burned, and by it was the filiola with Marcianus in her arms. As the Goths approached her, there suddenly came a tremendous voice from the Palatine stairway above the house, which partly looked into the atrium: 'Peace there, that house is mine, and those are my slaves.'

And who are you, old wife?'

'Frithagund, daughter of Gundwulf of the king's house; stand back!' and she sprang through the broken door. 'Do as

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I bid you, and you shall have gold enough.' That name, with such a promise in Gothic speech, made them pause. there, and you will find two men; one killed my husband, the other killed my son; kill, kill!' And as they turned up the stairs with the torch, she shouted after them 'Take the girls.'

She then began rummaging and clanking over ironwork out of sight, until she brought out a sword to the firelight, and said

to the filiola, 'Is not that the best sword of Marcus?'

'Yes; why does he want it?'

'He will not want it; your man is with my man now.'

'You surely will not slay my father and me?'

'Slay you! You deserve it for your folly. You are my foster. child, and he is my lord; none shall hurt you while I am here. Can I be untrue?' She came out of the broken door and dragged in the father. 'So he took me into peace in his dwelling,' said she. 'Look you to him; that is woman's work. I am a man to-night.' Then, putting her hand on his heart, she said, 'Those good boys have knocked half the life out of him, but he is sound yet.'

There were some scuffles, cries, and shrieks, above, a mere nothing in the roar of voices that night. One of the slave girls bounded down into the atrium, terrified, bare. 'Back,' shouted Gunda, sweeping her in toward the door with the sword, and

driving her up the stair.

'Spare her here,' cried the filiola.

'Never,' said Gunda. 'There is a girl each for them and you are safe. Do not trouble about those hussies; they have been talking for weeks about seeing the Goths back here, and saying they would rather have a big young Goth in the house than those old carles Rufus and Junius.'

Gunda blew the fire and lit a torch by it. Clumsy feet came down the steps, and the Goths drew in. 'Where is the gold,

lady?' they demanded.

As they came into the light she glanced at their swords; only one was bloody. She said, 'Are both men killed?'

'They are, lady; died like dogs.'

'And the girls bound?'

'They are.'

'Give me that sword,' said she taking the bloody one, 'and take this, the best blade in the house,' giving the Goth the sword of Marcus.

'But where is the gold, lady?'

The wergild 'Listen. This is a Goth house, not a Roman. of a chief is due to me, his daughter; the wergild of a chief's son is due to me, his wife; and the wergild of his three brothers, and the wergild of my son, all killed, and none to inherit but me. Is our law not so?'

'It is truly so, lady.'

- 'And my service of thirty years since the Night of the Danube, that is due to me. The gold of this house is mine by our laws.'
 - 'It is so.'
- 'I know where it is all hidden, and I will share it all with you by the morning light, if you will guard this house, and my gold, and my slaves, and all that is mine, so long as I ask.'

'We will.'

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- 'I pledge you each one third.'
- 'We pledge you your third.'
- 'Stand there one each side of the door, and see that none go in or out,' and they took their places. 'And I will guard the door.' And Frithagund stood in the broken doorway, in the flaming light of a burning house, with the red sword uplifted. And as the drops of blood rolled down she licked off one, and another, and another; and between each she said, 'The blood of Rufus—The Night of the Danube—Have I not been true to my man!—The blood of Junius—My son, my son!'

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ANIMALS IN THEIR RELATION TO EMPIRE

What is the Flag of England? Winds of the World declare!

I THINK it is now admitted by all that in the progress and development of recent years the Empire has outgrown in many directions its old organisation. In no phase of life is this fact more apparent than in its relation to animals. It is being slowly but surely recognised that in this instance the balance of justice towards them in our dependencies is not yet fair, and that the theme is a legitimate one which requires further working out, and the adoption of a wider standpoint.

In the procession of the generations leading up to such a view of the situation, there were none who could have foreseen the new features which present themselves to-day. Conditions change, ideas change, and the standpoint changes with them; and in each case there is a fresh departure differing from the preceding stage but ever marking a new advance. Every decade adds to the sum of human achievements, and God has given to man the wonderful prerogative of taking up His works and carrying them on to stages nearer perfection.

Ours is the standpoint of a new generation which has accepted the doctrine of humanity, but has not yet recognised it in its fullest meaning, though the general outcome is a distinct advance

in knowledge and right feeling.

We know that the Empire exists by commerce and by self-defence, and at the present moment England owes her position as second to none among the Great Powers of the world to her trade and her wealth. That commerce and that wealth are the results of the united action of her people, and as the ceaseless labour of the animals is an indispensable condition of this prosperity—especially in far distant lands, where mechanical draught power is practically non-existent—each animal by its share in contributing to so great a whole becomes a humble asset of Empire. If the Empire is to live it must be consolidated in commerce as well as in defence, and we must now depend upon it as a whole to keep the position once held by England alone.

In maintaining that supremacy these wageless workers will contribute their invaluable share, with that mute patience which

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is their sad birthright and only heritage. In the strenuous years to come, even among the nations of mighty armies, our Empire must maintain its pride of place, but it can never continue to do so without the service and sufferings of animals.

I have seen the Empire in many lands, and I have known many of the men of this generation who have helped to make it, and many of those who are helping to keep it, and I have noticed among them an ever-growing recognition of the principle of mercy, particularly in regard to the due protection of animals.

In the roll-call of historic statesmen and soldiers whose deeds have won for us our great possessions there are names which are household words to all of us; but, raising this subject with confidence and hope to its highest plane, I feel sure that the names of the men of the future, by whose action they must be kept, will be greater still, for they will possess a higher ideal of the power of humanity in its relation to Empire. Humanity is one of the foundation stones of a great dominion, and to treat with indifference the manifold sufferings of millions of animals, whose toil makes for Britain's greatness, would be to drag down our proud morality to the level of prehistoric barbarism. tion on many points in this connexion often shows itself only skin deep even in our enlightened land, and this fact should bring home to us the urgent necessity of upholding in wider fields those precepts of humanity which enter into all that right-thinking men hold dear in life.

I have recently returned home after making a journey to inquire into the conditions of animal life prevailing in India, such conditions being carefully noted everywhere from Southern India to Rangoon and the Khyber, and I believe that no such extended travels, with the object in view of trying to ameliorate the often cruel conditions of life and labour of the animals of our territories in the East, have ever been undertaken before. I hope that there will be other journeys in the future of a similar nature made by individuals equally interested in this great question; for there is in such a scheme the element of a vast reform in bringing to the light of day, and consequently to that of public opinion, legal anomalies, barbarous customs, and forms of grave ill-usage unknown at home, which it is strange should so long have been tolerated by administrations emanating from the most humane country in the world.

That much requires to be done for the amelioration of the lot of the lower creation in India is universally admitted; and it is a strange fact that in a country ruled by a nation which is in the van of every humane movement, and peopled so largely by the adherents of religions which specifically teach as a cardinal

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doctrine the proper care of the animal kingdom, both law and public opinion are so lax as to allow the most atrocious cruelties and neglect to exist. Nothing is more obvious to the most casual observer of life and affairs in India than that the statutes which deal with this matter stand in urgent need of a wide extension.

India has its laws for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. The principal enactment of this nature is Act XI. of 1890, which is an 'Enabling Act'; that is to say, it does not apply to any part of India as a matter of course, but its provisions are only in force in those presidencies, districts, or places where it has been adopted by Local Governments.

This Act can only be made applicable to any particular district by applying to the Local Government, which, if a consensus of opinion exists in that neighbourhood upon the subject, will then notify in the local *Gazette* that the Act is in force.

There is a long list of places in which the Act has been adopted, but on inspection it will be found that most of the localities named are in the province of Bengal.

Act XI. of 1890 is wide enough in its terms to cover and prevent all known forms of cruelty, but it is woefully defective in its application and powers of enforcement. The most important provisions only refer to acts of cruelty committed in any street, or in any other place, whether open or closed, to which the public have access, or within sight of any person in any street, or in any such other place. The legal position, therefore, is that any act of cruelty, no matter how atrocious or revolting, may be perpetrated upon any unfortunate animal as long as the door is closed and the public eye is not offended by the sight of such occurrences. Within the shelter of his own house a man may indulge without fear of consequences in many forms of savagery.

The existing Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Acts are thus powerless to prevent flagrant cases of cruelty to bullocks in enclosed oil-mills, such acts being often perpetrated in broad daylight, as these cases have been declared by the Commissioners of Police to be outside the pale of legislation.

The bullocks in the oil-mills of the Madras Presidency and known to be often worked eighteen hours at a time, and many are masses of sores, but these cases are not touchable by law, for, as has been shown, the Act has not taken within its jurisdiction the animals to be found in any enclosed place. A restricted application of this kind to a great extent renders the Act futile and savours of hypocrisy in its terms. This restriction should be swept away and the statute should be made to apply to all acts of cruelty, whether public or private.

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Another grave cruelty—which, owing to this defective wording of the Act, is practically unchecked—is the dreadful custom prevalent throughout Bengal of flaying goats alive to obtain longer measurements. In the trade these goat-skins are called 'longnecks' and command a higher price in the market on account of the extra length. The process is carried out by beginning the flaying at the eyes and mouth of the living animal, and working down to the neck; after which the throat is cut.

This practice is usually carried on behind closed doors with perfect impunity. One of these cases came under my notice in which the flaying had been partially carried out, and I saw the goat, which in a few days succumbed in misery to the agony it had endured. The initial act of torture was performed under the eye in the shape of a cut in the form of a St. Andrew's Cross,

and the skin, torn away in flaps, fell down its neck.

These cruelties are always being carried on, and the revolting cases and the inadequate fines inflicted by magistrates are matters which should receive attention. The following is an extract from the Report of the Calcutta S.P.C.A. for 1910:

In the Calcutta police court yesterday a man who was convicted of the horrible atrocity of flaying a goat alive was allowed to depart with the infliction of a fine of Rs. 20. Under the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act (Act No. XI. of 1890) the penalty for killing an animal in an unnecessarily cruel manner may be a fine of Rs. 200, imprisonment up to six months, or both. It is known that this horrible practice of flaying goats alive exists to a large extent, but the difficulty lies in detecting individual cases. It seems monstrous that when a case is brought before the court and a conviction secured the offender should be let off with a light punishment.

Another unfortunate feature of Act XI of 1890 is that it gives the magistrates no power of detention of horses or bullocks, nor of their compulsory production for inspection; the importance of such omission will be readily understood when it is pointed out that it is a common practice for owners of lame or wounded animals to substitute sound ones when the trial comes off, and thus prosecutions often fail.

The old and decrepit which are arrested overnight are never seen before a magistrate, but are frequently re-arrested in some other part of the town. The owner pleads guilty, and has a tale of death, destruction, or the Pinjrapole, which story, when investigated, has never any foundation in fact. And these animals are driven and used until they fall in the streets, where they are often abandoned, and after days of starvation, thirst, and suffering, are put out of their misery. Here too, destruction, when an animal is obviously incapable of living and is enduring great pain, cannot be undertaken until the owner is found and communicated with, unless the risk is taken of an action for the value of the animal. Power should be given to constables if they find an

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animal severely injured or diseased to call a veterinary surgeon, and if that official certifies that it is cruel to keep the animal alive they should be authorised to have it summarily destroyed.

A further crippling feature of this Act is that it contains no powers of summary arrest. All proceedings must be taken by the cumbersome method of a summons; therefore, many cases are charged under the Police Act (Section 34) which is generally applied to the limits of all municipalities and cantonments in India.

Prosecutions in cruelty cases can also be brought under the Hackney Carriage Act, under the Indian Penal Code, and under the various municipal bye-laws. It is, however, essential that the police should be given power to arrest, as the only effective means of dealing with gross or persistent acts of cruelty; and when a constable arrests an offender he should be empowered to take charge of the animal in question, to convey it to a place of safety, and produce it for inspection before the magistrate. The magistrate should also be legally authorised to deprive a person of the possession of an animal when there is evidence to show that the character of the individual is such that the animal will probably be subjected to further cruelty.

I know that it is commonly assumed that the Indian people as a whole are but little addicted to the commission of sudden brutal acts, but that such acts can and do occur is incontrovertible, and the following cases make unpleasant reading. During my stay in Calcutta a party of Hindu syces caught a bandicoot, steeped it in petroleum, and set it on fire in Wood Street. For this offence

they were summoned and fined ten rupees.

The Bombay daily papers of August 1910 published the following ghastly details:

The Second Presidency Magistrate disposed of the case in which the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals had obtained a warrant against a coachman on charges of mischief and cruelty by ill-treating a horse. On 8th July the accused drove the horse and punished it During this punishment the horse and accused both fell, and accused his knee. Enraged at the injury, accused pulled out the tongue of the horse and tied it to a nail, thus keeping the tongue drawn out tightly. All the while the horse remained in that condition for nearly two and a-half hours not being able to draw its tongue in. When released it became ill and could not take its food. On examination it was found that the tongue had to amputated. His Worship sentenced the accused to one month's rigorous imprisonment. In passing the sentence he said that unfortunately cruel act could not be punished either under Section 3 of the Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals or under Sections 428 and 429 of I.P.C.

These Acts are indelibly recorded on the Statute Book of the British Government of India, but the present method of carrying them out cannot possibly satisfy the requirements

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any civilised and well-ordered community. A great advance would be made if the Local Governments could be induced to take up the working of the various Cruelty Acts with more system. At present it is left to individual officers to work them or not, as they like. Even if the Government merely directed district magistrates and municipal boards to work the Acts more energetically, a good deal could be effected. It would, at any rate, stimulate an interest in the matter; and an annual report from each district would also be desirable, because the adoption of such a course would prevent a relapse into inaction.

Undoubtedly there are difficulties, for energetic action, unless carefully controlled, will develop into oppression and blackmail; and extortion will sometimes follow in its wake, but the fear of possible evils is no excuse for sheer inaction. The leniency with which cases of cruelty are treated in India is a by-word, the average offender escaping with a nominal fine; to meet this the Government of India should issue an executive order in general terms to the various magistrates, or preferably, communicate with the Chief Presidency Magistrate of every district, directing that in cases of cruelty adequate sentences should be inflicted.

These suggestions by no means exhaust the list of evils to be dealt with, or the remedies to be applied, but they supply a practical answer in their particular instances to questions that

urgently call for one.

The treatment of beasts of burden, the tortures inflicted on animals for the purposes of trade, the continual confinement of cows in small, dark, insanitary cellars and sheds, the systematic starving of young calves by depriving them of their mother's milk, the cruelties which take place in the slaughter houses, the neglect of live freight on the railways, to say nothing of worse practices to which one can hardly allude in public print, are scandals which have been allowed to continue too long. It is time, therefore, that some organised effort should be made to deal with this reproach to our common humanity, and one cannot imagine any better way of so doing than by awakening public opinion to the need for the amendment and extension of existing laws

There are many forms of cruelty in addition to those already referred to, such as overloading, overdriving, failing to provide proper food and drink, the cruel branding of donkeys and bullocks, the licensing by municipalities of old and failing animals, the wild beast combats, which English visitors in India often attend, and the capture of wild elephants in Government pits, where they lie with broken limbs, and a considerable number die; this method is cheaper than Keddah camps, therefore the animals have to suffer

This list is fairly long, but there are other grievances all calling for redress: the sufferings of wild birds in all the large markets of India, the horrors of religious sacrifices, the misery caused by an almost universal want of troughs and a proper water supply—terrible to think of under that broiling sun—the sales of Government casters, when the aged and unfit horses of native cavalry regiments and other branches of the service drift for nominal sums into homes of supreme wretchedness, the blinding of sea-birds to act as decoys, and, perhaps greatest of all, the abandonment to their fate of animals in time of famine.

There are sixty-two ponies in a coal-mine at Raneegunge on the East Indian Railway without compulsory inspection of any kind, and that mine is only one of the many in the Bengal coal field. Draught animals are also used in the Assam coal field at

Ledo (Margherita) without adequate inspection.

The road postal services in India are worked by contractors whose sole idea is to make as much as they can out of their contracts. Even when these contracts contain certain conditions for the supply of sound, suitable animals, the necessary supervision to see these provisions carried out is either inefficient or non-existent; for so long as the dâk (post) arrives, the manner of its conveyance is not a matter of concern. During my stay in that country one prosecution of a post office contractor upon rather a large scale took place at Allahabad, on account of the bad state of his horses, but this could have been but a drop in the ocean compared to the preventive measures that the whole case calls for.

The margin of profit to be gained by the acceptance of such contracts appears to have been cut down to such a degree that the contractors' agents can only supply animals of a very weak and inferior calibre. On many lines these ponies are practically worked to death, as this method has been found to be less expensive than safeguarding the creatures by ordinary measures

of rest and good food.

In no place is there greater need of reform as regards the carrying of the dâk than in Coorg, a little coffee-planting territory in Southern India, forty miles square, and, though Act XI of 1890 is in force, the apathy and indifference on the part of officials is so great that the Mysore-Mercara Tonga line (which

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¹ The following extract is from a letter addressed to me by a lady well known in India for her interest in these questions: 'During the terrible famine which visited India a few years ago I was in the Berars, where it was my most painful experience to watch the starving cattle follow on the wake of country carts, their only grazing ground being the ruts where stray straws fell, while for water they followed the mirage lakes so common in that country of black cotton soll that was a realism in misery I will never forget, and it stirred the very depths of my being.'

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also runs the post) is worked on methods and in circumstances repulsive to all humane feeling.

Another matter relating to Coorg which I must add to my long presentment of animal misery is the persistent overloading of coffee-carts on their way down to the coast; overloaded Mysore bullocks, goaded on by the infernal practices of their drivers, wend year by year their dreary way down the Ghâts road to the coast. Yet a simple regulation enjoining that carts loaded beyond a certain limit should not pass the tolls would put an end to such occurrences; for Coorg is a peaceable little territory where there are no reasons, political or otherwise, why humane enactments should not be enforced. The authorities, however, are too supine to move in the matter.

In my opinion all efforts should first be concentrated to secure a legal load-limit for bullocks throughout India, for this would strike at the roots of that cruelty ever to be seen at its high-water mark in the docks and at the railway jetties of Bombay and Calcutta, where two civilisations meet and the commerce of the Empire concentrates.

The municipality of each town has a regulation as to the weight to be taken on each cart, but as no allowance is made for the varying sizes and strength of the animals the regulation permitting eighty maunds to be taken on is most excessive. This regulation would apply equally to a very large pair of waterbuffaloes or a very weak and under-sized pair of bullocks. urge upon my fellow-countrymen and women to agitate for the settlement of a legal load-limit for the whole of India, when this cruelty would cease automatically.

The same lax conditions regarding animal suffering prevail in another district-Ajmere, Rajputana. Humane observances could be enforced there with far less difficulty than in places like Benares, where the overwhelming number of the native population renders the matter more difficult to control, and where administration presents more complicated features; but, owing to indifference and apathy on the part of the authorities, the animals were in a sorry plight. The gharry horses in Ajmere-which had all been duly licensed by the municipal committee—were some of the worst in India.

There is another form of cruelty I should like to mention

specifically, and that is the manufacture of monsters for religious processions. It is known that in various parts of the country, but especially in Delhi, secret places exist where animals are turned into

monsters for exhibition in religious processions. I myself saw one of these poor man-made monsters at Hardwar, a sacred place in the Dun (United Provinces), and secured a

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photograph. It was being led about in charge of a fakir, who showed me with pride several legs which had been engrafted on its back, and the process must have been most painful. Several Englishmen told me that they had often seen animals presenting a most curious appearance in religious processions, and could only conjecture how such conditions were arrived at. The following extract from a letter addressed to me by a Government pensioner will explain some of the circumstances attending the completion of these monsters, and though it would be impossible to discover the various cellars and caves where these cruelties take place, yet a single enactment rendering the exploitation of such animals illegal would cause the supply to cease automatically.

The other day I learnt from Amrita Bazar Patrika that a lady from England had come with a letter of introduction from the Secretary of State for India to prevent cruelty to animals, and that public meetings were held to take up the cause in Calcutta and Madras, where such interest it taken by high authorities in the case. I am sorry that I have forgotten the names of the several noble gentlemen presiding over the meetings and the particulars of the subjects discussed. I, therefore, beg to take the liberty of reaching the society there formed by thus intruding on your valuable

time by these presents.

1. There is a low-class Sudars connected to Moslem faith. They can a limb from a heifer or calf and sew it or engraft it with the flesh of a connected the wounds to turn the animals into a monster, exhibit same of occasions of religious festivals on the bank of rivers, and collect alms by appealing to the feelings of the ignorant simple pilgrims. They disguise themselves as Sadhus. In performing this cruel operation they often kill more than one animal in the greatest agony. If it were made illegal to produce or make artificially such monsters, such unnecessary cruelty may be prevented and the inhuman class of the evil-doers be duly punished. There is another class of bird-catchers, who catch kites and crows, start them for days, twist and torture them on the public roads and crowded markets to move the pity of the simple passers-by, thus inducing them to pay for their liberation. Had there been even a municipal law they could be prosecuted and the wanton cruelty prevented in no time.

I shall deem it a favour if you will pass this humble letter of mine to the

authority who could move steps to be taken in the matter.

I have quoted but a few cases—for space forbids the citation of many—but in each instance the facts can be supported by letters published in the Anglo-Indian press, by statements from the annual reports of the Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty of Animals, by the depositions deepe-witnesses of such occurrences, or by private communications the originals of which can be produced at any time.

Religious sacrifices in India are often conducted with inhums cruelties, but such occurrences are entirely exempted from legs control by Act XI of 1890, which expressly states that 'nothing in this Act shall render it an offence to kill any animal in a manner required by the religion or religious rites and usages of any rate.

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sect, tribe or class'; and until this section of the Act is annulled these barbarous practices will continue.

In October the annual festival of Kali, or Durgá, the goddess of blood and death, takes place, and during this time thousands of animals are done to death in Hindu towns and villages all over the country. I quote the following paragraph from The Times of India Illustrated Weekly, the 4th of August 1909:

At the time of the Durgá Puja in Calcutta the lanes and alleys round about the Temple of Kali may be seen positively flowing with the blood of The stench of blood fills the air. The whole neighbourthousands of goats. hood is redolent of slaughter.

The method of killing ranges from the cleaving asunder of the heads and bodies of buffaloes and goats by a single blow with a heavy sacrificial kukri, as practised by the Ghurkhas (Nepalese), to the throwing of animals over a precipice and leaving them broken and maimed to perish in slow torture, as is the custom in the hills towards Simla, or the leading of buffaloes through the streets to be hacked at by all and sundry until the unhappy creatures sink to the ground to die from loss of blood and sheer

In the early days of our occupation of India human sacrifices were offered to Kali, but this practice, together with that of hookswinging and the burning of Hindu widows on their husbands' funeral pyre, was suppressed. Suttee was pronounced illegal upon the demand for such prohibition by the unmistakable voice of the public opinion of England, and during a long stay in India and after much inquiry it was impossible to discover that any disturbance or particular difficulty occurred to complicate the carrying out of this enactment, though it is a matter upon which Hindus would feel strongly—the custom preserving, as they thought, the eternal union of husband and wife.

It was one of the political maxims laid down by the late Mr. W. E. Gladstone, 'that nothing which is morally wrong can ever be politically right.' The torture of animals means the moral degradation of their tormentors; therefore, if the so-called 'religious privileges' of the people have already been restricted for their moral good, why cannot the British Government of India take a step further, and protect God's dumb creatures, which are as helpless as any human victim?

We have been repeatedly told that Government can nothing to put down the awful cruelty of the annual sacrifices of animals prevalent all over India, but such an answer is an evasion, an outcome of that policy of drift and laissez faire so well known in India, and a part of that dead wall of passive resistance opposed by officials to any innovations unsupported by the public opinion of England.

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I have seen many letters in the Anglo-Indian Press from enlightened Indians begging the Government to take measures to prevent these religious parades of cruelty, and I have been the recipient of many such letters myself, appealing to me to bring forward this matter in England. It is full time that this broad question of the treatment of the animals of our great Empire should be examined in the light of some rational and guiding principle, thus placing the subject upon a broader plane and more definite basis, and thereby preparing the way for a consolidation of measures, for a more specialised system of work, and for a closer co-ordination upon this point between the different authorities at present administering the British Government of India. In view of the present unsatisfactory working of the Acts and their failure to fulfil the purpose for which they were intended, we are justified in urging an inquiry as to the best means of finding a true solution of this difficult and many-sided Is Britain to retrace her steps with a view to regaining the antique position of savage and consistent callousness, or is she to remain perpetually in her present meaningless attitude. applying various Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Acts to many places in India and subsequently repealing her acceptance of the humane principle by a most imperfect observance of them, often even by a failure to bring them into working line at all?

Is this the only solution that statesmanship can offer to this

question?

Is the cumulative wisdom of our century and a half of supremacy in India unable to suggest expedients less unworthy?

Must their reluctance to raise a fresh question render officials indefinitely blind to this breach of faith with those 'whose dumbness is the oratory of pity to a conscientious man'? This torpid acceptance of existing ills on the part of the British Government in India is a violation of that covenant of mercy long since accorded by man to his humble servitors in every civilised land.

It has been frequently hinted by officials that political reasons of considerable importance exist in India which impede the establishment of a better working of the various Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Acts. It is our duty at the present time to elicit facts and to weigh the exceptions of the case, and all information relating to such circumstances and official details should be made available. The means are at hand, for the Government of India lately issued a call for reports upon the working of the various Cruelty Acts from each local administration and province, and the last of such reports has lately been received. We ask that the arguments for and against the prevention of cruelty to animals in India should be carefully set

forth and examined, so that eventually we may reach conclusions, not jumped at, but logically arriving.

After the study of these documents, all those who desire the continuing development of civilisation in our great Empire will combine to overcome forces and circumstances antagonistic to progress by seeing that the necessary steps to achieve this humane object are taken with due care; and the advantages accruing to the animals will be manifold. A continuance of our present policy is no longer possible. There will certainly be a forward movement, and always along the same lines as in the past.

It is worthy of remark that on this point evolutionary science

is completely in agreement with Oriental tradition.

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Nowhere is there a greater illustration of the mighty powers which each individual possesses for good or for evil in the world than in India, which, owing to circumstances engendered by a wholly exotic situation, is essentially a 'one-man' country; and when any official blocks the path of humane progress by apathy and indifference he not only withholds from the lower creation their right to legal protection, but his conduct exercises a dehumanising influence upon all who serve under him. the presentment of deterioration of character, or forgotten duty, is duty itself; and the objective of every representative of a humane Government should be to forward a cause which in this instance is entirely in touch with the breeding, ethics and declared policy of the people whom they rule; and, for the honour of the country which gave them birth, to prove the Acts a working fact.

We know that a flag is easily hoisted, but that it costs much to lower it with honour; and the high standard of British humanity is daily lowered in India by the unjustifiable neglect of officials to apply and render effective the legislation which already

exists on behalf of the lower creation.

The animals of India will find their Magna Charta, not in the unwilling consent of a people dragooned into compliance by the severity of an Act, but in the wider outlook of those in power in a country where precedent and official recognition count for much, and in the changed standpoint of those who already possess the knowledge that in such a reform they have behind them, not only the public opinion of England, but the silent strength of the convinced opinion of the educated classes of These views are offered to the already much occupied officials of India because the present abyss of misery of those below the line ' is an indictment of our civilisation and because, in their long devotion to service, the English nation still charges upon them that they shall not avoid their responsibilities to those who most sorely need their help.

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It should be borne in mind that every circumstance and every case that has been mentioned belongs to a land which is British, and therefore it concerns each one of us as fellow subjects of a great Empire. I think the only way in which we can start work for the cause of furthering general animal pro. tection throughout the Empire is by establishing, after a thorough examination of facts, a comprehensive principle which would cover all varying instances, which would satisfy the requirements of civilisation and justice, and would determine plainly the true lines of our reform. By a principle I mean a rule of conduct which can be generalised, but which is admittedly normal, and which can be broken only on the ground that exceptional circumstances take it out of the rule. I think that the statement of fact and the definition of such a principle would be that this cause is one which, in order of merit, should occupy a more honourable place in our far dominions than is at present the case; that it is our bounden duty to exempt from any unnecessary suffering, systematic oppression, or cruel conditions the animals of any part of our British possessions; and that every endeavour should be made to minimise offences against humanity by the spread of humane education, by further legislation, by outlining a plan for obtaining statistical information upon these matters from every part of our British Dominions beyond the seas, and securing the objects we have in view by some specific and deliberate understanding with dependent Governments as to the humane course they should adopt.

I suggest that some central authority be established for the general superintendence, control, and extension of work relating to the supervision and further protection of the animals of the Empire. The members of such a Council would carefully consider all circumstances and evidence placed before them, and would report to the Home Government any conclusions at which they might arrive—and by these means the conditions under which our animals labour in far dependencies could be more positively ascertained in the future than has ever been possible in the past. We should not be attempting to undertake work now being performed by other bodies, and I believe that the scheme would build a splendid highway for a steady march of humane progress extending into many hitherto untrodden paths, and that by these means we should learn with accuracy what is the nature, and what are the causes, of the evils from which our animals suffer. The exertions of such a central body would give us a map of these fresh fields of labour, and would enable us to vitalise into social activity a new impulse towards civilisation. It would be social activity a new impulse towards civilisation. should then know the first state of the should then know the same of the should then know the same of the should then know the facts, and when the facts are indisputable S

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the remedy will be found; for every human being endowed with sympathy and right principle must desire that the animals of the Empire should be sheltered against insecurity, against evil material conditions, and against sufferings caused by ignorance and narrowness of soul.

When we remember the great advance of that humane movement which had its roots in England, and now has its branches spreading all over the world, and the importance that no question should ever arise as to our ability to hold with humanity and justice what our forefathers won for the Empire, it is surely not too optimistic to hope that some earnest workers will come forward to shed light in these darker places rather than raise their torches in more illuminated surroundings.

Another good result of such action would be to break down the wall of ignorance which at present exists on the part of the majority of home-staying Britons regarding animal life in all parts of the globe, and the creation thereby of further fields of

interest and usefulness.

There could be no more important factor in bringing home to the minds of the young the great truth that life is an opportunity for service than by inculcating the precepts of humane education, especially in regard to the animal world; and the value and importance of this in a country like India, where the belief is already so strong in the practical unity of all living things, cannot be over-estimated. This creed is held alike by Buddhists and Hindus, and though the sight of tormented and tortured creatures is a daily and common occurrence, yet the very existence of such an article of faith in the religions of a people gives every encouragement to pioneers to spread over the country, with vigour and determination, a network of humane education.

This crusade against suffering will entail hard work and many disappointments, for the merciful contract between men and animals is grievously broken, both in spirit and in the letter, in our far dependencies; and that motive of self-interest which dictates that the animals are ours to do what we like with is hard to eradicate where the soil is poor and the roots strike deep.

All down the years of our sovereignty in India sounds the cry of these forgotten creatures, who are still the animals of the British Râj, and the tragedy of their existence has power to shock by its magnitude. One can but hope to see the day when the animals of every land made British by the heroism and sacrifice of the sons of England will have their special pleader, duly accredited, by a nation that has realised its responsibilities, to set forth in plain and fearless language the cruelties

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from which they suffer, and to voice the eternal call of their helplessness. One hopes to see the day when, by this means, a searchlight is thrown on infamous deeds and shameful praca searchight is thrown on lonely roads and in the hidden jungles, tices, perpetrated upon lonely roads and in the hidden jungles, which have often made the hearts of humane people ache for

the animals of the Empire.

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In view of progress and advance in thought it is not visionary to hope that in the future Britain will remember that these are indeed her animals, that she is responsible for their well-being; and that to the uttermost limits of her great Empire, and wher, ever the Union Jack is flying, there will extend a humane legislation on their behalf, not merely granted as a whitewash in response to public demand, but legislation thoughtfully applied and carried out with courage and good sense by those who realise that possession implies duty, and that in these distant lands, far more than at home, the honour of the Empire is in their keeping.

If wisely thought out and systematically and zealously taken up, this new departure will lead to a considerable diminution of suffering, to the dawn of a brighter day for myriads of voiceless servants of Empire for whom that Empire only represents at present a Prison House of Pain, and to the raising morally and spiritually of their cruel gaolers and taskmasters. None can doubt the ultimate triumph of a cause the solution of which is not to be found in the barren formula of any creed or dogma, nor even in the multitude of its adherents, but in its direct appeal to the 'inward witness' and in its unexampled power of touching the human heart.

It is work which must be engineered with care by those who feel a genuine interest in it, who possess the capacity for mastering a case and presenting it, who have an open mind, and are aware of the high call of faith and of the sacrifices that the

good cause will ask for to the end.

Surely we may trust our fellow countrymen and women to think imperially upon the subject of our duty towards these unhappy creatures, and to recognise that all who combine to determine some true line of reform will be working also for England's honour, since the various forms of abuse to which animals are at present subject all over our great Empire are an outrage to the national sense of upright dealing and are stain on the British Flag.

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SOME ASPECTS OF CHINESE REFORM

No more than a brief century of years has elapsed since the first faint stirrings of a new national life in the heart of Europe preluded the birth of a great Empire. On the 16th of March 1813 a disunited Germany declared war upon France, and the titanic struggle for union and liberty was begun.

To the student of history in its more human aspects the analogy which may be traced between incidents of the twenty-five years immediately succeeding that memorable date in German history and the events of the last ten years which have culminated in the present crisis in the Chinese Empire cannot

fail to prove of the deepest interest and significance.

Then, as now, the spirit of reform was primarily engendered in, and emanated from, what may be termed the student classes of the two communities. Indeed, it is but the natural and inevitable revolt of the sturdy arrogance of youth against the effete autocracy of age—as it is held to be; the determined opposition of a new and liberal school of thought to a venerable and time-sanctified conservatism. But there is this point of difference where the analogy fails. The first King of Prussia, a single German State, was crowned in 1701; the history of China as an Empire may be traced back for nearly three thousand years.

Student risings have ever been intimately connected with crises in European history, and Young China is, to-day, but following the path once trodden by Young Austria or Young France. In fact, at the present moment some subtle bond of sympathy would appear to subsist between China and Russia in those schools of political thought directly influenced by the

more advanced of the younger generation.

The Reform movement in China has long since reached the point from which public interest in this country has begun to fail. The telegrams in the Press—at no time of any great value, save those from the honoured diplomatist who represented The Times in Peking—are more and more abbreviated, editorial comments are becoming even less adequate, and little or nothing—except in the direction of comment upon the financial question—is done

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to stimulate public concern in events which are affecting the destinies of a people forming a quarter of the entire population of the world, and inhabiting a country more vast than the whole

of Europe.

To that elusive individual, 'the man in the street,' this revolution appears to have differed but little from the recent upheaval in Portugal. He may, perhaps, quote the well-worn phrase, 'The Awakening of China,' but his perception of its true value is dim, and his recognition of the real forces at work and the effects which have already been produced is even more indistinct. Of the more human side of the movement, as distinct from the 'alarums and excursions' of the opposing forces, he is curiously unappreciative.

From this introductory reference to the primal forces at work in China it is the writer's desire in the present article briefly to indicate two or three of the directions in which a line of social progress is being pursued, or is suggested; something of the debt which China owes to Western civilisation; and, finally, to venture upon a suggestion in regard to the relationship between foreigners and the Chinese. With certain material questions such as the Army, Education, and the Drama he has dealt more fully

elsewhere.

In the first place it must be borne in mind that the recent armed revolution has been by no means a great national rising on behalf of freedom, a revolt of an oppressed people against an autocratic Government. A review of the struggle will show that the rising has been confined almost entirely to the extreme eastern part of the empire and to the great towns and cities adjoining a line drawn diagonally between Kalgan in the far north and Canton in the south. Hankow, for instance, through which this line would pass, is no more distant from the seacoast than Inverness is from London. If a second line be drawn joining Hankow with Hangchow, which stands at the head of an inlet of the sea, the suggestive fact will be noticed that the country to the north as far as Kalgan and Peking is served with many ways of intercommunication, and such as are lacking in the interior. Apart from the River Yangtze, the Grand Canal, and many lesser waterways, an excellent railway connects Hankow with Peking, another runs from Hangchow via Shanghai, Nanking to Suchow (in the north of Kiangsu), and this also, with the completion of a strip of 100 miles at present under construction, will connect with Peking, via Tientsin. A branch connects this line with the German settlement of Tsingtau; and several other connecting links are projected.

This delimitation leaves at least three-fourths of the empire untouched, and, although a few isolated revolutionary centres

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are to be found therein, it is perhaps no exaggeration to suggest that five-sixths of the Chinese people have no concern whatever with the revolution, nor with reform of any kind.

With this large majority we are not at present concerned, although it would be of interest to dwell upon the extraordinary contradictions and inconsistencies, even in the most ordinary details of every-day life, between the Chinese in the coast towns and cities and those in the sleepy interior of the country. There roads are non-existent; inns are, for the most part, revolting hovels; bribery, corruption, moral degradation, infanticide, effete legislation, superstition in its worst aspects—all hold unlimited sway. Well may the most ardent reformer, Chinese or foreign, throw up his hands in despair. And yet in the eastern provinces, despite certain remarkable instances to the contrary, there is evidence upon every side of a breaking up of old traditions and of an influential progress in thought and action such as man, in Eastern or Western civilisation, has never conceived

The railway systems of China offer perhaps the most direct evidence of this progress. The first railway line, a very small undertaking constructed under British auspices and running between Shanghai and Woosung, was formally opened to traffic on the 30th of June 1876, in face of the most determined opposition from the natives. This was exactly sixty-two years after Stephenson's first locomotive came into actual use in England. The line was temporarily closed, and was then sold to the Chinese at cost price, by whom it was subsequently shipped off to Formosa. Incidentally it may be added that the Chinese erected a temple upon the site of the old Shanghai terminus as a peace-offering to the Goddess of Mercy.

It was not until 1887, and consequent upon certain events in the Franco-Chinese War, that the necessity for railway transport was officially recognised. The following year a track of eighty-one miles was opened in the vicinity of the capital, and

China possessed her first real railway.

The history of subsequent railway enterprise, of the rush for concessions and so forth, has been often related, and there is no need to enlarge upon the subject. There are now actually in operation in the empire 5400 miles of railways, while plans are ready for an additional 14,000 miles. The systems fall roughly under five headings, and of these the Shanghai-Nanking system is, if not the most important, of the greatest interest.

This section, of 193 miles, serves what is perhaps the richest portion of the empire. Opened in March 1908, the line is the heat line is the heat line is the heat line and the chinese the best laid and the most admirably equipped of all the Chinese

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railways. Incidentally it is, so far as the writer is aware, the only system in the empire which publishes a halance-sheet. The passenger coaches would be a credit to any of our own larger companies, and it is a curious experience for the European traveller landing in Shanghai and proceeding up country to find himself being carried through uncivilised (!) China in so luxurious a manner, and served en route with excellent meals and wines.

Unfortunately this system has hitherto been worked at a loss, or at least without profit. The initial cost works out at the large figure of 17,000l. per mile; the capital charge per unit of traffic is accounted too high; and lastly, owing to the surround. ing country being intersected by a network of navigable waterways, it has been found impossible to secure an adequate freight traffic. In this connexion an interesting project has recently been initiated, by which certain trains are stopped at various points between stations to pick up individual Chinese bringing in vegetable produce, etc., to market. The scheme, which has met with considerable favour and success, may seem trivial enough to Westerners, but it is at least another step in the right direction of giving the Chinese what they really want instead of what we consider that they ought to want. On the other hand, it may emphasise the predilection of the natives for regarding a railway track as an excellent footpath or wheelbarrow route, and the metals as a convenient pillow for nocturnal slumber. In fact, the habit of coolies sleeping upon the line has become a positive nuisance to engine-drivers.

As an example of present-day Chinese workmanship the line of railway recently opened from Peking through the Nankou Pass to Kalgan may be cited. This was constructed and is supervised entirely by Chinese, the engines and rolling-stock being made locally. The embankment through the pass, eighty feet or so above the river, is in itself a triumph of engineering skill.

Although the ultimate prospects of railway enterprise in China are bright, present progress is very slow. A great deal of opposition on the part of the countryfolk is still encountered, especially on the Canton-Hankow line; financial conditions are most unsatisfactory, and although money is scarce there appears a decided aversion to negotiating any foreign loans. It would almost seem that China, even at this stage of her development, has not yet taken to heart the lessons which a record of lost opportunities should have taught her. Had the Imperial Government of fifty years ago given heed to wise counsel, China would to-day have been in possession of a network of effective railways. The vast mineral resources of the country would now be open to development, trade might well be flourishing, the frontiers

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would be served by strategic lines. Instead of applying her own natural resources to the present-day needs of the nation China has, perforce, to resort to foreign loans.

In concluding this necessarily brief synopsis of Chinese railway progress, reference may suitably be made to a work upon the subject recently published by M. Edouard de Laboulaye, and to the figures therein given of foreign capital already provided:

British					•	45.		. 5	316,660,000
German	1								6,833,320
French									5,600,000
Franco-B	elgiar	1.							1,640,000
U.S.A.	. 1					-			1,500,000
Japan	-			71.	•		Pin	1.	267,280
		m (1							
		To	tal			-		. £	32,500,600

III

Up to the close of the nineteenth century education, as the term is understood in the West, did not exist in China outside the immediate neighbourhood of the mission schools. knowledge as was imparted was confined almost exclusively to the old Chinese classics. In 1905 an imperial edict was promulgated initiating an entirely new and comprehensive system, not only providing for the founding of schools throughout the empire, but also defining the courses of studies to be adhered To-day the study of English is compulsory, and this language has been adopted as the official medium in all scientific and technical branches. Although it is not well wholly to rely upon Chinese official returns, some figures published December by the Ministry of Education may be quoted. 1910 the number of schools in the empire, exclusive of those under the direction of foreign missionaries and private individuals, is given as 42,444, with 1,274,928 students. At the end of 1911 there was recorded an increase of 10,206 in the number of schools, and of 351,792 in that of the students. In comparison with the total population returns these figures may appear insignificant, but the period of working and other factors must be taken into account. Again, the number of independent establishments, such as those above mentioned, must be very great; they are, in many cases, most popular and claim a large attendance. Methods of teaching by correspondence have also been introduced in several of the largest institutions, and have proved thoroughly satisfac-Indeed, it would not be surprising to learn that this system was the most popular of any. Old habits and customs die hard in China, and from these and other motives, such as economy, many of the younger generation are content to pursue

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their studies at home as their fathers and grandfathers did before them. The writer understands that representations have already been made to the Minister of Education with a view to securing for these home students the same privileges in the conferment of degrees as those enjoyed by men in the Government schools.

For the last ten years it has been the policy of the Imperial and of the more progressive provincial Governments to send abroad numbers of young students between the ages of sixteen and nineteen for an education upon Western lines. In September 1911 the Government resolved upon an extension of this policy, and it was decided, by way of an experiment, to select from the various provinces a number of younger boys, from twelve to fourteen years of age, and send them to Europe and America for a period of fourteen years. They are there to pass through every grade of education necessary for the professions to which they intend to devote themselves. This experiment will naturally be watched with the closest interest, and one can hardly doubt that, in view of the beneficial results which have already been achieved by means of the former more restricted policy, the outcome of the new departure should prove even more startling than was anticipated from the arrival in England of J. M. Barrie's Scotsman 'with a 3001. education.'

It will thus be inferred that there exists a strong general tendency towards the adoption of up-to-date Western methods in the system of education. Indeed, the volte face which has so suddenly been effected by the decree that only those men who had received a modern, as distinct from the ancient classic, education would be eligible for educational posts is as remarkable in its way as the immediate suppression of opium by a stroke of the Vermilion Pencil. It is also worthy of note that the Chinese have now for the most part abandoned their former policy of acquiring a second-hand Western education from the Japanese, and appear to have decided that it is more advantageous to pursue their studies in Europe and America.

A digression on behalf of the much maligned foreign missionary may at this point be permissible. With the 'religion' aspect of the question we are not at present concerned, but the writer suggests that the secular and educational side of the work has not hitherto received the recognition which should be accorded.

While it is unfortunately the case that a number of men and women who are thoroughly unsuitable and unqualified do go

With the rescission of this edict consequent upon the removal of the Manchu dynasty it must with regret be recorded that poppy-growing is now once more upon the increase. The extraordinary situation which has now arisen is dealt with at length in *The Times* of the 3rd of June.

out to China as missionaries—the old principle of the youngest son of the family taking holy orders, or the failures at home being good enough for missionaries—still the educational work which is carried on by foreigners in the far interior is on the whole worthy of high praise. These men and women live under the most difficult conditions in isolated towns and villages, perhaps hundreds of miles distant from their nearest European neighbours, knowing that at any moment they may be the objects of a fanatical anti-foreign rising and suffer the most hideous tortures, with death as a merciful release.

Despite these facts they gallantly move forward along the line of progress, working for and with their little communities, converting perhaps, but teaching always. As a medium of popular education in China the missionary has proved invaluable. The people do not care a snap of the fingers about his religion, but they do desire to learn. And if they cannot penetrate the secrets of Western civilisation and its power by any other means, they are quite prepared to listen to an exposition of the foreigner's religious doctrines and be converted—for the

necessary period.

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But modern education in China under the new conditions has, unfortunately, its unsatisfactory side. To anyone who possesses but a slight experience of Chinese official methods it will be a matter of no surprise to learn that in the purely native institutions the administration is too frequently notoriously lax—to use no stronger term. We are continually confronted with instances of men wholly unsuitable for the posts being appointed to the higher offices; and the iniquitous system of 'squeeze' is as

potent as in every other Government office.

While such criticism must be levelled at the administrative side, the condition of affairs when we turn to the students must seem to a foreigner almost incomprehensible; were the matter not so serious it would be ludicrous. In a word discipline is for the most part non-existent, and the teaching staffs appear to prosecute their duties entirely in accordance with the whims and fancies of their pupils. Going 'on strike' has been reduced to a fine art in many a Chinese school, and it has recently been asserted that during the last two years every school in Shantung, to name one province only, has been in that happy condition at least once. An authority on Chinese questions, writing in The National Review (Shanghai), gives an amusing description of the troubles of a schoolmaster in a native school.

The student [he says] lays down the law himself as to what he wants to learn and how it is to be taught. Having known nothing of discipline from his birth upward, he cannot be expected to develop it in college. If, therefore, his lecturers do not please him they can be boycotted. If he is

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not prepared for his examination, the examination must be postponed. If the questions are too hard two alternatives confront the unlucky examiner: he may withdraw them and issue easier, or he may 'lower the standard required for a pass.'

The students appear also to take a great deal more interest in politics than in their studies, and if interfered with simply refuse to attend school.

It is a curious condition of affairs, but there is no adequate reason to consider it as other than transitory, despite the present serious situation and the gloomy reports which just now are coming to hand from Peking and other centres. So much has already been effected in the course of the last six years towards the establishment of a sure foundation for a national educational system that if only the existing defects be properly appreciated adequate reform will surely follow. Indeed there is already evidence, from the report published by the Minister of Education four months ago, that many of these evils have been recognised. But in this, as in every other Department, the real crisis is probably primarily due to the financial deadlock. Once this is obviated it is not unreasonable to anticipate that, under the guidance of the Central Educational Conference which will be convened almost immediately, strenuous efforts will be made to pursue a policy of closer adherence to Western methods and models than has hitherto obtained.

IV

From the subject of education one naturally turns to that of books. Speaking generally—a most fatal habit where the Chinese are concerned—it may be said that up to the present the greatest demand for translations of European books has been in the direction of works of science and technology—'utility' books, as the class may conveniently be termed. Literature and art will follow, but just now the progressive Chinese are for the most part concerned with the theories and principles of Western dynamics—the secrets of physical as opposed to moral forces. As remarked above, English has been adopted as the official language in science and technology, and it will thus be apparent that as time goes on there will be less and less demand for translations.

A glance through the catalogue of works issued by one of the largest publishing firms in China affords interesting reading. The Commercial Press, Ltd., with head offices in Shanghai, employs some 1500 workpeople and is run upon the most upto-date of Western methods. The undertaking should prove the envy of many a large firm in this country. A sound system of profit-sharing, schools for the children, healthy surroundings

² In 1910 the profits amounted to 25 per cent.

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and sanitary conditions—all are represented. This firm deals with a considerable amount of Government printing and newspaper work, but its principal output is concerned with textbooks of every kind. These are printed in Chinese or in English with Chinese explanatory notes, and the demand is astonishing.

The catalogue includes works by Shakespeare, Scott, Charles Lamb, R. L. Stevenson, Dickens, and other well-known authors. One of the most popular books is, appropriately enough, Carlyle's French Revolution, with works by Darwin, Rousseau, and Huxley close behind. The writer recalls the fact that one of his Chinese teachers often quoted passages from Chaucer, and one day shamed him into purchasing a copy of Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Son, since the Chinese knew far more about them than his English pupil. Pepys's Diary was another favourite classic of this particular Chinese. Incidentally it may be remarked that the prices of these reprints range from 8d. to 3s. 4d.; also that the translations must be thoroughly good and scholarly, or the Chinese will have none of them.

A certain well-known and esteemed writer upon Chinese subjects has given it as his opinion that the present renaissance of learning is comparable only to the great revival in Europe which followed the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. Even in the far interior, where foreign influence has not yet penetrated, there is frequently to be found evidence of a keen desire for this new knowledge. The writer recently observed a pathetic little notice affixed to a ramshackle schoolhouse in a country village; the inscription ran, 'English tote from A to G.' The Chinese language, of course, possesses no alphabet such as ours, and the mastery of so many as seven English letters was evidently to be regarded with great pride.

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And if China owes so much of her material progress to the lessons which the West has taught her, the question may well arise whether she has not the right to make further demands in regard to her future relationship with the peoples of the West.

For many years the foreigner has landed in China in ever increasing numbers, seeking a mart for his wares, anxious to share in the rich harvest of profits which is, he is assured, waiting to be gathered in. The present crisis has only served to strengthen his assurance. To-day, amongst all classes in Great Britain, the watchword is 'China.' Engineers, army officers, merchants, doctors, artisans and labourers, skilled and otherwise—all turn their eyes to the Far East. 'The country of the future,' they cry; 'that is where the money is to be made.'

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Yes, it is true. China is the country of the future—for the Chinese, not for the foreigner. The day of the latter is passing, if indeed it has not already passed.

Lest so sweeping a statement be misunderstood, it will be advisable to devote some little attention to existing conditions and probable eventualities so far as the foreigner is affected. At the present moment the internal affairs of the empire are in a state of chaos; and it must be remembered, too, that apart from the actual armed revolution, with its disastrous effects upon trade and other activities, several of the great provinces have been experiencing all the horrors of one of the ghastliest famines which China has ever known. The distress has been rendered all the more acute owing to the financial condition of the Government. In April it was estimated that in North Kiangsu alone there were 800,000 people facing death by starvation, and that only about 10 per cent. of the suffering throughout the faminestricken districts was being relieved.

It will readily be seen that any process of social and economic recovery must necessarily be extremely slow, and that the present is hardly the time for foreigners upon their own initiative to embark upon doubtful enterprises in the Far East. of the foreigner is passing, passing in so far as the mere potential acquisition of wealth, the concession of indeterminate rights, and the exploitation for his own ends of territory and people are concerned. And this assertion is made despite the reiterated statements of pessimists, in the Press and elsewhere, that China is now no more than a carcase around which the vultures are gathering. But there is need, and will be for many years to come, of men who are experts, not amateurs, in certain lines of work, and are prepared loyally to work with the Chinese, having ever in view the great future which lies before that nation. The recognition of this need, too, is fully shown by the nature of the speech delivered by the President Yuan Shih-kai to the Advisory Council in May last; by the recent appointment of Dr. G. E. Morrison as Political Adviser to the Government; and by the suggested appointments of Sir Francis Piggott and Professor J. W. Jenks, of Cornell University, in similar advisory capacities.

But while expert foreign assistance is needed, China has already acquired and utilised to good purpose an extensive knowledge of modern science and art. And this is a factor which is apt to be overlooked. An instance of such practical application

The Yangtze Ports Trade Statistics of 1911 show a decrease upon the previous year of approximately forty million taels, due almost entirely to the Revolution, famine, and plague. Latest advices, however, from Hankow indicate a welcome resilience; that the rice harvest throughout the Yangtze Valley is abundant and that other crops give and the comis abundant and that other crops give excellent promise, sufficient 'to compensate for the losses inflicted by the recent stagnation of trade.'

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will be found in the construction of the Peking-Kalgan Railway referred to earlier in this article. Another may be found in the reorganisation of the Yun-nanese Army. This province will, in a very few years, be able to place in the field a force of 30,000 men—an army which, in discipline, in training, in equipment, and in war material will challenge comparison with that of any other nation in the world. The officers have studied the arts of war and organisation in the best schools of Europe; the men, one and all, are imbued with that spirit of imperialism and implicit trust in their country's future which renders an army invincible.

If China has not for the moment acquired the right to a further demand upon the peoples of the West, the day is close at hand when she will not only demand but be in a position peaceably to enforce acceptance. And that demand will be for comity in the Council of the Nations. To-day she seeks but one little thing; one little gift, so easy to bestow and yet of such value—sympathy; and we should be proud in the realisation that it is to Great Britain more than to any other nation that China looks for its bestowal. And in this connexion two telegraphic despatches transmitted to Peking by His Britannic Majesty's Government at the close of last year would appear to deserve a wider publicity than they have yet received, for they undoubtedly in no small measure favourably affected the negotiations then pending:

From Sir Edward Grey to Sir John Jordan.

November 15th, 1911.

We have conceived very friendly feelings and respect for Yuan Shih-kai. We should wish to see a Government sufficiently strong to deal impartially with foreign countries, and to maintain internal order and favourable conditions for the progress of trade, established in China as a consequence of the revolution. Such a Government would receive all the diplomatic support which we could give it.

December 26th, 1911.

We desire to see a strong and united China under whatever form of Government the Chinese people wish.

Expressions of sympathy such as these are naturally highly valued, but Great Britain is a long way from China, and the Chinese from the nature of things desire some more practical and immediate token of understanding. To refer to one point only. It is the deplorable fact that no sooner does the Britisher or the German, or any other national, set foot in China than he is inclined to assume all the haughtiness and proud bearing of a feudal over-lord—a supreme being, as it were, looking down with majestic tolerance upon a world of Lilliputians.

But in China the exercise of <u>force majeure</u> is out of place. The British can win the respect of the natives, as indeed British

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merchants have ever done all the world over, by fair and just business dealings. But in ordinary every-day intercourse, in the street and in public generally, the contempt with which the foreigner so frequently treats the native is intolerable, and is very justly resented by the latter. It is a most commonplace incident for a foreigner in the Shanghai street to push a respectable Chinese off the pavement into the road, simply because the former will not trouble to walk a yard out of his way. And this in a settlement where Chinese and Europeans live side by side. It would be interesting to note the result if a foreigner adopted the same tactics in a town in the interior.

It may be urged that the Chinese have only themselves to blame for such treatment; that the foreigner has vivid recollections of past excesses, fanatical outbreaks, unspeakable tortures. The other side of the question is conveniently forgotten. It was Europe, or America, and not China, who was primarily the aggressor. And as for Western civilisation, how few are the generations which link us with the Holy Inquisition of Spain, the barbarism of thumbscrew and rack, the 'little-ease' and other ingenuities of the Star Chamber.

Germany owes no little of her commercial success in China not merely to a nice appreciation of Chinese requirements, but also to a friendly intercourse with the Chinese outside business hours. The Britisher prefers his club and his sports, and he loses trade in consequence. But the Germans as a nation are distinctly unpopular with the Chinese; the British merchant is always liked. If, therefore, from no other motive than that of patriotism it would seem desirable for us to adopt less insular methods and evince a genuine desire to meet our Chinese neighbours half-way.

It is unnecessary at this stage to emphasise the now universally recognised axiom that the future of the Chinese Empire is the concern of every great nation to-day. Modern civilisation is thrusting upon that people of four hundred million souls not only those marvels of modern science and luxury which are part of our everyday life, but also the most terrible weapons of destruction that the brain of man can devise. Modern civilisation—Christianity if you will—has yet by precept and example to inculcate upon this Eastern nation, which in thought is as the Poles asunder from the West, those doctrines of forbearance by the observance of which alone can China achieve greatness.

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REMINISCENCES OF THE LATE EMPEROR OF JAPAN

THE EMPEROR MUTSU HITO, who died on the 30th of July last, was the 121st sovereign of Japan in a direct line from the Emperor Jimmu, who founded the Empire in the year 660 B.C. It was not till a thousand years later that the annals of Japan began to be worthy of the name of history, but from the time they did so the same family has reigned in unbroken succession, and it is therefore, beyond all cavil, the oldest reigning family in the The late Emperor was the only son of the Emperor world. Komei, who died on the 3rd of February 1867, after a reign of twenty years. He was born at Kioto on the 3rd of November 1852, nominated Prince Imperial eight years later, and in the fifteenth year of his age succeeded his father on the throne. His reign extended over forty-five years, and the changes which it witnessed in the country he governed may, both in their rapidity and vitality, be said to be unique in the history of the world.

At his accession Japan was in the throes of a revolution—a revolution which is often described in Europe as bloodless, but which was so far from being so that it was only finally accomplished after nearly ten years of bitter civil war; one incident in which was a fiercely-fought battle at the palace gates, when the late Emperor within them was a child of twelve years. national civilisation, high and cultured as it was, was still that of the Middle Ages. The people were ignorant of all the elements of modern European science. The peasants, artisans, and traders were practically serfs, rigorously excluded from all share in political administration, and mere hewers of wood and drawers of water for a privileged aristocratic class, numbering one-fifteenth of the whole population, whose members lived in ease and luxury on the means that were wrung from the toiling masses. All, both aristocrats and plebeians, were bound with the fetters of an iron system of feudalism, the aggregate burthens of which; though they never included wardship, marriage, or seignorial rights, were no less onerous than those of our own ancestors under the Plantagenets. There was neither peace nor good order in society.

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There were no uniform systems of law or currency. There was neither a national army nor a navy. There was no imperial revenue. After three centuries of rigid isolation treaty relations had just been cemented with some of the Great Powers of the world, but the ministers of the Government were wholly ignorant of the principles of international law or comity. A large and influential section of the dominant class was bitterly opposed to foreign intercourse of any kind, and was clamouring for the annulment of the treaties and the forcible expulsion of the Euro. peans who, under these treaties, had already taken up their residence in Japan. The flames of civil war were still burning and the hereditary antagonisms of the great nobles and their followers rendered any common action for the national welfare impossible. Bankrupt in finance, impotent for defence, equally destitute of any consciousness of political rights and of all capacity for industrial organisation, disunited, saturated with the most narrow conservatism and the arrogant pride that springs from it, ignorant of all the achievements of modern science, no nation seemed to have a more unpromising future than did the ancient Empire of Japan when the Emperor, who has just died, came to the throne. We need not describe Japan as it is now. The change which took place in the brief space of one reign, from a negligible Asiatic principality into a Great Power of the world, might be compared to the transformation of England during the Wars of the Roses into the United Kingdom of the present day.

The Revolution, which was the herald of this change, is more correctly described as the Restoration than by the term which is usually applied to it, as its culmination was a reversion to an old order of affairs, which had been in abeyance for centuries. rather than the establishment of an entirely new system. The Shogunate in Japan was founded at the close of the twelfth century. Prior to it the political constitution was a pure monarchy. of which the Emperor was the executive head. In the twelfth century the first Shogun, Yoritomo, succeeded in establishing a military dictatorship, and, though it was an inherent principle of the constitution that all the land in the Empire was the property of the Emperor, Yoritomo used his power to distribute it among his own followers on the basis of a feudal tenure, the feudatories who were thus created looking on the Shogun as their suzerain rather than on the sovereign who was their legitimate lord. The system thus originated was, four hundred years later, perfected, from the point of view of the interests of the usurpers, by Iyeyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa dynasty of the Shoguns, and the Shogunate continued to be vested in his descendants until the year 1868. All the land in Japan was parcelled among feudal chiefs (Daimio), who rendered either

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willing or compulsory fealty to the Shogun, but exercised an almost sovereign autonomy in their own fiefs, and could all command the unquestioning devotion of an army of retainers (Samurai), more or less numerous according to their wealth, a devotion which in its obligations far exceeded that of the clansmen of the Highlands of Scotland to their chiefs.

There were in all 292 of these feudatories, eighteen of whom were of the first rank, holding fiefs each of which covered an entire province. So well had the system been organised by Iveyasu, so complete were the safeguards which he devised to secure the fealty or subservience of the feudatories to his own family, that throughout its duration, extending over 260 years. the Empire enjoyed profound peace, and the overlordship of the Tokugawas was unquestioned. They held in their hands the whole power of the Empire to a greater extent than did the Mayors of the Palace under the later Merwing Kings of France: while the true and legitimate ruler, the Emperor, was cloistered in his palace at Kioto, his name and dignity still revered and worshipped by all his people, himself still recognised as the theoretical fount of all honour and legal authority, but a mere fiction as far as regarded the exercise of any administrative functions within his own dominions.

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century many of the great feudatories were fretting against the intolerable burthens imposed on them by the Shogun, and the Emperor Komei was no willing fainéant. But nothing could be done. No Daimio could venture to oppose the Shogun single-handed. No combination was possible, either among the Daimio themselves between the Daimio and the Imperial Court, for one of Iyeyasu's injunctions was that no Daimio should visit Kioto or address the Emperor, save through the Shogun, and the Daimio were divided among themselves by hereditary clan-antagonisms. When, however, foreigners appeared on the shores of Japan and demanded the right of entry, the whole position of affairs at once changed. The Shogun, all-powerful over his own countrymen, was helpless against the modern guns and ships of the foreigners. He had to yield to their demands, to render himself by doing so still more odious in the eyes of both the rigidly conservative Court and the equally conservative feudatories, and to be branded by both as a traitor to the divine traditions of his country. party cry of 'Sonno Joi '-honour the Emperor and expel the foreigner—was raised throughout the land, and with that watchword civil war broke out. authority came to an end. The Shogun was conquered, and his

The fall of the Shogunate involved as an inevitable corollary the end of the feudal system. It was from the Shogun, as their Vol. LXXII-No. 427

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feudal superior, that the feudatories held their fiefs; their overlord was gone, and with him had vanished their legal rights. Four of the greatest among those of the first rank, Satsuma, Choshiu, Tosa, and Bizen, took the lead, and recognising not only that the titles to their lands had gone, but that while Japan continued to be divided into a number of independent fiefs, as it had been, no central government could be formed strong enough either to insure its own stability or the national safety from foreign aggression, surrendered their fiefs to the Emperor, and where these four led all others had perforce to follow. This occurred in March 1869, but it was not till two years later that the surrender was made complete. The continued administration of their old fiefs was at first left in the hands of the former feudatories, where they acted as governors in the name of the Emperor; no longer arbitrary and irresponsible rulers. but servants of the State, bound by the laws and instructions which emanated from the Emperor, and administering their revenues and governments in his name. This was the furthest reform on which the new Government could venture while still in its infancy, but while this reform nominally abolished feudalism it left some of its evils intact, and all local power and influence continued to be vested in the hands by which they had been independently exercised for nearly three centuries.

A further step was necessary to ensure the entire abolition of the time-honoured local autonomy and the effectual consolidation of the governing power in the hands of one central authority, and in 1871, when the new Government was firmly established, this step was taken. On the 29th of August 1871 an Imperial decree was issued, under which the ex-feudatories were removed from their posts as governors and ordered thenceforth to take up their residences in the capital, their fiefs absorbed into the provinces in which they lay and their entire administration vested in officials, with no local ties, appointed by the central Government. All their domains thus once more became, as they had been prior to the first Shogunate, the actual and unquestioned property of the Emperor; all their revenues were paid direct into his treasury, and the ex-feudatories were reduced to the position of private gentlemen, retaining some portion of their former wealth, but bereft of their armies of devoted retainers and of their governing power. With this step the revolution was completed. The Emperor was restored to the position of his remote ancestors, sovereign lord of all his people, whose loyalty and fidelity became due to him alone, and the real as well as the nominal source of all law.

At a time when it is possible that the nationalisation of the land and the single tax may become a question of practical politics

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in the United Kingdom, this momentous step which was taken by the Government of Japan might well be studied with some the Governments of these measures in Great Britain claim that nothing definite can be estimated of their results, because no nation has ever tried them, but in Japan, the land which was for centuries, as it is now in England, in the possession of private owners, was successfully nationalised without crying private and until the great increase of national expenditure which followed the China war of 1894, the national revenue was mainly derived from the tax on land.

Before his accession the Emperor had never stirred beyond the walls of his father's palace, and within it he had been subject to the conservative influences of his father and the majority of his courtiers. The expulsion of 'the ugly barbarians' from the sacred shores of Japan was one of the most cherished of their principles, and it might have sunk deeply into the heart of the young Prince while still under his haughty and unbending father's influence. But all the courtiers were fortunately not entirely blind to the times. There were some who saw that the hope of Japan maintaining her old seclusion was gone for ever, and among these was the court noble (Kuge) Iwakura, who acted as the youth's tutor, and who subsequently became his second minister of State. By him the youthful Emperor was induced to assent to the more liberal ideas which began to find strong advocates in the nation, and when the Government, which had come into power with the avowed object of expelling the foreigners, had gained its first firm foothold, its former platform was at once unreservedly disclaimed. An Imperial decree, under the Emperor's sign-manual, appeared, which proclaimed that the policy of seclusion was abandoned, and that henceforth international intercourse, upon the basis of international rules, should be opened.' Wonder quickly followed on wonder. The Daimio, who had freely spent their treasure, and the Samurai, who had poured out their blood like water to efface the stain of barbarian presence from their beloved country, had scarcely time to realise the full significance of this decree, when it was further announced that the new Emperor, the direct descendant of the Gods of Heaven who had created Japan and all the world, himself a demi-god, unapproachable, sacred from the eyes even of his own courtiers, was about to admit the diplomatic representatives of the Treaty Powers into his presence with no intervening of vening screen to guard his sacred person from the profanation of their gaze; to receive them, not humbly on their knees with foreheads touching the ground, as even the great Lord, the Shogun, with all his might and semi-majesty, had been wont to approach him on the rare occasions on which he was admitted

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into his presence, but standing erect with eyes fearlessly turned upon him.

The audience took place on the 26th of March 1868. Kioto had been visited by Europeans before. Xavier and many of his followers had even openly preached there in the sixteenth century, and the Dutch traders of Desima had frequently passed through it while on their annual missions to the Shogun's court at Yedo; but the missionaries' visits took place before the days of enforced isolation, when Japan was not only willing but eager to cultivate foreign intercourse, while the Dutch passed through the city closely guarded, almost as prisoners. Now the foreigners came in triumphant show. Sir Harry Parkes, the British Minister, was escorted by the mounted guard of his own Legation -all ex-London policemen, but drilled as cavalry, and gay with lances and bright pennons and uniforms that resembled those of the Carabineers-and by a large detachment of the 9th Regiment of the line (now the Norfolks), which was then in the garrison that was maintained by Great Britain at Yokohama. The fact that no less than three medical officers accompanied the procession proved that it was not organised entirely for display, and the services of the medical officers were soon required. Long before the procession reached the palace it was suddenly attacked by a band of fanatics, maddened at seeing the sacred city desecrated, two of whom ran down the whole line, slashing with their terrible swords at every member of the cortège that was within their reach; and in a time so short that it might be measured by seconds ten men were severely wounded before the assailants were killed or arrested, one of them just as he had reached striking distance of the Minister. The incident was not without good results. It gave the young Emperor the opportunity of personally expressing his regret at its occurrence which, boy as he was, for the first time facing the strangers from beyond the seas and with a mind perhaps full of curiosity, he did with calmness and intelligence; and also of publicly proclaiming to all his subjects his disapproval of such acts. Before this, many unoffending Europeans had been brutally murdered by patriots, who thought that in cutting down a foreigner they were serving their Gods, their Emperor, and their country. It is one of the many object-lessons that have been afforded of the wholehearted obedience which all Japanese render to the expressed will of their Emperor that, from that day, such outrages entirely ceased. A few more Europeans were, it is true, destined to die by the hands of Japanese murderers, but in no subsequent case were the latter actuated solely by the political or religious motives in which their predecessors had gloried.

The foreign policy of the young Emperor had now been

clearly indicated. His domestic policy remained to be declared, and the first step was to show that, not only as towards foreigners, but towards the nation, there was in future to be a complete change in the court life. The Emperor had already seen the Foreign Ministers. He was now for the first time to see his own people, and what lay beyond his palace walls. He proceeded to Osaka from Kioto, and there from the shore reviewed the beginning of the Japanese fleet. It was a very humble beginning, and gave little promise of a great naval future. There were but six ships, all converted merchant steamers, not one of which exceeded 1000 tons or 300 horse-power, and not a single one was owned by the Imperial Government, all being the property of one or other of the still unmediatised feudatories. He saw the sea for the first time, the green fields, in which the peasants laboured, at the season of the year in which in Japan all nature assumes its fairest and brightest aspect, and the thronged streets of a great commercial city. Then the more serious aspect of his domestic politics was faced.

All the feudatories were summoned to Kioto, and in their presence, and in that of all the Kuge, assembled in solemn conclave in the Palace—the death scene, as it may be termed, of Old Japan—the Emperor took what is called the Charter Oath

of Five Articles :

1. The practice of discussion and debate shall be universally adopted and all measures shall be decided by public opinion.

2. High and low shall be of one mind, and social order shall thereby be

perfectly maintained.

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3. The civil and military powers shall be concentrated in a single whole; the rights of all classes shall be assured and the national mind completely

4. The uncivilised customs of antiquity shall be broken through and the great principles of impartiality and justice, coexisting with Heaven and Earth, shall be taken as the basis of action.

5. Intellect and learning shall be sought for throughout the world in order to establish firmly the foundations of the Empire.

The programme thus outlined was an ambitious one: to unite by progressive reforms the people hitherto rigidly divided by caste and by local antagonisms into one harmonious whole; to emancipate the mass from political serfdom and equip them with fully-developed ideas which would enable them to take an active share in public and political life; to impose on the aristocrats, who had hitherto consumed in idleness one-third of the wealth of the nation, the obligation of working for themselves and their country; to acquire a complete knowledge of all the science of the West; and to render the Empire the equal in strength and civilisation of the most advanced Power of the

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For over eleven centuries Kioto had been the capital. There all the Emperors had permanently resided, never stirring beyond its limits, and in its sacred grounds they were buried. It had, however, throughout the greater part of this period, been entirely disassociated from Government administration, and during the last three centuries the people had learned to look upon Yedo, the capital of the Shoguns, which far exceeded the more ancient and venerated city both in wealth and population, as the sole seat of executive authority. It was decided that it should be made the seat of the new Government—that its name should be changed to Tokio (Eastern capital) so that it should harmonise with that of Kioto, which was usually spoken of as Saikio (Western capital); -and on the 29th of October 1868 the Emperor started for his new capital. His journey—little over 300 miles occupied twenty-eight days, though it was made with less pomp than had attended his previous visit to Osaka. Then his train was said to number fully 10,000 courtiers and guards. Less than one-fifth of this number now attended him. As the procession passed through the town of Kanagawa it was witnessed by many of the European residents of Yokohama. They had been previously warned that they were not to compliment the Emperor with cheers, and the most impressive element in the eyes of Europeans of the reception of their sovereign by his people was the profound silence which characterised it. As the procession approached, all the Japanese, who lined the road in deep serried ranks, fell on their knees; and when, at last, the sacred and gorgeous Hooren—the phœnix Imperial car—appeared, and was closely followed by the norimono (palanquin) of plain white wood, decorated only with a golden chrysanthemum on a black lacquered roof, in which the Emperor rode, all heads were bent to the ground. 'All seemed to hold their breath for very awe as the mysterious Presence, on whom few are privileged to look and live, was passing slowly by.' The profound silence was only broken by the triple clapping of the palms of the hands with which all prayers are prefaced, and by which all the reverence that was due to the Heavenly Gods was rendered to the Emperor, the vicegerent of the Gods on earth. As on his visit to Osaka the Emperor was still hidden behind bamboo blinds, from within which he could see without being seen, and lines of courtiers, all clad in the stately robes of Old Japan, walked with slow and solemn step on both sides of his palanquin. It was yet too early, the transition would have been too abrupt, to expose to the popular gaze the sacred being who had previously ever been shrouded in divine obscurity from every human eye. less than three years from that day the writer repeatedly saw him driving through the streets of Tokio in an open European

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carriage, escorted only by a score of Lancers in European uniforms, and on all these occasions the people were ordered beforehand not to let the Emperor's passing interfere with their daily avocations, and the prostrations had then become things of the

Twenty-five years afterwards, he made another formal entry into Tokio. It was on the conclusion of the China War. He came by rail, and outside the station and all along the streets to the palace the people were gathered in dense closely-packed masses to bid him welcome. When he appeared, all at first preserved the reverential silence that was the old usage. But it was only for a few moments. Customs had still further changed, and the silence was quickly broken by a roar of loud and fervent cheers, 'Tenno Heika Banzai!'—'Long live His Majesty the Emperor!'—which continued throughout the entire route to the palace, while hands, no longer joined in prayer, waved hats and handkerchiefs with all the demonstrative enthusiasm of a London crowd.

His first stay in Tokio was short, but it was marked by another reception of the Foreign Diplomatists, and by his first embarkation on the sea. At Osaka he reviewed the fleet from the shore. Now he embarked on board one of his ships and cruised round the Gulf of Tokio, a step which involved not only another innovation of all precedent, but a shock to native superstition. fears of its possible results were realised, and it was known thenceforth that the Emperor would in future visit all his dominions, and use either land or sea for his progresses. On the 20th of January he started on his return to Kioto. The object of the return was twofold: first to celebrate the third anniversary according to Japanese reckoning of his father's death—a solemn obligation on Japanese sons of all classes in life; and secondly, when the first period of deep mourning was over, his own marriage. The lady chosen to share his throne was Haruko, the third daughter of the head of the Ichijo branch of the Fujiwara family, one of the five branches into which this illustrious family was divided in the thirteenth century, the family from which Imperial consorts, when not themselves of direct Imperial lineage, had invariably been chosen throughout all history. The marriage was celebrated in the Palace on the 9th of March 1869, and though the Empress has not become the mother of any of the Emperor's surviving children, it has been fortunate in all other respects.

It may here be explained that, while in Japan there has always been one Empress (Kogo), the transcendent importance of preserving the direct Imperial line unbroken has imposed on the Emperor the duty of taking also morganatic wives (Jugo), whose

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sons succeeded to the throne in default of male issue by the Their number was originally limited to twelve, but in the later reigns of the dynasty this number was seldom approached. In the case of the late Emperor the number was four, and as the new constitution provides for the succession from collateral branches of the Imperial family in default of male issue in the direct line, the practice is now at an end, and in the reign which has just begun the legitimate Empress will be the only lady to share her husband's couch. The last statement may provoke a smile on the part of those who, in ignorance of the rigid limitations of the Japanese Court, may estimate its morality on the basis of that which, it cannot be denied, prevails among the majority of Japanese men, from whom conjugal fidelity is not expected either by their wives or by society. But it may be taken as the fact. No Japanese Emperor has ever been permitted to roam at freedom among the ladies of his Court in the fashion of our own Stuart or early Hanoverian sovereigns. The Jugo were chosen from among ladies of families little, if at all, inferior in rank and lineage to the Empress herself, and in making the choice the considerations that were kept in view were mainly physical, sound family records and sound constitutions in the ladies themselves. They were not intended to be ministresses to passion but to be the bearers of healthy children. They lived and occupied a definite and recognised position at Court, and though in the last reign they never appeared at public functions, homage was paid to them down to the Restoration, even by the Shogun, only second to that which was rendered to the Empress. They were always ladies as honoured in their lives as they were honourable in their lineage, and their children by a legal fiction became at once the children of the Empress. Both the late and the present Emperors were the sons of Jugo. The mother of the first was the Lady Nakayama, and of the second the Lady Yanagiwara, both daughters of cadet branches of the Fujiwara family, tracing their descent direct from the same remote ancestor as did the

The Emperor returned to Tokio in May 1869, and six months later was followed by the Empress, and Tokio was thenceforward the permanent home of both. The Emperor in subsequent years made frequent Imperial progresses throughout his dominions, and during nearly the whole of the China War he resided at Hiroshima, presiding there in person over the head-quarters of the general staff. But except when duty called him he never showed the least desire to absent himself from his capital, and neither the extreme heat of summer nor the piercing cold of winter, to both of which Tokio is eminently liable, tempted him to seek climatic relief either in the cool hill resorts

or in the sunny spas, mild and genial in the severest winters, or in the severest winters, which are so abundant in Japan. A palace of Imperial splendour, which are so at the which are so at the products of Japanese art, was constructed for him within the massive walls and deep moats of the Shogun's for him when it he witnessed and directed all the progress of his people, and Kioto, the home of his ancestors and of his boyhood, people, and of his boyhood, in which his own remains are now to find their last resting place. only knew him as an occasional visitor.

We shall only refer to one other incident of his early days. The late Duke of Edinburgh was then on his second voyage round the world in H.M.S. Galatea, one of the smartest of the wooden frigates that then still lingered in the British Navy. Government were informed that he would visit Japan in the course of his voyage, and a distracting question arose. It might seem that as the Emperor had already received the Diplomatic Representatives in audience, there could be no hesitation in his also receiving the son of the Queen of England, whose minister was the doyen of the diplomatic corps and immeasurably above all his colleagues in character and influence, who among them had been the first to recognise the true position of the Emperor, and had alone among them all from the first given his unwavering moral support to the movement which led to the restoration of the Imperial dignity. But it was not so. The Duke of Edinburgh would have to be received as an equal, and any overt admission of equal rank between a foreign prince and the Heavendescended Emperor would be another shock to the sentiments of the large and still influential conservative section of the nation, as one more sacrilegious violation of old ideas and usages. foreign prince had visited Japan for over a thousand years, but the annals recorded that at a much earlier date Korean princes had been received by Japanese Emperors, when in the full exercise of their administrative powers. Fortified by this precedent, the young Emperor was able to proclaim to his subjects that 'the Royal Prince of England would be received according to the custom observed between friendly countries.'

Once the decision had been taken it was carried out with the refined and tactful hospitality that has since on many occasions so eminently characterised the Imperial Court in the reception of Royal visitors from Europe. All that concerned European life and etiquette was then new to it, and in none of the palaces at the disposal of the Emperor were there any of the requisites of European comfort. The Hama Go Ten, the palace by the shore, a picturesque summer resort of the Shogun in the days of his power, was, however, fitted at no small expense with furniture. furniture procured from Hong Kong, and placed at the Duke's disposal for himself and his staff.

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Yokohama on the morning of the 31st of August 1869, and on the following day the Duke proceeded to the capital, where he was welcomed in the Emperor's name by the Prince, who was after wards well-known in England as Prince Komatsu. The roads had been cleared and repaired for his progress; the upper windows of the houses along them closed, so that none could look down on him, as though the Emperor himself was passing; and prayers for his safety were offered to the God Kanjin, the god beneath whose protection foreign visitors had come to Japan from China and Korea in ancient days.

The visit was in every way successful. All the sights of the capital were thrown open to the Duke; the best swordsmen. wrestlers, jugglers, and actors of Japan displayed their various accomplishments before him. He was received and welcomed by the Emperor in his palace, both at a formal audience and at a subsequent more intimate interview, in which the Emperor seated, with the Duke seated beside him, expressed to his visitor the happiness he had in thinking that his auspicious visit would have the best effect in cementing the friendly relations already existing between the two countries.' At the interview, Sir Harry Parkes, Admiral Sir Henry Keppel, then in command of the fleet on the China station, and Lord Redesdale, then Mr. Mitford, Secretary of the Legation, were present; and on all, the tact and readiness of the young Sovereign in the long conversation that took place on an occasion that was wholly new to him, in which impromptu replies were occasionally required, left the impression of a high degree of intelligence and character, that augured well for the Emperor's own share in his administration as he grew in manhood. In after years he received many members of the greatest royal and imperial families of Europe, but one peculiar incident of his first reception may be noted. Lord Redesdale acted as interpreter between the Emperor and the Duke of Edinburgh On all others, an official of the Japanese Court performed that duty, and this was, the present writer believes, the one and only occasion on which a European ever directly addressed the late Emperor in his own language. No exception was made even when Sir Ernest Satow, who spoke Japanese with the refined scholarship of the most accomplished of the Emperor's courtiers, became the British Minister, though the Empress was not invariably bound by the same rigid practice. The writer can recall one New Year's reception when, standing at her Imperial husband's side, she did not follow his example, but broke into long conversation with Sir Ernest Satow, throughout which she entirely discarded the services of the lady of the Court who acted as her interpreter.

At the reception which has been mentioned as having taken

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place during the Emperor's first brief stay in his new capital, his speech to the Diplomatic Representatives was read by a Court official while he maintained complete silence and remained seated on his throne, 'a languid-looking boy, swathed in masses of crape on his whose stiff folds and angles refused to acknowledge the most shadowy presence of animation.' The princes and nobles who stood beside him also carried out 'the same principles of stolid immobility even as far as the long wings of their headdresses.' It was in these terms that the audience was described by a contemporaneous writer. They do not harmonise with the descriptions we have given of the first audience at Kioto, or of that of the Duke of Edinburgh, which are founded, in regard to the first, on the writer's memory of what he over and over again heard from Sir Harry Parkes, and in regard to the second, on his own knowledge of the time. That the Emperor was no languid boy, destitute of all animation, was shown by an incident which occurred very soon after the Duke of Edinburgh had sailed from Yokohama.

The writer, in attendance on Sir Harry Parkes, happened to pass along the sea-front of Hama Go Ten, within a very few vards of its walls, in the steam cutter of H.M.S. Ocean, Sir Henry Keppel's flagship. Steam cutters were not so common in those days as now, and even among our own ships on the China station it was only the flagship that was provided with one. the Japanese they were entire novelties. As the cutter approached the walls a crowd of young courtiers in their own distinctive dress was seen from it to be seated in Japanese fashion in an open pavilion in the gardens that overlooked the sea. The moment they discerned the cutter one and all of them rose, and apparently with one accord, like a pack of merry schoolboys, rushed to the wall, and there gazed on the cutter and chatted with keen interest as she passed rapidly by. Among them Sir Harry Parkes had no difficulty in recognising the Emperor clearly and dis-Perhaps it was curiosity to see how Europeans lived that induced him to visit 'the palace by the shore' after the departure of the Royal visitor for whose reception it had been prepared; but whatever the reason, he was there, and evidently enjoying a happy day in the society of his own compeers in age as might any youth sound in both mind and body. The incident, interesting as it was, may seem trivial. It made a considerable impression on Sir Harry Parkes at the time, as evidence not only of the young Emperor's keen animation, but of the relaxation that was taking place in the customs and rules which had hitherto fettered the inner life of the Court, and had rendered the some some intimate the Sovereign unapproachable even by his own most intimate

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The term Meiji, 'Enlightened Government,' was adopted in 1868 as the Nengo, the chronological title of the Emperor's reign At the close of 1869 the dawn of Meiji was over, and the full daylight of its later years of uninterrupted progress and reform had begun. There was peace throughout the land, the rejuvenescent Empire had fairly started on its great career. There were still domestic difficulties to be overcome. Sporadic risings occurred in different parts of the Emperor's dominions and last and most cruel of all, the great fief of Satsuma, which had taken the lead in placing him on his throne, broke out in a rebellion which was only crushed at an immense expense of life and treasure after a hardly fought war that continued through eight months. Several of his most trusted and capable ministers fell at the hands of assassins who still clung to the memories of days that were dead and gone and could not be recalled. But the goal that was indicated in the Charter Oath was ever kept steadily in view, and served, as few kings have been in the world's history. with unflinching courage, patriotic unselfishness, stern determination, and brilliant capacity, the goal was finally reached when he was the Sovereign of a great constitutional Empire, so powerful that its alliance was eagerly welcomed by the great Power of the West which had done much to aid Japan's onward progress both by her own example and by the services of her sons.

Of the band of ministers who stood around the Emperor in his youth, the names of at least fifty of whom will be recorded in history, only five survive him; Princes Yamagata and Oyama, the field-marshals of the Empire, who organised and led its armies to victory; Marquis Matsugata, who equally organised its shattered finances and evolved national solvency out of chaotic bankruptcy; Marquis Inouye, who, through long and trying periods, administered its foreign policy with the skill of a diplomatist who had been born, not made; and Count Okuma, the pioneer of Parliaments. It was not only the well-tried ministers whose loss the late Emperor had to lament in Two of his near relatives, princes of his own his lifetime. blood and of his intimate confidence and affection, sacrificed their lives during the China War, as undoubtedly as did any soldier on the field of battle; and of fifteen children of whom he was the father no less than eleven died either in infancy or in early childhood. If he knew triumph and glory such as have fallen to the lot of few earthly sovereigns, he knew also human sorrow in some of its saddest forms. This may have been the source of one trait in his demeanour. The present writer saw him, throughout more than thirty years, on as many and varied i

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occasions as it was possible for any foreigner, having the entrée occasions as to see the sovereign of the country in which he to the Court, in which to the never once did he see his face lightened by a smile.

The character of the Emperor can be best judged by his life and acts. No foreigner could describe it from intimate knowledge, and no Japanese would criticise it. But his acts show that he was gentle and compassionate, full of tender mercy, which was always exercised in favour of the rebel, the distressed, the poor, even of the criminal. In his youth he signalised the arrival of his Empress in Tokio by granting, not only full pardon, but a return of some of their confiscated wealth, to the nobles and their retainers who had fought against his soldiers to the last in their wild effort to restore the fortunes of the fallen Shogun, whom the nation had, in accordance with traditional usage, condemned to death. He was rewarded by afterwards finding in them some of his most capable civil and military servants. Saigo, the great general who had vanquished these very nobles and retainers, was afterwards the leader of the Satsuma rebellion. He paid for what he did with his life, but after his death his name was honoured in his gazetted restoration by the Emperor's own orders to his former rank in the Imperial Army. Some remission of the sentences of criminals was an invariable item in every great national celebration, and there was no calamity of earthquake, fire, flood or pestilence, from all of which Japan has suffered in no common degree, in which the Emperor's private purse was not freely and liberally opened for the relief of the consequent distress. His wounded soldiers knew what it was to be cheered by his presence at their bedsides, and they knew also how unremitting was his own personal supervision of the provision that was made for their comfort in the field, how often his thoughts followed them throughout their campaigns. All harmonised with his name Mutsu Hito, the literal translation of which is 'Gentle Pity.'

He possessed what is perhaps the most valuable attribute in a sovereign, the capacity to judge men, to select the best among them as his advisers, and having made his choice, to give them his complete confidence and to support them with unwavering The words in which his ministers and generals throughout all his reign invariably attributed their great successes in civil reform and in war entirely to the virtues of their sovereign were therefore no empty formality, but a well-deserved tribute to the correspond favour tribute to the judgment which, uninfluenced by personal favour or by the claims of rank or lineage, had afforded them the

opportunity of serving him.

His own industry in all the affairs of State was unflagging.

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No important council was held at which he did not preside in person, and the reports of all the departments and of the proceedings in his parliament were read by himself. At a very early date, when his Cabinet was irreconcilably divided on the question of war against Korea, he showed his judgment and strength of will by declaring in favour of peace and curbing the ardent spirits who were clamouring to avenge the insults which they thought had been offered to them by their historic foes, At a still earlier date his courage and coolness in the face of danger were tested and proved. He paid his first visit of inspection to his great dockyard at Yokosuka, the Chatham of Japan, on New Year's Day, 1872. During the visit a casting which was being made of the characters Banzai—Long live the Emperor—in huge dimensions, miscarried. There was a sudden explosion and in a moment a shower of molten fragments of the red-hot steel was pouring on all around. A brief panic ensued, in which the writer and a gallant captain of the Royal Marine Artillery, an expert in practical engineering, who was standing beside him, shared along with the other Europeans present; but the Emperor never stirred from his chair, only a few yards from the casting, and betrayed not a trace either in face or attitude of being disturbed by the accident or the grave risk to which he had been subjected, from which he was only protected by a Japanese umbrella held over him by one of his own courtiers.

He had two favourite amusements—horse-riding and the composition of poetry. For a description of his talent and work as a poet we may refer our readers to a previous issue of this Review. As to his horsemanship, he rode both well and boldly. Many years ago in the mid-seventies he was present throughout the whole of what, to the best of the writer's memory, were the earliest manœuvres on a large scale of the newly-organised army. They were held on plains about forty miles to the north of Tokio, and on the last day heavy rain came on during the final parade. When all the troops had passed the saluting post the word was given to dispense with further formality, and the Emperor, his attendant courtiers, the military staff (including many French cavalry officers), and the invited guests from the foreign legations, all started at full gallop for their field quarters. The ride was over fully five miles of rough ground, and throughout it the Emperor led the way without once drawing rein. He had his own riding course within the palace grounds on which he took daily exercise, and his interest in horses was further testified by his frequent presence at the race meetings held twice each

April 1905. 'The Heart of the Mikado,' by Baron Suyematsu.

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year by the English residents of Yokohama, on which occasions year by the right presented by him was the coveted prize of the the cup invaria. At one meeting this prize was won by a horse principal race. Sir Maurice de Bunson principal lace. Sir Maurice de Bunsen, who is now H.M. belonging to Madrid, but was then Secretary of Legation in Ambassaud. A few months later, at one of the usual palace functions, Japan. the Emperor inquired with so much interest as to the welfare of 'Tempest,' mentioning the winning horse by name, that its owner thought, for a moment, His Majesty was about to express a wish to add the horse to the Imperial stables. His fears were quite unfounded. He had forgotten one of the most marked principles in the code of Japanese morality common to the Emperor and all his subjects, the principle that forbids them to deprive another of any possession parting with which would cause sorrow or regret to its owner. The Emperor had only given another illustration of his love of horses and of his interest in all that related to them.

In his domestic life he gave to his subjects examples of frugality and self-denial that almost amounted to austerity. He had a civil list of over 300,000l. per annum, and a further revenue derived from estates of the Crown and from public investments of at least double this amount; but while he occupied a splendid palace in which hospitality was dispensed, when the occasion for it arose, on a scale of Imperial lavishness, it may be safely asserted that no Court in the world was characterised by a greater degree of economical management in all its details than was that of Japan. His practical example to his people was all that the most conscientious and devoted Sovereign could give. That his theoretical teaching was not less so, will be seen by the rescript which he issued on the eve of the assembling of his first constitutional parliament, which is now regularly read in all schools of the Empire, and is regarded by Japanese with hardly less reverence than we render to the Ten Commandments:

Our Imperial ancestors have founded our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting, and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue. Our subjects, ever united in loyalty and filial piety, have from generation to generation illustrated in loyalty and filial piety, have from generation to generated illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of our Empire, and herein also lies the source of our education. Ye, our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters. sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modern and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect. perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common into common interest; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emparement; always respect the Constitution and the State; and thus should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintenance of the constitution and observe and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of our Imperial Throne coeval with

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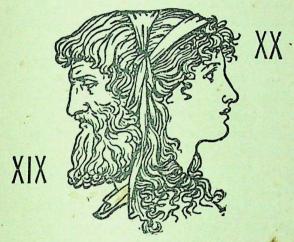
heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by our Imperial ancestors, to be observed alike by us and our subjects, infallible for all ages, true in all places. It is our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, our subjects, that we may thus all attain to the same virtue.

Joseph H. Longford.

The Editor of The Nineteenth Century cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



No. CCCCXXIX—November 1912

PRACTICAL IMPERIALISM

One of the most remarkable phenomena of modern times is the rise and growth of Imperialist feeling throughout the United Kingdom and the British Dominions.

History runs in cycles. The glorious period of the Napoleonic wars was not unnaturally followed by a great reaction. After the tremendous warlike exertions which had cost Great Britain approximately 1,000,000,000l. the nation required peace and rest. The great influence which the landowning aristocracy used to exercise declined owing to the growth of the manufacturing industries and the manufacturing towns. Through the Reform Bill the middle class, composed of merchants, manufacturers, shipowners, &c., became the controlling element in the legislature, and these hastened to make the best use of their opportunities. The utilitarian era began. Henceforth national policy was to be subservient to individual advantage, to commercial considerate considerations. The people were told that the Colonies were unprofitable, that they were an encumbrance and a burden to the Motherland. Motherland. The planful development of the Empire which

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former generations had pursued was discontinued. A sentiment frankly hostile to the Empire arose. Free Trade was introduced. Its essence was, in the words of Cobden: 'Buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market.' The trading interest was enthusiastically in favour of Free Trade in the expectation that it would be extremely beneficial to the manufacturing industries of the country. Incidentally it was hoped that Free Trade would break up the Empire and rid Great Britain of her Colonies. Cobden prophesied that Free Trade would gradually and imperceptibly loosen the bonds between Motherland and Colonies, and looked forward to their amicable separation.

The rule of the middle class has come to an end. Democracy has arrived. A democratic national policy has taken the place of the ancient utilitarianism, and Imperialism is merely the latest, and I think the highest, incarnation of our democratic nationalism. It is a conscious manifestation of the solidarity of the race. British Imperialism is not, as its opponents assert, an empty, vain-glorious, and aggressive policy advocated by 'Jingoes,' by the aristocracy, the leisured classes, and the army. It is a thoroughly democratic policy. This can be seen by the fact that it is strongest not in these islands, but in our most democratic possessions. Imperialism, contrary to widely held opinion, is democratic, peaceful, and utilitarian in the best sense of the word, for it is useful and necessary.

It is a trite but true saying that peace is the greatest interest of Great and Greater Britain. Only in peace can we develop our

magnificent resources. But our peace is threatened.

The British Empire extends over 11,447,954 square miles. It is nearly one hundred times as large as the United Kingdom. It embraces vast areas situated in a temperate zone, which have room for hundreds of millions of white settlers. We possess besides most valuable tropical Colonies, countless islands and nearly all the most important strategical positions in the world which dominate all seas. Very naturally the British Empire is the envy of the universe, and especially of those nations which desire or require colonies and well-situated naval bases.

A nation can be secure only if its armed strength is commensurate with its possessions. The British Empire is by far the largest Empire which the world has seen. It is essentially a maritime Empire, and it is most vulnerable from the sea. While the principal towns of most countries lie far inland, all the largest towns of the British Empire, such as London, Liverpool, Marchester, Bristol, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Portsmouth, Cardif, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, Dublin, Belfast, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Rangoon, Colombo, Aden, Singapore,

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Hong Kong, Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Brisbane, Perth. Hong Hong, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin, Mont-Hobard, Quebec, Vancouver, Victoria, St. John's, Cape Town, Durban, and many others, lie on, or close to, the sea. All these towns can easily be shelled or seized by a foreign Power possessing the command of the sea.

The British Empire is a sea empire. It depends for its livelihood very largely upon the sea. The value of its sea-borne trade should in the present year amount to the stupendous sum of 2,000,000,000l. The British Empire possesses one-half of the world's shipping. We may say that one-half of the world's trade is carried under the British flag. Out of every two ships which sail the ocean one flies the British flag. Our merchant marine will therefore be exposed to enormous losses in time of war unless our Navy is overwhelmingly strong. The British Empire does not possess the sea, but it has certainly a predominant interest on

While the prosperity of the British Dominions depends on the free flow of their enormous exports over sea, the existence of the United Kingdom depends on the free and uninterrupted flow of our sea-borne imports of food and raw materials. of the meat, seven-eighths of the wheat, and all the sugar which we consume are imported by sea. Our factories are dependent on cotton, wool, timber, hides, ores, oil, and other raw materials borne by ships to these shores. Sometimes the stock of wheat in the United Kingdom suffices for only six weeks. A short stoppage of our imports, even if it be only a partial one, would close our factories and cause starvation.

If a hostile Power, or combination of Powers, should defeat our fleet, it need not invade this country. A powerful enemy can bombard the principal towns of Great Britain and of her possessions, starve out the garrisons of her naval bases, ruin our shipping trade, prey upon the export trade of our Dominions and Colonies, and starve the United Kingdom into surrender. It is therefore clear that Motherland and Colonies require for their protection a fleet strong enough to meet any possible combination These considerations prompted Great Britain to establish the two-Power standard, according to which the British fleet was to be at least as strong as the combined fleets of the two strongest foreign Powers.

Formerly the naval supremacy of Great Britain was undisputed and indisputable, but changing circumstances have affected our position in the world. A few decades ago Germany consisted of sisted of a number of disunited and impecunious States which had no fleet, the population of the United States was smaller

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than that of the United Kingdom, Japan was as weak at sea as Siam, Russia had no railways, the Suez Canal did not exist. The navies of the foreign Powers were insignificant. It was not navies of the foreign and two-Power standard, necessary for Great Britain to maintain a two-Power standard, for her fleet was predominant on all seas. As Russia was separated from India by vast roadless and railwayless deserts, and as transport by sea was very little developed, ships being few small, and slow, the invasion of India by land and that of the United Kingdom by sea was not practicable. The times have changed. Powerful navies are being built in many countries, and all countries, even the South American Republics, endeavour to build more powerful battleships than the latest British Dread. noughts. Our sea monopoly is a thing of the past. Russian rail. ways run up to the Indian frontier. An invasion of India is no longer impossible. The great development of the merchant marine, the advent of numerous large and fast passenger steamers, makes the invasion of Great Britain and the Colonies much easier than it used to be. Our interest in the Suez Canal and in Egypt has given us another point where we are extremely vulnerable and are exposed to attacks both by land and sea. During the last fifty years the comparative strength of Great Britain has declined while the vulnerability of the British Empire has greatly increased.

Great Britain possesses a much smaller area and a much denser population than her great national competitors. Her population increases very slowly, and a very large number of her citizens emigrate every year. While the British population grows but slowly, that of her principal competitors increases very quickly. Russia has 161,000,000 inhabitants, and her population increases by 3,000,000 per year; the United States have 92,000,000 inhabitants, and their population increases by 1,600,000 per year; Germany has 66,000,000 inhabitants, and her population increases by 900,000 per year; the United Kingdom has 45,000,000 inhabitants, and her population increases by less than 400,000 per year. Man power is more important than engine power. Gradually, and almost imperceptibly, Great Britain is losing her great position in the world owing to the comparative stagnation of her population and the rapid growth of the leading foreign States. Wealth is power. The longest purse can buy the strongest fleet. It is impossible for 45,000,000 Englishmen to maintain the two-Power standard against 66,000,000 Germans and some other prosperous nation. There is The two a limit to the taxation which the people can bear.

Power standard has been abandoned.

At the time when the British Navy was all-powerful Great

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Britain could stand alone in splendid isolation. Now we are Britain count . Now we are no longer able to rely for our security upon our own unaided we have to put our trust in complicated diplomatic strength. Which may break down at the critical moment. At present our position seems perfectly secure owing to our At present with France and Russia and our alliance with Japan. However, treaties and understandings do not last for all time. The Balkan war, or some other event, may upset many existing friendships, or a skilful diplomat may rearrange the grouping of the Powers to our disadvantage. A State which is very vulnerable and which at the same time is rich in valuable possessions is exposed to the danger of attack by a hostile coali tion. Therefore we should rely for our defence only on our own strength. In our own strength alone can we find safety.

As our population and wealth increase comparatively slowly, while the population and wealth of our great national competitors grow comparatively quickly, Great Britain will from year to year find it more difficult to hold her own in a world of large States. From year to year it is becoming increasingly clear that Great Britain cannot provide for the defence of the Empire singlehanded. Recognising our difficulties, our Dominions have come to our aid with splendid generosity. They are providing fleets and armies. But we cannot safely rely for the defence of the Empire on the present loose arrangements between Great Britain and the Dominions. The Empire requires for its security an Imperial Army and an Imperial Fleet, paid for out of an Imperial exchequer, and controlled and directed by an Imperial Government. The defence of the Empire must be organised. But only the unification of the Empire will make possible the creation of an adequate organisation. That has been recognised by the leading Colonial statesmen. Therefore they have urged us to call them to our councils.

The unification of the Empire is necessary, not only for its defence, but also for its development. The time of small States is past. The future belongs to the great States. In the first chapter of his Wealth of Nations Adam Smith demonstrated by his description of the manufacture of pins the superior efficiency of the factory system, which allows of the division of labour, over the small employer and the individual artisan. system applies not only to the manufacturing industries but also to States. to States. Greatness in States makes not only for strength and security but also for efficiency in every branch of human activity owing to a better division and application of labour. The greater the national market the greater the industrial efficiency of the nation. In a small but highly-cultured State, such as Sweden,

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there is no room for an iron industry as large, and therefore as efficient, as that at Pittsburg. Efficiency in art and science also is favoured by a large State, for only a large and prosperous State can give an adequate scope to its talented citizens. A great electrician, engineer, chemist, financier, inventor, painter, or sculptor, born in some small State, such as Denmark or Holland, will naturally seek occupation in some larger State.

The unification of the Empire makes not only for strength, peace, progress and prosperity, but also for social betterment. To lift up the masses we require two things: security and prosperity. Without security from foreign attack there will be little prosperity. It is therefore clear that we can find the vast sums required for social purposes only if Great Britain is prosperous and at peace. Besides, if her industries are prosperous, employment will be good and wages high, and there will be comparatively few who are in want and require assistance.

Which is the best policy for welding the Empire together?

Experience tells us that most States have been united by danger and war borne in common. The war with England united the Colonies of North America which had declared themselves independent. The wars with Austria united Switzerland. Her wars with France united Germany. 'Empires are welded together,' Bismarck has told us, 'not by speeches and resolutions, but by blood and iron.' Nothing would more quickly and more thoroughly weld together the British Empire than a war in which Great Britain and the Dominions would have to fight for their very existence. That would demonstrate to all the British States the necessity of Imperial union for defence. However, blood and iron are not the only cement of Empire. Mutual advantage and interdependence, a business partnership among related States, are very powerful unifying factors. mutual advantages and interdependence and such a partnership are created for the members of a federation by a common tarif which provides an exceedingly valuable market reserved to the members of the union. A common tariff-protected market is apt to convert a number of loosely united States into a firmly-knit commonwealth. The predecessors of Bismarck laid in the North German Customs Union the foundation of the German Empire. Some of the revolted British Colonies wished to form independent They refused to enter the union of the United States, States. but the introduction of a common tariff by the partner States, which created a large protected home market for the benefit of the members of the Union, induced those States which wished to remain independent to enter it. The advantage of a large common market reserved by a tariff to the members of a union

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large mion of States has been a powerful factor in welding together Canada, Australia, and South Africa. In fact, it has been the principal inducement for their unification.

A common tariff and a valuable market reserved to the members of the Union not only causes States to combine, but makes their union permanent. For economic reasons alone the disintegration of the United States or of Germany is inconceivable. The interests of all the individual States have become so intimately interwoven, and so deeply merged into the interests of the larger commonwealth to which they belong, that separation is practically impossible. An independent Ohio or New York State, cut off by a tariff from the great market of the United States, or an independent Bavaria, unable to sell her produce freely throughout the German Empire, or an independent Ontario, shut out of the Canadian market by tariffs, could scarcely exist. Separation would be ruinous to the individual States which depend for their prosperity upon their ability to sell their productions throughout the union of States to which they belong.

We have come to the parting of the ways. We must either unify the Empire or allow it to disintegrate. By unifying it we shall establish it securely for all time. It will continue to be the greatest State in the world, and the British race will continue to be perhaps the most powerful promoter of peace, progress, prosperity, freedom, and civilisation which the world has seen. If, on the other hand, we continue our present policy of drift, the un-English policy of laisser-faire, for which there is not even an English name, disaster may overtake us before long. All the great commercial maritime and colonial empires of the past, the predecessors of the British Empire, were erected on too narrow a basis, and they have easily been destroyed by powerful military The vast colonial empires created by the Phoenicians, the Carthaginians, the Athenians, the Venetians, and the Dutch, all of which once ruled the sea, greatly resembled the British They have fallen because the inhabitants of the motherland followed, if I may say so, a Little-England policy. Let us heed the lessons of history. A single unfortunate war may break up the British Empire, and may destroy what centuries of effort and war have painfully created.

Mr. Chamberlain has warned us of our dangers. He has provided us with a practical Imperial policy. Tariff Reform will stimulate industry in Great Britain, raise wages, and improve employment, and a system of inter-Imperial preferences will knit the Empire together in bonds of interest which will grow stronger from year to year, and which will prove indissoluble.

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Mr. Chamberlain's policy has been hailed with enthusiasm by all Imperialists throughout the Empire, and after nine years of ceaseless agitation the truly Imperial policy of Tariff Reform promises to triumph at the next General Election For the sake of Motherland and Empire a great effort should be made to make its triumph certain. There is danger in delay. The deliberate attempt of the United States to detach Canada from the British Empire shows the urgency of Imperial Federa. Already a beginning has been made to knit the British Empire together by bonds of interest. The great Dominions have taken the initiative. With splendid unselfishness they have given to the Mother Country a generous preference in their markets in the expectation that we should follow suit. They regret that we have not reciprocated, and voices are heard recommending the cancellation of the preference granted to us. It has already been whittled down. This dissatisfaction is not unnatural We cannot expect the Dominions to be satisfied much longer with the present one-sided arrangement, and we cannot be surprised at the Colonial complaints about our indifference, of which we ought to take the most serious notice.

Unfortunately the Imperial policy of Tariff Reform and of Preferential Tariff arrangements between all the States of the Empire has been allowed to become a party question. I think the Empire should stand above party. However, as the leaders of the Liberal Party have emphatically pronounced themselves against Tariff Reform and its concomitant Imperial Preference, all good Liberals feel in duty bound to oppose Mr. Chamberlain's Imperial policy. They profess to believe that Imperial Federation is impracticable, and they have gone so far as to sneer at the proposals of the Dominions, and at the sacrifices which they have made for the sake of the Empire. The day may come when the Liberal Party will bitterly regret having opposed the unification of the Empire. Is it too late for them to recognise the error which they have hastily made? Will no Liberal leader come forward and show to his party that the unification of the Empire is necessary, and that Imperial unification can be achieved only either by a sanguinary war, which we all wish to avoid, or by the same policy which has united Canada, Australia, and South Africa, by the policy of Mr. Chamberlain? Imperialism and Liberalism are by no means incompatible, for Imperialism is, as I said in the beginning of this article, the latest and the highest manifestation of our democratic nationalism. Adam Smith, the father of political economy and of Free Trade, who certainly was neither a Jingo nor a Conservative, and who is so frequently quoted by Liberals and Free Traders as their greatest authority, ly

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was in favour of Imperial Federation, for he wrote in his Wealth of Nations:

There is not the least probability that the British Constitution would be hurt by the union of Great Britain and her Colonies. That Constitution, on the contrary, would be completed by it, and seems to be imperfect without it. The assembly which deliberates and decides concerning the affairs of every part of the Empire, in order to be properly informed, ought certainly to have representatives from every part of it. That this union, however, could be easily effectuated, or that difficulties, and great difficulties, might not occur in the execution, I do not pretend. I have yet heard of none, however, which appear insurmountable. The principal, perhaps, arise not from the nature of things, but from the prejudices and opinions of the people, both on this and the other side of the Atlantic.

The 'prejudices and opinions of the people' opposed to the unification of the British Empire are now far stronger on this side of the Atlantic than on the other, and it is noteworthy that they are far stronger among the professional politicians than

among the people.

The consolidation of the Empire is necessary and is urgent. Guided by the considerations which have inspired the foregoing pages, a few men have resolved to make a special effort for the promotion of practical Imperialism. As every great political campaign requires an ample amount of money, they have created a fund, and they have appealed to the public for support. appeal has been successful. In a few weeks a very large sum has been subscribed. This sum is to be the nucleus of a fund which, it is hoped, will eventually reach seven figures. It will in course of time become a great Imperial foundation. It will support every Imperial movement and endeavour worthy of support throughout the Empire. The income derived from it will be used in assisting the activity of the numerous excellent organisations in every part of the Empire which are truly Imperialist in aim and spirit, which strive to advance the interests of the British Empire and to elevate the British race.

As the most immediate need of the time is the unification of the Empire by Tariff Reform and a system of inter-Imperial preferences, it is proposed to devote in the beginning the resources of the fund to the promotion of the Chamberlain policy. This will be done, not for party reasons, not because the Unionist party has identified itself with Tariff Reform and Imperial reciprocity, but because Mr. Chamberlain's policy is the only one which can bring about the federation of the Empire. This policy arm-chair Imperialism and practical Imperialism. The Liberal Imperialists are unfortunately only arm-chair Imperialists. As

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practical Imperialism is more important than theoretical Imperialism, the Imperial Fund is intended to promote the former. The fund is, as its name implies, an Imperial fund. Its originators wish to work for the benefit of the Empire and of the British race in every practicable way, and they will make the unification of the Empire a party question only if Liberal Imperialists refuse to co-operate. They would prefer to work with the best men of both parties, and as their efforts will be devoted to a policy in which all citizens of the Empire can unite, it is hoped that they will be supported by the Imperial-minded men and women of all parties.

WESTMINSTER.

NICOLAS OF MONTENEGRO AND THE CZARDOM OF THE SERBS

THE mists which have for ages obscured the Balkan peninsula are at last rolling away, and States with kings and governments are emerging into the sight of Europe and, what is much more important, of the camera. And yet to the average Westerner the Kings of the Balkans are like the three Kings of Chickeraboo. comic-opera potentates, who have taken the place of the smaller German grand dukes and princes of the days of the Second Empire. To London and Paris the Near East is an unknown land, further off from them than Japan or Central Africa, an unreal land, full of people who wear fancy dress and many weapons, live in stage sets, and generally comport themselves as peasants in the musical chorus. Only the Turk is real in this . stageland, and even he is the Turk of the nursery, the Bogey Man, the Unspeakable, who is classed with infidels, and oppresses the Sunday-school Christian with the arsenal of weapons at his girdle. To the man in the street the fighting in the Balkans is unreal, or at best only an exciting game at which we look on but do not play. The slaughter of Turks, Montenegrins, and Bulgarians means no more than the sweeping away of an equal number of Chinese by famine, pestilence, or the sword; indeed, it means less, for we have more money invested in the Flowery Land. But the photographer is doing his best, and as the armies of the larger Balkan States are dressed in European fashion, the West may gradually come to treat the Near East seriously, and not merely as a picturesque pastime for diplomatists.

This land of barren mountain and fertile plain has been fought over more furiously than any other stretch of Europe except Belgium. While the Western barbarians settled down into nations and kingdoms on the wreck of the Roman Empire, this borderland of East and West has always been the cockpit of warring nationalities; the more so, because the Turks, its latest conquerors, are essentially a nomad race, who have never absorbed the peoples they subdued, and have been beaten in the arts and crafts of the townsman and the trader by the subject races, and consequently are merely strangers and tent-dwellers

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in the land. Ever since Suleiman the Second was checked before the walls of Vienna the Turks have been receding in Europe, and for over a hundred years the ambitions of the States and peoples who were submerged by the Ottoman invasion have been sources of constant trouble to Europe, whose terror of the Turk has been replaced by the hatreds of little States and the jealousies of Great Powers.

When the final blow came in 1453, and the Greek Empire fell at the storming of Constantinople, the Sultan occupied the throne of the Basileus as the ruler of the Near East, and when the Ottoman power began to weaken it was naturally the Greek, who had never forgotten the imperial purple, who first put in a claim to the succession and for the restoration of the empire, But the Serb and the Bulgar had, in the days before the Turk, carved fugitive and precarious empires of a day out of the tottering and decaying realm of the Byzantine sovereign, and they too clamour that the Czardom of their chieftains shall be reconstituted in the face of Europe and they themselves exalted, with their enemies and rivals crushed beneath their feet. But if history is to be ransacked for the remodelling of the Balkan peninsula in the twentieth century, there is but one claimant who has any right at all to the succession of the Byzantine Emperors, and that is Greece, where at least the language, religion, and traditions of Byzantium have been kept alive. For nearly a thousand years the Emperor of Constantinople was the Emperor, in spite of that simulacrum which was neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire. His was the one great and magnificent figure which embodied in all men's eyes the twin ideas of empire and Christianity. The transient and barbarian Czars of the Bulgar and the Serb might transliterate the potent name of Caesar into Czar to give themselves the appearance of imperial rule, but they were really tribal chieftains who held sway only by the sufferance or the weakness of the sovereign born in the purple.

Of the nations that have once more risen to the surface as the flood of Ottoman invasion recedes the Roumanians may be dismissed at once. They are on the far side of the Danube, and they have no pretensions to rule at Constantinople. Greece is ruled by a Danish King who succeeded a German, in default of the great princely families of medieval Greece, but stranger things have happened than the rule of a northern prince at Byzantium. Did George of Greece become Emperor of Constantinople he would have a precedent in Baldwin and the Latin Emperors, who ousted the Greeks for the first half of the thirteenth century. The Bulgarians, who in the days of their power made even less impression on the country than the Turks have done, also had to resort to Western rulers when they regained their

independence, for though originally their form of government was gristocratic, none of their nobles or great families had survived aristocratic, none to the Turkish domination. They have no claim to rule at Conthe Turkish and the Bulgaria they have now obtained is, with perhaps some additions to the south-west, a just and ample pernaps some pernaps some pernaps and ample reconstruction of the shifting dominions of the Bulgarian Czars.

The Serbs remain, and they with far more reason have made the return of the Czardom of Dushan and Lazar a national aspiration. This it was that inspired them when they rose under Karageorge as the Bulgarians were never inspired by the memories of Simeon's victories; for to the Serb the battle of Kossovo is modern history, and while the Bulgar of to-day is utterly modern the Serb looks back through the ages to the great days of Serbian rule when he scattered broadcast those placenames which still attest how wide and deep was his influence in the Balkan peninsula. The Bulgarian Empire left hardly a trace; the Serbian Czardom has set its mark everywhere. If the Serbian Czardom were to be reconstituted there would be two claimants for the headship, Servia and Montenegro; but though of the same race the two are very differently qualified. After the battle of Kossovo and the fall of the Serbian rule, most of the great land-owning families became Mahometan, and thus retained their power, finally becoming the mainstay of the Turkish supremacy in Europe. The consequence was that, when the Servians rose in 1804, after the massacre by the Janissaries, they chose as their leader George Petrovich, or Karageorge, the son of a peasant, who had served in the Austrian army, and had afterwards been a brigand and pig-dealer. The present King Peter of Servia is Karageorge's grandson. The Obrenovich dynasty, which ended with the murder of King Alexander of Servia, was founded by Milosh Obrenovich, a Serbian peasant who, when Karageorge temporarily gave up the struggle in 1812, got himself named chief by the Turks, and in 1817 had Karageorge assassinated; thus originating the blood-feud whch only came to an end with the extinction of the Obrenovich dynasty in 1903.

But both these dynasties are essentially modern. They have no root in the past, and the Serbs look back to Dushan and Lazar and to the heroes who fought with them as the glories of the Serbian race. Yet there is one family which, though not descended from the old Serbian Czars, has ruled over free Serbs for more than two hundred years, and has therefore juster claims than any other dynasty to represent the ancient Czardom, and that is the family of Petrovich Niegush of Cernagora, whose head is, and has been for over fifty years, King Nicolas of Montenegro. kingdom was never subdued by the Turks, although it was overmore than once, and even before its independence was

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formally recognised by Europe at the Treaty of Berlin it was the ambition of its ruler to become Czar of the Serbs, and to restore the glories of the reign of Dushan. Though he naturally does not publish his ambitions to all the world, King Nicolas makes no secret of his hopes in the course of conversation, and some years ago, on one of the occasions when I had the honour of being received by him at the palace, he referred to what he hoped would be a wider future for Montenegro when his boundaries had been enlarged to include Old Serbia, and when the Roman Catholic tribes of North Albania had realised that it was their interest to combine with Montenegro. The telegrams which state that the mountaineers have made common cause with King Nicolas' troops at Tusi and Hum seem to show that his diplomacy and tact have borne good fruit. Every action of the King has been directed to this end. He has done his utmost to bring his little kingdom into line with the great nations of Europe. He has civilised his people, and has worked hard, though with indifferent success, to make them not merely a race of mountain warriors but an industrial people. He has been handicapped by the poverty of the soil as well as by the martial instincts of his subjects, for though he obtained Dulcigno and Antivari on the littoral, the Treaty of Berlin was a bitter disappointment to him.

Most adroitly he has kept himself, his family, and his country in the public view. His eldest son married Princess Jutta (now Militza) of Mecklenburg; his eldest daughter married Peter Karageorgevich, then the pretender to the Servian throne and now King in Belgrade; his second daughter married the Grand Duke Peter Nicolaevich of Russia; another the Duke of Leuchtenberg; a fourth Prince Francis Joseph of Battenberg; and, greatest triumph of all, the Princess Helena married in 1896 the present King Victor Emmanuel of Italy. After the Treaty of Berlin the Prince was only styled Highness; then in December 1900 he assumed the title of Royal Highness, and in October 1908 that of King of Montenegro and Berda, all steps towards the attainment of his ambition, the restoration of the Serbian Czar-And, indeed, the Montenegrins and their ruler have peculiar claims to the hegemony of the Balkan Serbs, for when the tide of Ottoman invasion overran the peninsula they alone remained free and independent among their inaccessible crags, to which all the Serbs who would not submit to the Turks resorted, and made into a place of refuge. The lowlanders, and those who lived in the mountains to which the Turks were able to penetrate without great loss, either adopted the Mahometan religion and saved their property, or else became rayahs and lost all semblance of liberty; but in the principality Church and State alike remained orthodox and unsubdued, and the rocks of Montenegro e

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stood out like an island outpost of Europe above the flood of

Ottoman domination.

From the earliest times Montenegro, owing to its situation, has always had a princely independence, and it has indefeasible rights to the headship of the Serbian race. It had no particular history of its own until the coming of the Serbs, when, from being a small Illyrian State under native princes, and afterwards under the Romans, it became a Slav State with Dioclea, the birthplace of Diocletian, as its chief town. It was then known as Zenta, and extended far beyond the boundaries of the present kingdom. At the time of the battle of Hastings its Zupan actually called himself King of Serbia, so that King Nicolas has ancient precedent on his side. It formed part of the territory of the Serbian Czars, and as a young man the great Stefan Dushan was its ruler. After the death of the Czar Dushan a Serbian noble named Balsha became prince of the country, and in the time of the Czar Lazar the descendant of Balsha included the Herzegovina and much of North Albania in his dominions. In the fatal battle Kossovo on the 15th of June 1389 Djuradj, or George, Balsha took no part, for he was hurrying to join his father-in-law when he heard of the defeat and death of the Czar at Kossovopolje. therefore retreated to his principality, where he was joined by the remnants of the Serbian army, and afterwards by those who, for one reason or another, desired a haven of refuge from the Turks or from their private foes. The last prince of the House of Balsha died in 1421, and Stefan Crnojevich, a connexion of the family, was elected prince in opposition to Djuradj Brankovich, the son of the Despot of Servia, whose selection would have made Montenegro a province of Turkey. He and his descendants had a hard fight with the Turks and the Venetians, though later on an alliance was made with the latter, who then held Scutari or Scodra. So hard was the struggle for freedom that a law was passed in 1483, by which any man who did not fight against the Turks was dressed in women's clothes and hunted out of the country by the women themselves. At last, in 1516, Djuradj Crnojevich, the grandson of the hero Ivan Crnojevich, wearied out with the continual struggle against the Turkish armies, resigned his power into the hands of the Metropolitan Bishop Vavil and retired to Italy, where the last of the race died at Venice in 1660.

Then began the strange rule of the Vladikas, or Prince Bishops of Montenegro, who ruled over a principality which was sadly shorn of its extent and reduced to little more than the rocks around taken by the Turks in 1484. Cettigne at that time consisted only of the monastery, the house built by Ivan Crnojevich, and even those were burnt and utterly destroyed by

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Suleiman Pasha in 1623, and again by another Pasha of the same name in 1690. But on each occasion the Montenegrins retired to the mountain tops and waited until the Turks realised that they must either leave the country or starve. The valiant little people had already done enough to prove their right to be considered the chiefs of the Serbian race, for while the rest of the country was under the power of the Sultan the inhabitants of the rocks around Cettigne alone kept themselves free and unsubdued, and rebuilt their huts when the Turkish armies had departed. But the remnant which took up the old life of fighting after the disaster of 1690 was sadly diminished and dispirited. The elective Vladikas had done good service to their country, as their sacred office had preserved Montenegro from the dissensions of rival chiefs, but the people felt that if their land was to be kept free a greater continuity of policy than was possible under elective Vladikas must be introduced, and their choice fell on a man whose family were destined to raise the tiny State to the rank of a kingdom. In July 1696 a young monk named Danilo Herakovich was elected Vladika at the age of twenty. He was the representative of one of the most powerful families left in Montenegro, and at first was unwilling to accept the honour and responsibility of the office, pleading his youth and inexperience. But the chiefs and people saw that he was the man for the post, and finally he consented to become the first Vladika of the new order.

The family of Danilo was Herzegovinian by origin, and had fled to Montenegro in the fifteenth century. On his appointment he took the name of Petrovich after his most famous ancestor, and Niegush after the village in which he was the landowner. The office of Vladika was made hereditary in his family, but as the Vladika, being a Bishop, could not marry, he was to appoint a relative to succeed him, and for nearly two hundred years nephew succeeded uncle without intermission. Danilo himself was more of a warrior than a priest, and on Christmas Eve 1702 all the Mahometans in the principality, most of them Serbian renegades, were massacred by his orders. In 1714 Kiuprili Pasha invaded the country, and once more Cettigne was destroyed. again the Turks had to evacuate the mountains or starve, and in 1715 the Vladika went to Petersburg to ask for the protection of Peter the Great, who gave him ten thousand roubles and promised him five hundred roubles every three years for the church Danilo died in 1735, but the struggle against the at Cettigne. Turkish armies went on incessantly, and some of the worst enemies with whom the Vladikas had to contend were renegate Serbs whose rage against their orthodox brothers was far more inveterate than that of the true Turks. In 1782 the Vladika d

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St. Peter succeeded his uncle, and at first had to face a bitter St. Peter St. Kara Mahmoud Pasha, who, in 1785, burned Cettigne, Niegush, and several other towns. The struggle ended cettighte, the Pasha's army was caught in the defile of Kruse and cut to pieces. Kara Mahmoud himself was taken prisoner, and his head was struck off and placed on the tower at Cettigne. At intervals through the nineteenth century the fight with Turkey went on, and Peter the Second, who succeeded his uncle in 1830, was the last of the Prince Bishops. His nephew and successor, Danilo the Second, separated the civil from the ecclesiastical power, and married Darinka, the daughter of a Slav merchant of Trieste. But he had no son, and when he was assassinated on the quay at Cattaro by a Montenegrin exile in 1860 he nominated his nephew Nicolas, the son of the famous warrior Mirko Petrovich, as his successor. When the insurrection in the Herzegovina broke out in 1875 it was the expressed intention of Prince Nicolas to 'liberate all the Serbs, even if it cost him his life'; and with this end he went to war, and made use of his diplomatic skill to get recognised by the Great Powers. the Treaty of Berlin the Prince gained recognition and an extension of territory, though the lands added to Montenegro were not those which he had hoped to receive either in extent or population.

An even greater blow to the Prince's ambition occurred soon afterwards. Servia had been recognised as a principality in 1830 under Milosh Obrenovich as the Hereditary Prince. Turkish garrisons retired from Servia in 1867, in 1878 the Powers recognised the independence of the country, and in 1882 Milan Obrenovich was proclaimed King and took his place in the Near East as the successor of Stefan Nemanja. By this act the nominal headship of the free Serbs, which had for so long been held by the Petrovich prince of Montenegro, was transferred to the modern dynasty of the Obrenoviches of the new Servia, and this explains and justifies the hostility which King Nicolas always showed to the rivals of the Karageorges. Europe, knowing little, and caring less, had passed over the real leaders of the Serbs, the men who for centuries had fought unsubdued against the forces of the Ottoman Empire from the battle of Kossovo in 1389 to the capture of Dulcigno in 1878, in favour of an artificial Servia ruled by a prince of yesterday. In Europe, Servia the modern kingdom was regarded as the heir of the Serbian Czars, and Montenegro, the refuge of the men of Kossovo under its ancient princes, was ignored and looked on as a nest of robbers of whom most people had forgotten that they always were free Serbs. Montenegro was small and poor; Servia by with every large and wealthy; but Nicolas did not despair. With everything against him he set to work to bring his little

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country into line with modern ideas as far as he possibly could, and the roads, the little railway from Antivari to the Lake opened in 1908, and the reforms which he has introduced into the civil service, the army, education, and the trade of the country, show how earnest and thorough he has been. But Montenegro still remains cramped and confined; it has no proper port; its territory is still largely barren rock; its products are insignificant, and its warriors are not keen to devote themselves to labour or trade. All these defects would be remedied by an extension of its borders which would give the kingdom richer land, inhabitants more adapted to the pursuits of peace, and harbours which would secure fuller and easier communication with Europe. But these advantages are just what Montenegro finds it hard, almost impossible, to obtain.

It was not until 1878 that Montenegro discovered that the obstacle to her expansion was Austria and not Turkey, from whom in the future everything was to be gained; but it was as long ago as 1797, by the Treaty of Campo Formio, that Austria and Montenegro came into touch. By Article VI. of that Treaty the French Republic consented that the Emperor of Austria should possess Istria, Dalmatia, the islands in the Adriatic formerly belonging to Venice, and the Bocche di Cattaro; and from that date the strangling of Montenegro by the Empire, and the blocking of her extension towards Europe, became a question of practical politics. Cattaro is the natural harbour of Montenegro; in the time of Stefan Dushan it belonged to the Serbian kingdom, and Stefan Crnojevich of Montenegro held it at the beginning of the fifteenth century, so that its occupation by Austria in 1797 was a serious blow to the principality. As the Petroviches were originally Serbs from the Herzegovina, their Vladikas naturally looked on that province as the first of Serbian territory to be reclaimed, and on Cattaro as their old harbour, but though the Powers were willing to accept help from Montenegro when needed, they did not think fit to reward the Vladikas with their natural inheritance. Austria did not keep Cattaro long, for at Presburg in 1803 she surrendered Dalmatia and all the Adriatic possessions of Venice to Napoleon, who added them to the Italian kingdom The Montenegrins fought against Napoleon in Dalmatia, and afterwards against the Turks, his allies, and on the 27th of December 1979 ber 1813, aided by an English squadron, they once more gained possession of Cattaro. But next year Dalmatia was handed back to Austria, and the Emperor's army entered Cattaro almost by force on the 2nd of June.

This closed the old Serbian harbour of Cattaro and the former Republic of Ragusa to the expansion of Montenegro, but Bosnia and the Herzegovina still remained to the Turks, so that when

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the insurrection broke out in 1875 Prince Nicolas went to war with the hope of freeing his brother Serbs from Ottoman domination, and of adding to the future Czardom a most important part of the old Serbian Empire. But though by the Treaty of Berlin Montenegro received a rectification of frontier, including a portion of the Herzegovina, that province itself and Bosnia were handed over to Austria for administration, Spizza had to be surrendered to the same Power, and though Antivari and ultimately Dulcigno were ceded to the Prince, he had to agree to own no ships of war. At San Stefano Montenegro was given a large accession of territory, more than double that which she received at Berlin, and it included much of the Herzegovina and a large portion of the Sandjak of Novibazar. But Austria had no intention of allowing the Prince to achieve his ambition, and her vehement opposition had the effect of inducing the Powers, who were most of them completely indifferent, to give way. retention of the Sandjak of Novibazar under Austria's tutelage completely blocked the way, and shut off Montenegro from any possible future junction with Servia, while the administration and subsequent incorporation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina as certainly prevents any hope of welding all the Serb provinces into one kingdom as long as Austria retains her present Constitution.

King Nicolas' ambition is not to reign at Constantinople, which the ancient Czars never held, but to make a Serbian Empire with most probably Scodra, the old Czarigrad, miscalled Scutari, as its capital. Roughly speaking, the lands of the Serbs include Montenegro, the modern kingdom of Servia, Bosnia, Old Serbia, and a part of Macedonia, though in that quarter of the Balkans the Serbs are mixed with a strong minority of Albanians and Albania proper would certainly not coalesce with a Serbian kingdom, though the North Albanian Christian tribes near Scodra would probably settle down very comfortably under Montenegrin rule, for since the annexation of Dulcigno the King has done all in his power to conciliate his Albanian subjects, and has shown himself most friendly to the Roman Catholic tribes across the border. The East of the Balkan peninsula does not come into the King's ambitions. That belongs to the Bulgars, who now have a Czar of their own, but the north-western part is Serbian, and is the seat of the dream of Czardom. south of the peninsula is Greece, and between Greece and Montenegro are the Albanians, more or less secure in their mountains, a people who form a sufficiently knotty problem in themselves. Constantinople is another problem, but that does not concern the Serbs, who can have no possible claim to it. That Montenegro and Servia should be separate kingdoms can only be a temporary arrangement, and no more permanent than the division of

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Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, which served its purpose for a time, and then gave way before the inevitable march of events. Bosnia and the Herzegovina seem more hopelessly lost, but Austria is a composite Empire of many nationalities; and Hungary, at any rate, is not too anxious to see the Slav provinces over-powerful in the confederation.

The Serbian Czardom is laughed at as a dream, and pronounced impossible by many excellent authorities, but it is always unsafe to prophesy in the negative. The amalgamation of the States and provinces will no doubt be a lengthy process, but many stranger alterations in the map of Europe have taken place, and the only thing that is certain is that the present arrangements are not permanent, however much the Great Powers may be opposed to change. A few years ago the Young Turks were the butt of Europe, and the idea of their coming into power at Constantinople was ridiculed as the hallucination of a madman, and yet when the change did come it was done so simply and easily that everyone at once agreed that it was inevitable. The Young Turks may be only the Old Turks with a French polish on them, but nevertheless they managed to dethrone the Sultan Abdul Hamid without the threatened cataclysm; and though the result of all their plots and intrigues may not be intrinsically brilliant, yet the fact remains that the Young Turks did get rid of the Padishah and subdue Constantinople in spite of the refusal of the prophets to believe in them. King Nicolas may not live to see his dream of a restored Serbian Czardom realised, but the principle of nationalities is strong, and it is the unexpected which happens-even in the Balkans.

WADHAM PEACOCK (Formerly Private Secretary to H.B.M. Chargé d'Affaires in Montenegro.) g

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A SUBALTERN IN THE BALKANS IN THE WINTER CAMPAIGN OF 1877

The story below, read in the light of modern military experience, has little to offer for instruction to the military student. It repeats a tale, told before comrades at the Royal Artillery Institute, of the experiences of three subalterns of artillery who, giving the slip to authority in Pall Mall, embarked on an enterprise which for its audacity deserved the success it enjoyed. Not that ten subalterns out of ten in the present day would not do the same if the opportunity presented itself, for the spirit of enterprise, thank goodness, will for ever, I trust, be one of the golden virtues of our young officers. The prospect of seeing real war is not an everyday occurrence.

Thirty-five years ago Russia and Turkey were at each other's throats. Quarter was neither asked nor given, and seldom will be when Christian and Moslem cross bayonets. Prisoners may be taken, but are they ever heard of again? The same bitter religious blood-feud permeates the civil population, and finds its vent when unrestrained by a civil Power. The mutual slaughter of old men, women, and children, the innocent victims of a disordered government, has no record of statistics in the archives of the ungoverned nation. To these victims, who at any rate enjoy for a brief period a fight for their lives in defence of hearth and home, must be added the countless thousands who perish from hunger, misery, and want. But to crown all, we in well-ordered States can hardly realise what can happen in an ill-governed country when once the dogs of war are loose. We cannot picture the numerous bands of marauders, deserters, and other human vultures, whose livelihood is to prey upon friend and foe alike. Women are their special spoil, for, carrying upon their persons the sum total of their wealth, when bereft of that they have to confront a struggle for what is more precious than life itself.

History has a way of repeating itself, and Christian Europe—Christian only in name—must prepare itself to read of a harvest

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of death which has seldom been paralleled. Thirty-five years ago the policeman of the Levant stepped in and said 'Hold; enough!' Britain has now no voice in such policy for the good reason that as its citizens shirk the first duty of citizenship there can be no force or power behind its voice. Such impotence in a Moslem Empire may some day meet with its reward in a still more Eastern sphere.

In October 1877 the leave season offered a unique opportunity for adventure. The eyes of Europe were focussed on Plevna. We three subalterns decided one night in our club to go and see the *vrai chose*, and started two nights afterwards for

Constantinople.

Our preparations were not very gaudy, I need hardly say, being done in a few hours. A trusty revolver, field-glasses, hunting saddle, and warm clothing do not take long to get. The latter packed in a soldier's waterproof bag, rolled in a waterproof sheet with a blanket, was all our baggage. Our objective point, when in London, was, of course, Plevna. We left on the 25th of October viâ Paris to Marseilles, thence by sea to Naples, Athens, and Constantinople.

We had to put up two days at Old Miseri's Hotel, so well known to Crimeans, as a heavy rain had washed away part of the line to Adrianople. However, we spent the time procuring letters of introduction to various governors, pashas, and generals at the scene of operations, and further supplemented our kit with a sheepskin bag each to sleep in. We also engaged an all-round dragoman, Antoine by name, who spoke seven

languages indifferently well.

It may be as well briefly to chronicle the record of the struggle up to this date. War was declared on the 24th of April 1877, and the Grand Duke Nicholas, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Army, crossed the frontier at Keshineff the same day. He had 200,000 men, 800 guns, and 200 squadrons. The Turkish force consisted of 165,000 men and 450 guns. After traversing Roumania the passage of the Danube was effected at

Sistova on the 4th of July.

The Russian Army then was organised in three columns. Gourko with the centre was to penetrate the Balkans. The Czarewitch on the left (W.) to operate on the Lom. Krudener on the right (E.) to attack Nikopolis and operate against Osman Pasha about Widin. Gourko did his share, but was checked on the south side and retreated by the Shipka Pass to Tirnova. The left column was met by Mehemet Ali and also checked. Krudener captured Nikopolis on the 16th of July, but was repulsed at Plevna on the 20th by Osman.

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The second battle of Plevna was fought ten days later, and the third on the 11th of September. The Russians lost 25,000 the third on the order was issued for the Guard to mobilise. They men, and the order was issued for the Guard to mobilise. They men, and the control of October, when the investment was reached Plevna on the 20th of October, when the investment was completed by Todleben. The idea was then conceived to utilise the spare Corps of Guards to turn the Western Balkans. The the space entrusted to Gourko, with 36,000 men, 10,000 cavalry, and about 100 guns. It was part of this interesting operation we were fortunate to witness.

On the 7th of November we started fair at early dawn by train for Adrianople, where we were delayed by the train service. Through the kindness of the Consul, however, we were introduced to the Governor-General of the Province, Ahmed Vevyk Pasha, and employed the day visiting the hospitals, fortifications, and other sights. We saw over 2000 wounded men, of whom 750 were being tended by British hands, thanks to the generous aid of the Stafford House Committee. In the afternoon we visited the Pasha, who bid us to dinner that evening, and a very pleasant chatty entertainment it was. He was a welltravelled man and thoroughly up in European politics. could not quite understand how we English, who spent millions to go to Abyssinia and rescue a few missionaries, hesitated to show our cards when such a vital item in our Eastern prestige was at stake as the downfall of the head of the Mussulman faith and the key to our road to India. He laid great stress on the prestige we had gained in the East by this same expedition. He afterwards became Grand Vizier.

We left Adrianople early next morning for Philippopolis. En route we passed Karadshaki, which was the limit of Gourko's summer raid over the Balkans, the station of which he had burnt. The workmen about the station were mostly clad in Russian great-coats taken from the dead. We got to Philippopolis about 4 P.M. It is a quaint old town built on a number of tumuli. Our hotel accommodation was not very grand, we put up at a dragoman's house and shared the worst of fare with

some newspaper correspondents. Next day we visited the British Consul, Mr. Calvert, who took us to the Pasha, where we conversed in French over the eternal chibouk and coffee about the affairs of state. Pasha was a wicked-looking old gentleman who had travelled a bit, but whose tastes ran more with the gay life of foreign capitals than the political. We here quitted the railway, so we purchased six ponies to continue our journey, as we had to take to road-travelling. We gave 22 lire for the lot, and had an amusing declared two for kit amusing deal over it. One for each of ourselves, two for kit and cooking things, and one for Antoine, the dragoman.

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We started on the afternoon of the 11th with two mounted saptiens for Shipka, some sixty miles off, putting up the first night in a Turkish hut, where the women were most kind and hospitable, and leaving at dawn next morning traversed the Lesser Balkans at Karlofer. The results of the civil strife between Bulgar and Moslem were painfully apparent in every town and village we traversed. The minaret still stood over the mosque where the Turkish population was stronger, while all traces of Mahomedanism were obliterated where the Bulgarian predominated. At Kenlofer the whole town was levelled and laid waste, as the two religions were equally represented.

En route we met a party of Bashi Bazouks, with whom we swopped a horse, and about dusk passed the Turkish outposts at the foot of the Shipka, and went on to Shekerli, some two miles further, where our commissariat wants were speedily met by the Stafford House surgeons. At dinner that night we met Alister Campbell, a Scotchman in the Turkish service, and a man with a most adventurous career. He offered to take us over the Turkish positions, so early next morning we paid our respects to Reouf Pasha, the General, gave our letters of introduction, and obtained leave to view the works. He gave us a general pass. The Turkish plan of attack on the Fort of St. Nicholas at the top of the pass consisted of three converging lines divided by almost impassable ravines. The works on the left attack somewhat commanded and enfiladed, the Russian main works. Those on the centre attack were direct against the Rock and Fort of St. Nicholas along the road over the pass. Those on the right attack commanded part of the reverse slope of the pass and were chiefly for the purpose of harassing the troops coming up from Gabrova, the Russian headquarters. Gabrova was distinctly visible from the right attack.

At the foot of the Shipka were large earthworks and epaulements to check an attack in reverse, and tents and huts to shelter the troops in reserve and those for relief in the positions on the heights. On the 13th we started to ascend to the left attack. Riding or scrambling up a rugged mountain path for some two hours, we came to the headquarters of the left attack, commanded by Vessoul Pasha. He was a sleek, fat, sleepy-looking Moslem, but was very civil and gave us every facility for seeing the works. A dense fog prevailed, and so we took the opportunity to scramble over the parapets and ditches to the advanced works, to save moving by the trenches and parallels. musketry fire was going on against the main direct attack of the Shipka road, but all was quiet on the left attack where We carried our inquisitiveness to the verge of insanity by passing over the advanced trenches under cover of the fog, St

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and got within 200 yards of the Russian trenches, where we and got the gold distinctly hear every word they said. Campbell, who accompanied us up to show us round, warned us the fog might lift, and not a moment too soon, for hardly had we returned to the headquarters of Vessoul Pasha than the misty curtain rose, disclosing the Balkans in all their beauty. The scene was rose, discribable except by a professional pen. Every battery, every earthwork, every epaulement, traverse and parallel on both sides of the opponents stood out clear in the pure atmosphere. The stern reality of war now presented to us a living picture. We stood viewing the narrow strip of soil where lay the bones of 10,000 brave Turks, the flower of Sulieman's army, hopelessly dashed against the rocks of St. Nicholas. whitened skeletons, broken muskets, disordered uniform, and all the débris of defeat and slaughter, but a few weeks old, lay unburied almost at our feet, while on either side fresh lives stood grimly watching each other, ever ready to avenge and repel. It was curious to see, now that the trees were bare of leaves, how some of the works on the Russian side originally traced to meet an attack from a work newly erected on the Turkish side were themselves enfiladed from elsewhere. had assembled on a mound some 500 yards from the Russian outworks, the better to take in the position unfolded to us by the lifting of the fog, but Campbell soon made us disperse, as he said we should have a shell amongst us in a few minutes if we did not scatter. We bade adieu to stout Vessoul and rode down to the valley below by another route. Vessoul afterwards fell into the command of the troops at Shipka, and on the 9th of January 1878, one month after the fall of Plevna, he capitulated with 36,000 men and ninety-three guns to Radetsky, his rear having been attacked by Skobeloff and Mirsky.

Next day we decided to visit the centre or main attack, and started at 10 o'clock up the good, broad road that winds up the historical pass and crosses to Bulgaria. Campbell, unfortunately, could not accompany us, as he was detailed to escort Valentine Baker Pasha, who had come over from his command on the Lom River to see the positions. We had not gone far up when we found ourselves enveloped in fog, and soon the Well-known 'what' of a bullet above us told us that they were peppering each other at the advanced trenches. thirds of the way up we met Baker Pasha returning, saying it was too foggy to see anything. We begged him to come up again, saying we were a lucky lot of youngsters and the fog might lift. However, he could not spare the time on such a We were advised at one or two corners to make a run for it, as the Russians commanded those spots, and in clear

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weather annoyed reliefs or convoys coming up. We soon came upon the position of the reserves, then on to the supports, where batteries cut into the sharp sides of the rock on either side of the road and manned with howitzers and mortars played their parts in the bombardment and preparations for attacks. We then decided to try and reach the advanced trenches under cover of the fog. In doing this our guide, an officer, somewhat lost his reckoning among the parallels and was for returning, but a Turkish soldier told him he would show him a short cut over a rocky ledge. We scrambled over this in single file, the Turk leading. We knew the risk we ran if the fog lifted, although the bullets whistled in a seemingly harmless way high over our heads in the air. We had not ten yards to go, but whether the for cleared away for a second or not I cannot say, yet when midway across the ledge and all crouching for bare life, the brave Turk leading us rolled down the rock killed by three bullets. There was no returning; we scrambled on as best and as fast as we could, and reached the covered way leading into the advanced trenches. These trenches hewn out of the bare rock, the parapets loophooled with sandbags, were full of armed soldiers standing shoulder to shoulder, muskets at order and bayoneted ready to repel any attack. They looked grand fellows standing in the attitude they did, calmly and solemnly awaiting a longlooked-for attack. No indiscriminate firing from the loopholes, as became old soldiers, but trusting to a volley and the bayonet. We peered through the loopholes, the thud of the Russian bullets into the sandbags forcibly reminding us of the risk we ran. Some fifty yards outside were some half-dozen rifle-pits held by men to give a first warning of attack.2 These few men only kept up a slow fire. Our luck stood us in good stead, for the fog suddenly lifting we saw the Russian trenches not 200 yards of, above which towered the mighty rock of St. Nicholas. From the continuous musketry fire that was going on, one could only suppose that new and young troops were on advanced trench duty on the Russian side. We stood on the spot where Leman Pasha, the commander of Artillery, had been killed only three days previously, and after emptying our boxes of cigarettes among the brave occupiers of the trenches we wended our way down by the covered ways and batteries to the road below.

Our admiration for the brave Turkish soldier was much enhanced at the introduction to him we received that day. It warmed one's heart to him seeing him stand patiently there, face to face with danger, as steadily and quietly as if on parade;

² Those of my comrades who served under me in Section A of the Defences of Ladysmith may like to know that the works I saw at Shipka were reflected on a small scale by their labour.

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s of on a and be it remembered that he was only relieved once in the and be it fellows, and day and night he was there at a height twenty-roun feet in all weathers, his trusty weapon in his hand. Next day we visited the right attack. The ascent was the easiest of them all, and we could ride up the whole way. easiest of whole way. En two Russian deserters. The latter seemed well-grown, cheery lads, not at all ashamed of their disgraceful crime, and said they had had enough of the Shipka. We were taken to Redjeb Pasha's hut, who commanded that attack. He was a very good fellow, and as keen as mustard. This position, more one of defence, was not favourable for counter attacks, owing to deep, steep ravines that separated it from the Russian line of communications. It somewhat overlapped their advanced works, but from its main battery it completely enfiladed for some 200 yards the main road from the Russian reserves up the northern slope of the pass, and about 1500 yards distant. Redjeb told us with great glee how four days previously, when he was bombarding the Russian positions, and they feared a real attack and had sent up their supports, he had swept them off the road as they traversed this part of the ascent. The batteries had been a good deal knocked about by the counter fire four days previously, but there had been no loss of life. The men lived in lean-tos close to the parapet and near their guns. We could see Gabrova, the Russian headquarters of the Shipka position, quite distinctly at the northern foot of the pass. We returned early to our billets at the Stafford House Field Hospital, as we had some preparations to make for our journey the following morning.

We had decided (as Reouf Pasha told us there was no prospect of an attack on his part of the Shipka position) to travel along the south of the Balkans, cross them by a more westerly route, and join Mehemet Ali who was organising at Sofia the relieving army destined to reprovision Plevna. To our great joy Campbell was allowed to accompany us, and another officer on the same bent as ourselves also joined, so we set out a party of five, with three servants, about 5 o'clock that day. We did not get far that evening owing to the servants taking the opportunity to get drunk. The result was that the baggage animals had to be looked after and constantly reloaded. Consul Blunt and all the Stafford House doctors, who had been most civil and obliging, accompanied us out of camp and sent us on our journey with three lusty cheers. Reouf lent us a cavalry escort of a few men which he said might be required as much against friend as foe, for deserters, Bashi-Bazoula Bazouks, and Circassians are a bit indifferent as to whom they

We reached after dark the village of Albazar, where we put

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up at a large farmhouse; the owner, a Turk, turned his ladies out of the harem, and we all five slept huddled up together with our feet to the fire very comfortably. The ladies, with the curiosity of their sex, were much interested in us, and despite the orders of their lord peered at us through the cracks of the door.

The next day we pushed on to Carlova, and the following morning we wended our way through a valley of rose trees past Tekke, where a body of Turks were entrenched watching the exit of a pass over the mountains, and on to Presadio, where we had a short halt to lunch and lock up our party, as Bulgarians were on the prowl. Small parties of refugees then passed us driving their herds and carrying all their worldly goods in their heavily laden arabas. We still pushed on, favoured by a bright moon, though we somewhat straggled. While shouting and yelling for the stragglers, whose horses had nearly reached the limit of endurance, we were suddenly surrounded by a large piquet of armed men, but Campbell's uniform soon quieted them, and about 8.30 we reached Staditza, at the foot of the pass of that name, after nearly twelve hours in the saddle.

Next morning we crossed the Balkans by the mountain path, the aneroid showed 5200 feet ascent, the track somewhat rugged and steep, but the descent less so. We arrived at Etropol on the northern side about 3 o'clock. Some Circassians who had got wind of fighting and looting in prospect had accompanied us, and galloping on had given intimation of our arrival. We were met on entering the town of Etropol by the Commandant, Mustapha Pasha by name, a fat, sleek, lazy, enterpriseless-looking Turk. He gave orders to have us billeted in a very nice clean Bulgarian house, and I fancy also had us watched, for he could not under-

stand, like many others, what we had come for.

The staff shortly after came to visit us, Omer Bey, the chief, being a particularly smart dapper little man. Then other military swells, the A.D.C., the Cavalry Commandant, and P.M.O. The latter, a Greek, we got to dislike immensely, and could not shake off the idea that he was a spy. These worthies thought it incumbent to pay a morning and evening visit daily as long as our whisky supply held out, after which they were less attentive.

Etropol had been the scene of a skirmish a few days previously, when a Russian reconnaissance was driven off. In strolling about the streets we came across the head of a young Russian lying in a gutter. We went straight to Mustapha Pasha to pay our respects, and told him we were much surprised at the barbarous exhibition of the head, which was quite contrary to the usages of European warfare, whereupon he gave orders to have it buried.

That night our landlady gave us an excellent dinner off 3

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goose, for which we paid five piastres. We came in for a touching goose, for which of welcome. After dinner the good housewife Bulgarian custom Bulgarian wine, which her son handed round, and sent in some and the glass the youth knelt and kissed the hand with which we held the wine. The husband was in prison on suspicion of some treason, and the poor woman was in great trouble.

On the 20th of November we started at 9 on the invitation of Omer Bey to visit his outposts on the Etropol-Plevna road. Outside the town we met the escort drawn up consisting of about seventy Circassians on their wild wiry ponies, about twenty regular cavalry, and forty mounted Bashi-Bazouks. At a gorge on the road we came to the inlying piquets; Omer Bey here sounded the 'stand-by,' when the outposts and piquets on the hills on either side promptly turned out and fell in. The scene was very picturesque, but I thought it a great advertisement for a spy to indulge in. One piquet on a hill slow in turning out met with Omer Bey's anger, and he ordered his A.D.C. to give the officer in command thirty blows. The A.D.C. dismounted and cut a stick for the purpose, but during that operation to our great amusement we saw the victim go to a hut and emerge with his greatcoat. However, he caught it pretty smart about the shoulders. Pushing on beyond the outposts, we came across the ground of the skirmish a few days previously; the Russian dead lay stripped and unburied, and we assisted to pay them the last Ascending the hill of Pravca to our left we had a glorious view. Large masses of Russian troops were marching in to Sikovitzka on the Plevna road about four miles distant. There where the road bifurcates, one leading to Orhanie and the other to Etropol, we could see their reconnoitring forces take up positions on both lines, and speedily with pick and shovel throw up defensive lines. Omer Bey here allowed the Circassians to go forward to reconnoitre. They took advantage of this permission to visit all the neighbouring farms and houses, and after looting them and their owners fired the buildings.

It would be as well now to look at the general military position on the western side of the seat of war at this date, the 20th of

Plevna, it must be remembered, still held out. As late as the beginning of October a convoy of supplies had found its way in. Since then and the failure of the three terrible assaults upon the works. The brave Osman. Works, Todleben had placed an iron circle round the brave Osman. Radetsky was almost incarcerated in Shipka, and that line was practically closed to any Russian advance. An army corps of 36,000 men under Gourko was therefore detailed by the Grand Duke to turn the Western Balkans, and prevent any idea of the

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Turks relieving Plevna from the Sofia quarter or revictualling the

beleaguered garrison.

Mehemet Ali at Sofia was collecting what supplies of men, food, and material he could to effect the relief he was ordered to carry out. He had at this date barely 20,000 men, and they were evidently mainly composed of the last drain of the population Old, worn-out, small, ill-bred men, as most of the regiments paraded, they could not be spoken of in the same breath as the men of Plevna or the men buried at the foot of Shipka. Grossly under-officered, ill-clad, ill-shod, as his army was, with a disorganised train, it is not to be wondered at that Mehemet Ali's order to advance to the relief of Plevna with such material sounded like the opening of a military farce, and that in a few days the destined army of offence found itself hardly capable of maintaining even a passive defence.

The Turkish force was disposed as follows:

At Orhanie, 8000 infantry, 24 guns, and 300 Cavalry under Chakir Pasha.

At Etropol, 4000 Infantry, 6 guns, and 250 Cavalry under Mustapha Pasha.

At Baba Kanak, a strongly fortified post, with four strong

battalions in position to relieve either Orhanie or Etropol.

At Sofia some 7000 Infantry, and the place fortified partially. It was the heart of a disaffected region, the town of Ichtiman, where the insurrection first broke out, being not far off.

Mehemet Ali's forced inactivity was Gourko's gain, and the latter, pushing the Turks successfully out of the fortified towns of Gorny, Dubuik, Telich, Lukovitza, Blosintza, each won only by hard fighting, gave his opponent those difficult nuts to crack should he attempt a forward movement.

Gourko's force seemed thoroughly organised and was, from A Cavalry division of personal observation, strong in Cavalry. the Guards was in his corps, which numbered 36,000 men.

The outposts of the Turkish force stretched in a disjointed manner along the Balkans from Pades to Skrewena, about fifteen The line being miles, a task far beyond the power of the force. Pades, Pravca, Han Pravca, Skrewena.

The next day, the 21st, we decided to ride over to Orhanie and see the line of outposts generally. To Orhanie by road was some thirteen miles, hitting off the main Plevna road at Han Pravca. We had a pig hunt en route, as we came across some stray Bulgarian swine, which, being of course spurned by the Turks, were anyone's property. Thinking a little change of diet would be beneficial, we selected a fat boar, which, to infinite danger to our The danger, selves and horses, we pursued with our revolvers. however, did not end there, for the outposts being alarmed at

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fring in their rear were soon upon us, some wild Circassians being obtrusively inquisitive as to whether we were Moscovs. Howobtrustives consider a management of the constant of the const ever, camp, and, filding the slain pig under a bush to take home on our return journey, we rode on to Orhanie. The town itself, standing on an eminence in a plain, was not fortified, but an entrenched camp outside covered it. The hills to the south, however, quite commanded the whole town and camp. We pushed on two miles further to Ivretsch, where Chakir Pasha had his headquarters. A council of war was being held there, Mehemet Ali being present. Chakir Pasha received us most civilly, gave us a pass to return to Etropol by the outposts, and advised us to return in two days' time by the Baba Konak route, but at the same time was most loth that we should return that night to Etropol. However, as our baggage was there. we decided to return. On returning through Orhanie we observed the tents of the entrenched camp were struck, and signs of a retreat were manifest. We pushed on, however, though overtaken by nightfall, as there was a prospect of a good moon. That wretched pig that we had shot here nearly got us into the same trouble as in the morning, as whilst groping about in the dark to find him we were seized by a piquet and one of the party nearly shot. Thanks to Chakir's pass, however, we got our pork, and in the bright moonlight proceeded on our journey home. Chakir's entreaty for us to remain was well meant, for he had given orders for the withdrawal of the outposts though he could not tell us the fact.

We got home to Etropol about 10 o'clock that night. Next morning we were up betimes, as it was evident some active work was brewing. About 9.30 a rattle of musketry from the post at Pades announced the commencement of the attack on the right flank. This soon died away, and, as our horses were not up to much work, we decided to go to the main-road outpost, and if possible ascend Pravca and reconnoitre with our glasses. reaching the entrenchment on the left of the gorge we were just in time to meet the first round of shrapnel from the Russian batteries. I estimated the range at 2400 yards. We dismounted and got under cover of the earthwork, the Turks being much amused at getting glimpses through our glasses. A few rounds of shrapnel and common shell burst about us, and we, with the defenders, who were Infantry, bobbed under cover every time a puff of smoke indicated a discharge. There was no scope at present for musketry. We left the entrenchment after half an hour's shelling and ascended Prayea Hill on our left front. About half way up we sat down and watched the progress of the Russian tactics. tactics. These soon developed. A large column of Infantry and guns were clearly discernible approaching the slopes of Ostroma

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Hill in our front. On reaching the crest of the hill they extended and went to work with pick and shovel. In another half hour a gun opened fire, the others were not under cover, and a well-handled battery could have dismounted their guns in detail had there been one to spare on the Turkish side. A few mountain guns on Pravca Hill was all the Artillery the Turks had in position at this part of the line of defence.

Meanwhile heavy firing had been going on on the right flank at Pades, and heavier still on our left front at Han Pravca, where the Russian reconnaissance had over-reached itself, and in a counter-attack from near Orhanie was driven back with the loss of two guns. A shell bursting near us warned us that our party was clearly visible, but we waited in hopes of seeing a direct attack on the position we were in; the action died off by mutual consent at dusk, and with loud shouts of Allah! Allah! passed on from hill to hill from successive entrenchments, the Turks turned in to bivouac for the night. The right flank at Pades had been unmistakably turned, and the entrenchments left in the hands of the Russians.

Our council of war that night was very brief. We decided on an early rise, pack up our traps, and send them and our servants off to Kamarli by the mountain pass in rear, as it did not want a Napoleon or a garrison instructor to tell us that Etropol would be in Russian hands in a few hours. At early morning after sending off our baggage we rode out to view the situation and see the fun, which was inevitable. Pades on the right flank was strongly occupied by Russian Artillery and Infantry, both entrenched. Pravca Hill was also occupied by Russian Infantry. Han Laga gorge still held out in spite of a heavy fire of Artillery and musketry, but of course would become untenable once the Russians chose to descend Pravca Hill. They seemed to be undecided about this, and were probably waiting for the development of the turning movement from Pades. This itself was very slowly executed, though the ground was certainly difficult, and there was a nut to crack in the shape of the fortified monastery up the valley, which may have delayed the Russian general's movements. The Turks concentrated somewhat about 11 A.M. at an eminence outside the town, but really no position at all, as it was commanded on three sides. Here a feeble Artillery duel was sustained for some hours against Pades, the guns having to fire at an extreme elevation to reach the works. About 4 o'clock Mustapha Pasha was reinforced by a weak battalion of Albanians from Kamarli. They looked soldier-like in their white uniforms, but somewhat jaded from a long mountain march. About 4.30, our party, seeing the inevitable destruction that awaited the brave men under their incompetent leader, retired, n

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as we had previously decided, across the mountains to Kamarli. We marched all night, the ancroid showing an ascent of 6300 feet, We marched an ascent of 6300 feet, the cold being intense. We bivouacked for a few hours at Arab Konak, and then pushed on down the main pass to Chakir Pasha's Konak, and I Vretsch. That morning, in early daylight, Mustapha retreated in a disordered way to Kamarli, leaving guns, Mustaphia to and wounded behind him, and abandoning every stores, sier, successive advantageous position which the nature of the road

The events which we had witnessed during the last few days may now be compared with the Russian official account with some amusement. General Dandeville was detailed with twelve battalions, thirty-eight guns, and ten squadrons to demonstrate against Etropol on the 22nd. If his enemy showed weakness he was to attack. He detailed three battalions, four guns, and three sotnias (to demonstrate for direct attack) on the Plevna-Etropol road and the remainder to attack in flank from the direction of

Pades.

Lieutenant-General Count Shouvaloff with seventeen battalions, thirty guns, and nine squadrons was to attack the Pravca position in front and the gorge at Han Pravca.

Besides these troops nine battalions, seventy-two guns, and

two squadrons formed a general reserve.

I hardly think it says much for the handling of the Russian forces when we know what a very insignificant force was opposing them. Their direct attack on entrenchments at Plevna and elsewhere had taught them, no doubt, a severe lesson, but it must be remembered they were working in only a nominal enemy's country, as spies in abundance could furnish them with every detail of positions and numbers. The slowness of their advance was of course much generated by the delay necessitated by constant entrenching.

On the other hand the flanking movements of the Russians were carried out with great precision, and the attacks delivered in wonderful similarity of time, considering the wide extent of the operations (some fifteen miles) and the nature of the country. The transportation of their Artillery must in itself have been great labour, though, doubtless, working parties of Bulgarians

were often impressed.

It is possible Gourko might have outmarched his supplies, but he must have known that a smart forward movement carried out with success would have brought him to a huge depôt, as he was

attacking an army destined for relief and revictualling. We continued our march down the pass to Ivretsch, and after seeing Chakir Pasha, who told us off to a billet, we pushed on to The town had been looted the night before by the Vol. LXXII-No. 429

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Circassians, who, taking advantage of the orders for retreat, had galloped into the town crying out the Russians were coming and on the inhabitants hurriedly leaving their houses these brave auxiliaries reaped their harvest.

The plain was bare save for the presence of a few Cossacks on one side and Circassian vedettes on the other.3 Campbell and another even ascended the minaret of the mosque to see the Russian advance. The hills in rear were occupied by Turkish redoubts, still held, and commanding the town at a distance of

1000 yards.

On leaving the town my personal curiosity took me away from the others to see a gun which was upset while moving into position on one of the redoubts, and I may be pardoned if I describe this part of my personal recollections, as they were somewhat exciting. I was proceeding towards the disabled gun when a sentry from a rifle-pit suddenly sprang from what seemed the bowels of the earth, seized my bridle and called loudly to his piquet which came doubling up to me with fixed bayonets. As I was coming from the direction of the Russian lines and my dress looked perhaps more Russian than anything else, they evidently thought they had caught an enemy. Fortunately my pea-coat was over my revolver, and the fact of my being seemingly unarmed was somewhat of a guarantee that I was not a man of war. However, the sergeant of the piquet motioned me to dismount and marched me with fixed bayonets on flanks and rear to the nearest redoubt. There I was brought to a hut where the commanding officer and some other officers were seated at a table. I was interrogated in Turkish, but needless to say was unable to respond. I showed my pocketbook, which contained in Turkish my pass to travel and some other Turkish documents, but the officer did not seem, to my The evidence of horror, to be able to read his own language. the sentry and piquet were then taken, the former with his hand indicating that I came from the direction of the hated Moscov. My Billingsgate-looking fur cap did not seem to speak much in my favour.

The officers held a small consultation together, and a man was sent out who returned with some more soldiers. awful thought came over me that I was then going to be shot as a spy. Such mistakes often happen, and will happen in war where death is so cheap; but I had still one card to play. hands were as yet unbound, so hastily tearing open the lining of my pea-coat I drew out my Queen's Commission which was sewn therein, and which we all carried in case we were shot, for the sake of recognition. I placed the precious document on the

³ We were between the outposts of the two armies.

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table before them, and slapping my breast said I was an 'Englese Pasha. The stoic stolid faces of the Mussulmans did not seem Pasha. The production of my parchment. Unable to to alter our Unable to read Turkish they naturally could not read English, but fortunately they understood stamps and crests, and when I saw one of them point out the Royal Arms of England at the head of the paper I knew I had established myself. The welcome word Tayeb, came to me from the stolid commandant. I began then to breathe again. I was in hopes then and there of quitting, but one of them unfortunately asked me if I was a 'Hakim' (doctor). I debated in my mind whether I should say Yes or No. My surgical instruments were limited to my pocket-knife, and my stock-in-trade as a medicine-man to a bottle of chlorodyne and a box of Cockle's pills, and as I knew in a few hours these worthies would be either in full fight or full flight, I declined to become a medical student. My answer somewhat puzzled the officers, as they could not make out who the deuce I was, being there, if I was not a doctor. However, to my relief, I was marched away under escort with fixed bayonets to Ivretsch with a note to the general. I noticed in going through the redoubt how very trim and neat it was made, and further a very simple arrangement they had for ensuring the rifle-fire being at the proper elevation. Every man's rifle was lying on the slope of the parapet with the fore part lying on a wooden forked rest roughly cut from the branches of the neighbouring trees.

Myself and my escort marched gaily along towards the pass. About a mile from Ivretsch we came across a large Cavalry piquet, where, to my joy, I found my comrades anxiously looking out for me. To my great amusement they had also been stopped and asked if they were 'Hakims.' They one and all took their degree on the spot, and were dispensing Cockle's pills with lavish hands for every external and internal complaint imaginable. Their fame seems to have been quickly established, as both lame, wounded, and sick were clamorous for a dose of the infallible and

universal specific.

My guard did not allow, however, a long halt, and we pushed on to the mouth of the pass. Here all was hurry and confusion. Flocks, herds, convoys of stores, and wounded refugees in arabas with all their worldly goods and belongings were pressing in the utmost confusion up the defile. In this confusion I gave my guards the slip, and they perhaps were not sorry to take an opportunity to tunity to join in the retreat. As far as the troops were concerned the retreat. the retrograde movement was orderly, an immense supply of stores of stores of course was collected here and at Orhanie, and as much as possible was to be saved. Chakir Pasha was left at Ivretsch to cover the retrograde movement, but Mustapha's retreat from

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Etropol had so compromised the entrance of the pass at Ivretsch that, knowing what we did know, we could not help thinking that Chakir would be surrounded. In fact, a Circassian vedette whom we had shortly before interrogated as to where the Moscov was, put his two thumbs and forefingers in the form of a circle to denote we were surrounded. We decided, therefore, to ride up to Kamarli, whither we had previously sent our baggage.

The scene in the pass was truly heartrending. The native population of the rich valley of Orhanie had been ordered to clear out to Sofia, and the general exodus was much swelled by the large convoys of sick, wounded, and stores sent to the rear. The wretched refugees, driving their flocks and herds with them, old and infirm men and women, with all their worldly goods piled in their creaking arabas, were toiling and struggling in a confused mass to reach a goal of safety, their fears doubly stimulated by the cowardly vultures of Circassians who, in the hopeless confusion that darkness would bring, looked forward to a rich harvest: while to crown all in the chorus of misfortunes the weather, which hitherto had been cold and dry, now broke with all the severity of an Arctic winter. As the heavy white flakes of snow fell and lay, hourly increasing in depth, so hourly did the difficulties of these innocent victims of war weave themselves around their hapless heads. The snow, soon worn to ice by the broad wooden wheels, refused a grip to the footsore bullocks, and the latter, wearied, overladen, and starved, dropped from their yokes

War to the soldier is a picture where glory outshines everything and appears as a halo surrounding fame. But look at the reverse of the medal. I can carve it but feebly with my pen, but what entered my mind was that it were a pity that a minister in power could not see the terrible scenes I witnessed that fearful night. There would be no argument on the subject of national defences. Enough to gain the experience at another nation's cost to justify an insurance at whatever price. We toiled on through the human and animal mass as well as we could to Kamarli. There we saw Mehemet Ali, who was very civil, and sent us on to Taskesend to billet. We got in late at night and found ourselves in a room some twelve feet square, with a mixed crew of ourselves, correspondents, and doctors, and slept nine of us choc à bloc.

Snow fell heavily the entire night and by daylight covered the ground to a depth of nearly two feet. Our newspaper correspondent companions made up their minds that this was no weather for campaigning, so packing up their traps made for Sofia. We spent the morning in writing letters and giving our weary horses a long-earned rest, and assisting to distribute relief from the Com-

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passionate Fund. However, about four o'clock the Stafford House passionate Fund.

passionate Fund.

doctors sent in to say that one of their dressers, a Greek, had doctors sent in the pass, and reported that the Circassians had broken loose and were murdering the wretched refugees. Three of us thereupon decided to go to headquarters and see Mehemet Ali and have the outrages stopped. He was most civil, and said it was all false, but if not contented we might go and see for our-'Noblesse oblige,' so we started down the pass on our dangerous ride. Stumbling over carcases of men and animals half buried in the snow, and in the waning light, we pushed on. Coming up the pass towards us we met a regiment of Cavalry in single file, each man with a box of small-arm ammunition on his pommel. They had made several risky trips of a similar nature during the day, and we could not fail to notice the praiseworthy efforts the Turks always made to put the safety of their weapons and ammunition before everything else. Our ride seemed endless. and the silence which accompanied it was a voucher that the risk we ran was uppermost in our thoughts. The danger itself. from the proximity of the Russians, was enough to scare off the robber Circassians, for they were not to be seen. At length we saw a fire ahead, and creeping on, not knowing whether it was a piquet of friend or foe, we sent the servant we took with us to reconnoitre. He reported it a party of Bulgarian refugees bivouacking in the snow. We approached them telling our errand, that we had come to offer them food and shelter at Taskesend, for which they seemed very grateful, for we had full powers to promise them assistance from the Compassionate Fund. were, however, in sufficient strength to look after themselves, and said at present they wanted but little. We went further on and found other bivouacs similarly situated, but barring the snow and cold they seemed fairly comfortable. Then we rode back up the pass through what seemed an endless journey, for not till near midnight did we reach our shelter, thoroughly exhausted. more snow, still more misery in store for the unfortunate inhabitants of the scene of operations, the unguilty victims of three enemies at least.

We commenced the morning by helping the agents of the Compassionate Fund to distribute relief in food and clothing to the wretched refugees who came toiling in weary, footsore, and

frostbitten from their midnight march. About midday we rode up to Mehemet Ali's headquarters at Kamarli, and passed en route the wretched Mustapha Pasha and his star. his staff, all under arrest for their misconduct at Etropol.

Mehamat, all under arrest for their misconduct at have Mehemet Ali Mustapha shot. had telegraphed to Constantinople to have

The Position at Kamarli was an undoubtedly strong one.

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A line of six redoubts running nearly N.N.W. to the top of Mount Greota covered any advance from the right or north side of the road, while two redoubts were on the south side. The redoubt covering the road itself was beautifully constructed in tiers, and was impregnable from direct attack. During the day Mehemet Ali was reinforced by two battalions of Bosnians from Sofia and a few troops and Artillery from Shipka. The troops on the redoubt at the top of the mountain suffered intensely from the cold the previous night. The doctors were busily employed, and every hour brought frostbitten patients down from the snow-clad heights. It was a proud thing to see how every man as he came down stuck to his rifle and ammunition as if it were something sacred. That night twenty-seven sentries were found incapacitated from frostbite at their posts.

Next morning we started early for headquarters to see if anything was moving. We had hardly arrived there when a telegraphic message from the top redoubt flashed the news that the Muscovites were advancing in force up the mountain pass from Etropol which we had traversed on the night of the 23rd. They were at their previous tactics of a strong flank attack to turn the pass at Baba Konak. The foresight of the engineerchief, Osman Bey, however, frustrated this by the construction of the six redoubts before alluded to. We readily accepted Mehemet Ali's invitation to proceed to the scene of action, but so steep was the road and so deep the snow that, though urging and leading our steeds to the utmost, we were some two hours ascending to the top redoubt. The scene from the top was worth a hundred such climbs. The air, now pure and clear, disclosed range after range of snow-clad mountains. The hill of Pravca, which we had thought a severe climb, looked like a mole-hill, and seemingly at our feet lay Etropol, though in reality some fifteen miles off by road.

Arrived at the top redoubt the general at once ordered a battalion to advance by way of the plateau across the snow and, striking into the woods below, to reinforce the troops already hard pressed by the advancing Russians; soon the roar of muskery told us a severe fight was going on. The cheers and counter-cheers of the opposing forces in the wood told us of the disputed nature of the fight, and the echo of the shots among the many hills seemed to increase twofold the intensity of the fire. A second battalion was ordered to reinforce, but both were Mustaphis or Militia, and seemed quite unreliable and unsteady. We advanced with the latter battalion, but the quality of the troops, who seemed incapable of even advancing in any regular formation, was not equal to the occasion. They could not be persuaded to enter the wood against the advancing enemy, and soon a long

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train of limping and wounded men came dragging themselves back, dyeing the pure white snow with their blood. By five o'clock the Russians were complete masters of the wood, and a few bold skirmishers appeared on the edge of the plateau. Their direct attack was supported by Artillery, dragged at immense labour by the Russians up the mountain road we knew so well. A flank Artillery attack was also carried on by a few guns posted some hundreds of feet below the top redoubt and firing at an enormous elevation. The shells passed harmlessly over our heads while watching the fire, but as accidentally they enfiladed the line of redoubts some casualties happened in the lower ones, and in this way Osman Bey, the designer of the works, was killed in No. 4 redoubt.

By nightfall the Russians were firmly entrenched at the edge of the plateau they had so bravely won. The defeat and demoralisation of the Turks were very marked. The raw levies seemed to waste away, and so disorganised were they, that Mehemet Ali nosted a strong cordon of sentries with fixed bayonets at the foot of the mountain to secure deserters. I will not attempt to describe the sufferings of the wounded left out on the bleak plateau that night uncared for and untended. As Englishmen we performed what little duty we could, and each brought down a wounded man upon his horse as comfortably as the snow and ice permitted, carrying for him also his arms and ammunition. My own particular charge sorely tried my temper, for when nearly at our journey's end his bandage slipped off his arm. I unfolded it, carefully rolling it up as I did so, when, to my horror, I found that, although bandaged right above the elbow, he had lost only his forefinger. I knew what that meant, so giving him a push of disgust I left him to his fate in the snow. It was too revolting to find one had wasted one's philanthropic feelings on a selfwounded man.

During the night Chakir's force still guarding Ivretsch was necessarily compelled to retreat, his rear being threatened by the position the Russians had won.

We were up betimes at Kamarli next morning to see what would be the next scene in the drama, which promised intense interest. The last of the guns of Chakir's force arrived at Kamarli about 11 A.M., and Mehemet Ali received a welcome addition of force from Sofia and Shipka about the same time. The Turkish General must have had some 20,000 men thus concentrated, but the majority were conspicuously inferior troops, and defeat. All the morning wounded and frostbitten men came down. Which they had constructed during the night, a gun opened fire

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across the plateau on the top redoubt and a slow Artillery duel commenced. About twenty minutes afterwards we saw the Russians leaving their entrenchments preparatory to an attack across the plateau. We were the first to see the movement, and hastily called the marshal's attention to it. He wired at once to the line of redoubts to prepare for the coming attack. He said it was no use our going up the mountain as we should be too late, and advised us to stop where we were and where we could see everything in comparative safety. It was the most animated picture one could possibly see without being able to partake in the fray. The Russian attack could not be more distinctly viewed. Every man stood out bold and clear against the snow-white background.

They advanced in three lines at starting, three battalions strong. First line in extended order, the reserves and supports also in extended order at 100 and 150 yards distance respectively from each other. They never fired a shot, but pushed on at a double. When half-way across the plateau (some 1000 vards) they collected in small groups under such shelter as could be got. The line formations seemed to disappear. A second advance for some distance to fresh cover, and then a third. The ranks got thinner and thinner at each advance. We could see the wounded trailing heavily to the rear, the dead lying where they fell. Near the foot of the redoubt, in a hollow, the whole massed together for the final effort. We could count them, and with our glasses almost see the numbers on their caps. Then the trumpets pealed high the sound to charge; the whole rose as one man, and with loud cheers dashed at the parapet. Musketry ceased, and the flashing of the bayonets told us too plainly that the cold steel was at work. We knew what depended on the result, for it was the key to the Turks' last stand on the Western Balkans.

A few moments of intense suspense in a death-like stillness and we saw the Muscovite beaten and disorganised fleeing from the parapet. No attempt was made on their side to support the gallant attack. It almost seemed murder to launch them unaided on such a task. During their advance the guns in the redoubt from which we viewed the movements played on the flank of the attackers, but it was impossible accurately to watch the effect of the shells owing to the white background of the snow.

The moral effect of the victory was incalculable, and for nearly a month did the Turks hold their positions.

I spent the night in the Red Cross field-hospital tent, where I assisted in several operations by the light of a candle put in

⁴ I had the honour of dining that night with Mehemet Ali in his hut, and heard many of his experiences. He was a jovial, hearty-looking, robust German, who in his youth had thrown in his lot with the Mussulman cause. His end was very tragic. He was assassinated in Montenegro about a year after I met him.

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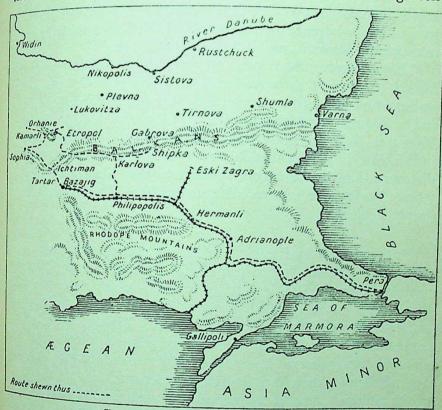
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a bayonet, and shared the straw of the numerous patients. Next morning, as there appeared no signs of renewed attack, a Next morning was sent out to bury the dead and bring in wounded. I donned the red cross on my left arm, but previously to setting out assisted in the interesting operation of plaster of Paris on a young officer shot through the thigh. When finished I carved my name (à la British tourist) on his leg.

The Red Cross party were not very successful, for on emerging from the redoubt a salvo of shells greeted them. I explained this by the white flag and its small cross not being seen with the snow background. However, I had to quit them, having been



THEATRE OF WAR IN EUROPE, 1877.

left behind by the rest of my party, who had ridden into Sofia that morning as our leave was waning. I had my twenty-five-mile ride alone, unmolested by the many deserters, Bashi-Bazouks, and other human hawks that I passed, and reached Sofia at nightfall. This ended our active experiences, as although our journey down to Constantinople was a rough one, yet the experiences paled before the vivid scenes we had witnessed. The route by road and rail was through one vast crowd of The the exodus of the peasantry of Roumelia.

The stand of the Turks on the summit of the Western Balkans, the beginning of which we witnessed, was practically the last show that the last show that the last show of front the Bandin Gurdkungang the and CC-0. In Public Bandin Gurdkungang retinears repair and

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the left flank turned by a wide turning movement towards Sofia, made at enormous cost of life (three generals, fifty-two officers, and 1003 men exacted by the elements alone), it fell to the lot of an Englishman to cover the retreat of the out. generalled Turks. A man whose services, rightly or wrongly, were lost to his Queen and country, with a punishment that to him, with a soldier's heart, must have told with terrible force, but who, with his stout heart and well-taught mind, carved for himself in another land an undying fame as a leader of men of whatever nationality. I allude to Valentine Baker Pasha,

With scarce 5000 Turks he fought the plucky fight of Tas. kesend against 25,000 Russians, and won it, for he did what was wanted—he enabled the whole of Mehemet Ali's force to

retreat from Kamarli, and got off his own men.

That, however, is beyond my personal reminiscences; the facts I got from that brave man Alister Campbell,5 who, after seeing us off at Constantinople, returned to his duty at the front and was present at the battle. History relates but little of Valentine Baker's career with the army with which he threw in his lot, but I cannot better close my somewhat lengthy discourse than by this short allusion to that illustrious warrior, whose loss to our service all true soldiers who knew him so deeply deplore.

POSTSCRIPT.—As I pen these lines the dogs of war are loose once more. It has had to come. The Turks will profit by the mistakes they made thirty-five years ago in their struggle with the mighty but ill-directed power of Russia. Then their armies suffered reverses for two good reasons. Firstly, they had no commander-in-chief. The marshals appointed to command the different army corps knew that their continuance in office depended upon their own individual success and on the caprice of the Sultan. As a consequence each was jealous of the other, and they declined to co-operate in offensive movements. Secondly, when once the Regular Army was expended there was nothing reliable to fall back upon but an ill-trained, grossly officered

⁵ Alister Campbell was a born soldier-adventurer. He led the main assault on the Russian position at Shipka (Fort S. Nicholas) when Suleiman lost 10,000 men. His end was your transfer of the suleiman lost 10,000 men. men. His end was very tragic. I met him at Lydenberg in the Transvaal in 1879. He had walked up from D. 1879. He had walked up from Delagoa Bay to join Sir Garnet Wolesley's Force, which was operating account S which was operating against Secoconi, a Basuto chief. I was instrumental in getting him given the correction of the second of th getting him given the command of the Zwazii contingent. He learnt one word of their language which was the learnt one assault of their language, which was 'Goosalapa' (come on). On the day of the assault on the stronghold he was well ahead of his men waving a small blue flag, was shot down by a Kaffir, dragged into was shot down by a Kaffir, dragged into a cave, and, it is believed, was cut up.

In spite of long search and a larged into a cave, and it is believed, was cut to be long search and a larged into a cave, and it is believed, was cut up. In spite of long search and a large reward offered for his body I never found him.

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Militia. Such troops can offer no resistance to veterans. What a lesson to us, for this very Militia had been embodied more than six months! Not that we have not already bought that experience.

That the Turks with numbers so inferior to their enemy put up such a good fight in 1877 is due to another good reason. They were vastly better armed than their foes. To compare the Martini-Peabody of the Turks with the ponderous converted rifle of the Russians is an impossibility. The latter, a barbarous parody of a breech-loader, had a calibre of about .577, similar to our Snider. It had no extracting gear for the cartridge, and only two rough back sights, the longest giving a range of 500 vards. Brave old Suwaroff, who wedded the Russian to his bayonet as the only weapon worth having, quite ignored the value of the barrel on which it was fixed. Some hundreds of thousands of Russian lives have been sacrificed to this fetish. Not even in 1877 or 1904 did the soldier ever remove his goddess from his rifle even when firing. No wonder they were mowed down in thousands before the parapets of Plevna. Not until the Guards' Army Corps armed with modern rifles (the Berdan) came upon the scene was any impression made upon the Turkish fire. A gross misuse of close artillery co-operation further added to The rearmament of the main Russian Army Russian losses. with rifles captured from their foes eventually led to the collapse of Turkish resistance.

What a lesson for us to take to heart, for is not our small corner-boy recruited army armed with the worst rifle in Europe? Not that it is a positively bad weapon; but should not a small army like ours make up for inferiority in numbers by superiority in arms? And why should we not go one still better, and have an automatic rifle? We throw open to the world an invitation and a prize to compete for the best air craft for war purposes, and discover a home-made article. Why not try the same method for an automatic rifle? I'll tell you why. Because our Minister of War is afraid he will get it. He is afraid to face the Treasury with a bill for rearmament, which rearmament would place his small army a decade ahead of her possible foes. apathetic population totally wanting in war sense is indifferent to the matter of having her army ahead or astern of other armies, and will swallow all the excuses which a responsible Minister will offer to a dull palate.

It will be a clever prophet who will tell us what is to happen when the curtain is rung down upon the bloody drama now being stays her foes and is in a position to take the route to Sofia that I was able to do in 1877. Even if the Balkan States do not fall

out among themselves, is Turkey to be allowed to profit by the squander of blood and treasure added to victory? Not a bit of it. When the combatants are spent with loss of men and money and war weariness supervenes, the Aasvogels of Europe will descend upon the carcass. The Sea Power that once dominated the Ægean has now cleared out, fearful of a rival Power nearer home; its fleets are tied to Home waters, to protect the effete manhood that prefers purse-strings to patriotism. soldiers of a nation see more of the world than its sailors, is there any meaning in sea power? What part can England sing in the Concert of Europe that will decide the future of Turkey? Precious little, for it is primarily a land question. Her voice will be the shrill one of an emasculated being when joined in the chorus of Powers who have the armed manhood of their nation to swell the same, and it will be drowned.

If the Powers be in earnest the outline of the solution of the problem should not be difficult to frame. We can have no more creed-wars in Europe (except, possibly, in Ireland-one of our own making). A brand-new Christian kingdom must be carved out of Turkey-in-Europe. Kings are cheap in those parts. Salonika might make the capital of the new State, and Stamboul, with a small province close by, be leased to Turkey for twenty-five years to give her time to settle accounts and select a new site for the capital of Islam.

What a chance for the new kingdom of Utopia, with Esperanto for a State language, to solve the antagonism of the existing Babel of tongues! No State religion, no army or navy, rigidly policed, and all its neighbour Balkan States and Greece called upon to disarm! All existing guns and forts on Bosphorus and Dardanelles cast into the sea. The search for a monarch with character and principles added to the possession of spare millions might be a difficulty. What a chance for a man who combines the generous soul of a Carnegie with the driving will-power of a Kitchener!

W. G. KNOX, Major-General.

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SYNDICALISM AND SOCIALISM

THE existence of a strong Syndicalist movement in this country can no longer be denied.' Thus a writer in the Times on April 16, 1912. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, criticising this statement in a recently published brochure, says:

As a matter of simple fact, nothing can be denied with more confidence, for Syndicalism in England is negligible, both as a school of thought and as an organisation for action.1

In the face of statements so contradictory the man of peace is inclined to take refuge in the classic aphorism of the landlord of the Rainbow: 'The truth lies atween you; you're both right and you're both wrong, as I allays says.' And in this case the man of peace would be much nearer the truth than either of the disputants. If by Syndicalism we understand all that is understood by the French and other Continental writers who have expounded its philosophy with a logical exactitude which has no parallel in England, Mr. Macdonald is literally accurate in his contention. But, for reasons which this article is intended to disclose, Mr. Macdonald is the last person to whom we should look for an impartial estimate of the strength or weakness of the Syndicalist movement in Great Britain. The leader of the parliamentary Socialists is naturally concerned to minimise the extent to which Working-class thought is permeated by doctrines which, alike in logic and practical effect, are in their ultimate analysis diametrically opposed to those for which Mr. Macdonald and his party stand. There was much truth in words which are reported to have fallen from the Bishop of Oxford at the Church Congress at Middlesbrough on the 1st of October:

I want to point out that the appeal to State intervention has come because Labour seemed to have come to an end of what it could do by trade unions and generally by voluntary organisation. . . . If you want to minimise State minimise State action you should be stalwart supporters of trade unions.

But if this statement is true, the converse would be, if not nore true, certainly more relevant to the existing situation.

Syndicalism, p. 39, by J. R. Macdonald, M.P. London, 1912.

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I should hesitate to suggest that the Bishop is not abreast of the thought which permeates the most advanced section of the manual workers; but I am unable to discover any hint of it in the address to which reference has been made. The really signif. cant feature of the contemporary situation is exactly the converse of that to which the Bishop drew the attention of his auditors. It is not that 'Labour,' despairing of voluntary organisation, has been driven to invoke the intervention of the State, but that Labour, having invoked that intervention, has become intensely sceptical as to its efficacy. The extreme left of the Labour move. ment is notoriously in revolt against political and parliamentary methods; it derides the well-meant but ineffectual efforts of the socialistic group in the House of Commons; it is impatient of the tardy results achieved by legislation. No close observer can deny that the differentiating characteristic of the industrial turmoil of the last two years has been the repudiation of the leadership of the older and steadier officials, a mistrust of political weapons, and an increasing reliance upon the 'crude anarchism of a general strike.' 2 In a word, the fight has been waged in the spirit of 'Syndicalism,' if not actually under the Syndicalist banner.

This being so, it seems to be important to apprehend the real meaning of a phenomenon still somewhat shadowy and elusive, to define the objects of the movement which it inspires, and to explain its relation to trade unionism on the one hand, and to collectivism on the other. 'Syndicalism' is in its essence the antithesis of Socialism, the negation of the centralised action of the State. Socialism demands the nationalisation of all the instruments of production; of all the machinery of distribution, exchange, locomotion, and transportation. The State being the sole owner of the soil, of all mines and minerals, of all fixed and circulating capital, is to become the sole employer All the economic and industrial functions are to be performed by a vast Civil Service directed by a multitude of State I am well aware that there are many Socialists who would recoil from so drastic a reconstruction of society, but in 80 far as they recoiled they would fall short of the ideal inherent in all genuinely socialistic endeavour.

To all this the Syndicalist is essentially opposed. He regards the authority and interference of the centralising State with an abhorrence not less genuine than that exhibited by the oldfashioned Individualist. Of representative government and of parliamentary action he is frankly mistrustful. The 'democracy' in which he believes is direct; and he is inclined, therefore, to prefer communal to national action. This involves the elimination

I borrow this excellent phrase from Mr. J. A. Hobson—a source which will to be suspect. not be suspect.

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of the 'representative,' if not of the 'delegate.' On these points of the 'represent Step—a small pamphlet which was issued by The Unofficial Reform Committee, and is believed to have inspired the Unomotor of many of the South Wales miners in the recent coal the policy of the recent coal strike—is exceedingly illuminating. Thus on page 23 we read:

Democracy becomes impossible when officials or leaders dominate. For Democracy are excluded from all power on the Executive, which this reason that nurnose. Agents or organisers he the men for that purpose. Agents or organisers become the servants of the men, directly under the control of the Executive and indirectly under the control of the men.

Conformably with the principles thus laid down the proposed constitution ordains:

(vi.) No agent or other permanent official of the Federation shall be eligible to a seat on the Executive Council. . . . (xi.) Any agent who may be returned to Parliament shall be required to relinquish his industrial duties and position. (xii.) No member of Parliament shall be eligible to seek for or retain a seat on a local or National Executive Council. . . . (xiv.) On all proposed labour legislation Conferences shall be called to discuss same and instruct our M.P.s. (xv.) Any member of Parliament as such under the auspices of the organisation shall at once vacate his seat if a ballot vote of the membership so decides (pp. 21, 22).

Similarly, M. Pierrot in Syndicalisme et Révolution, writes:

Under pretext of discipline the workers' organisation must not cause a new spirit of resignation to spring up. The organisation should aim at the individual development of its members, not at replacing individual development of each one by a more or less authoritative direction. It would be bad if individuals trusted entirely in delegates, and gave them full powers, leaving it to them to make all decisions.3

No less clearly illustrative of a similar tendency is the hostility which is manifested in influential labour quarters against the idea of compulsory arbitration. The Trade Unions Congress of 1912 is understood to have condemned the principle of compulsory arbitration by the decisive vote of 1,481,000 votes to 350,000. Organised labour to-day was, as it ever had been, said Mr. Brace, M.P., speaking on Mr. Tillett's resolution, 'against compulsory arbitration.' This is, indeed, the old and orthodox trade union attitude, which emphasises the necessity of preserving to the manual worker the sacro-sanctity of the strike weapon. It is, however, none the less harmonious with the new spirit which

Syndicalism seeks to infuse into the old trade unionism. On one point, perhaps on others, the Syndicalist would seem to be more clear-sighted than the Socialist. The former perceives

Quoted by A. D. Lewis, Syndicalism and the General Strike (London, work which lold a work which contains an instructive repertory of Syndicalist opinion with much successful and the General Source Collected with much successful an instructive repertory of Syndicalist opinion literature. collected with much diligence from contemporary literature.

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what the latter does not, that however much you may change the form of the Government, or revolutionise the economic structure of society, the centralised State, whether Individualist or Socialist, must still exercise coercion.

For this purpose [writes M. Emile Pouget] it is necessary to prevent the workers from passing from a society in which they are under the economic oppression of their masters into one in which they are under the oppression of an economic State. Syndicalism and Democracy are the two opposite poles which exclude and neutralise each other.4

If, then, Syndicalism be the negation alike of Democracy and of Socialism, at what does it positively aim? Its ultimate object would seem to be to make the 'workers' in each industrial group both politically and economically supreme, and it hopes to attain this end not by means of the parliamentary vote, but by 'direct action.' By 'direct action' the Syndicalist means primarily the general strike'; but as Mr. Lewis ingenuously adds:

There are other useful forms of 'direct action'-sabotage, or the destruction of property, intimidation of masters, sitting in factories with folded arms, so that no blacklegs can take your place, leaving work at an hour earlier than the masters want, wasting materials, telling the truth to customers-all these are means by which masters can be made to yield.5

The same writer distinguishes two 'schools' or 'types' of Syndicalism: the Italian, which would make the craft or trade the unit of reorganised society; and the French, which would make the locality the basis of organisation and would let 'the workers of all kinds in each small locality or commune

regulate the production of their own locality.' 6

The reader will observe that in describing the aims of Syndicalism I have had recourse to conventional terms, such as 'society' and 'organisation,' but it is proper to point out that the consistent Syndicalist would repudiate the ideas connoted by these terms. Organisation is to be reduced to a minimum and 'society' is to be dissolved into its constituent atoms. 'Society' implies some form or semblance of mutual obligation; mutual obligations imply sanctions to enforce their observance; sanctions suggest a coercive authority—in a word, force. To the Syndicalist, however, the of force is justifiable only as a means towards the destruction of the existing order. Once that is destroyed, the federated groups of 'workers' will exercise undisputed sway, and 'coercion' will be put on the shelf among the rusty and antiquated weapons of an industrial areas of a indu industrial era already effete and discredited.

Even for the destruction of the existing order force may be necessary. unnecessary. Economic pressure steadily and consistently applied

Le Syndicat, quoted by A. D. Lewis, op. cit. p. 23. o Op. cit. p. 290. 5 Op. cit. p. 11.

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may suffice. As to the nature of this economic pressure one may may sumed again learn something from The Miners' Next Step. again learn street as defined as 'the taking over of all industries by ultimate object is defined as 'the taking over of all industries by the workmen themselves' (p. 19). Among the immediate steps with a view to that end we note (1) a minimum wage of 8s. per day for all workmen employed in or about the mines; (2) a sevenday 101 and hour day (p. 18). Chapter V., devoted to a summary of 'Policy,' advises:

(xiii.) That a continual agitation be carried on in favour of increasing the minimum wage and shortening the hours of work, until we have

extracted the whole of the employers' profits (p. 26).

(xiv.) That our objective be to build up an organisation that will ultimately take over the mining industry and carry it on in the interest of the workers (p. 26).

Under the head of 'The Elimination of the Employer' we

This can only be accomplished gradually and in one way. We cannot get rid of employers and slave-driving in the mining industry until all other industries have organised for and progressed towards the same objective (pp. 28, 29).

Even more suggestive, as indicating the essential antagonism between Syndicalism and Socialism, is the following comment upon 'Nationalisation of Mines': .

[It] does not lead in this direction, but simply makes a national trust, with all the force of the Government behind it, whose one concern will be to see that the industry is run in such a way as to pay the interest on the bonds with which the coalowners are paid out and to extract as much more profit as possible, in order to relieve the taxation of other landlords and capitalists. Our only concern is to see to it that those who create the value receive it. And if by the force of a more perfect organisation and more militant policy we reduce profits, we shall at the same time tend to eliminate the shareholders who own the coalfield. As they feel the increasing pressure we shall be bringing on their profits they will cry loudly for nationalisation. We shall and must strenuously oppose this in our own interests and in the interests of our objective (p. 29).

I make no apology for quoting at length from a pamphlet of little intrinsic value, because this turgid manifesto contains the best concrete illustration known to me of the spirit of English Syndicalism. Moreover, it was not available when Sir Arthur Clay published his well-known and admirable treatise on Syndicalism and Labour. It is easy for the superior person to deride the Syndicalist position and to expose the fallacy of the arguments upon which it rests. Mr. Macdonald from his standpoint, Sir Arthur Clay from his, may declare with perfect sincerity, and not inaccurately, that Syndicalism is 'almost a negligible force in

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England.' As an organised body of formal opinion it may be negligible, as cut-and-dried doctrine it may command few adherents; its responsibility for recent industrial warfare may be shadowy and remote. Nevertheless, no candid person who will be at pains to compare Syndicalist teaching, such as that which is embodied in The Miners' Next Step, with the actual course of recent strikes, can doubt that much of the driving power behind these outbreaks was supplied by the younger workmen, who are consciously, or perhaps, unconsciously, inspired by Syndicalist doctrine.

There is another point which demands attention. Educated Socialists like Mr. Ramsay Macdonald betray great anxiety to repudiate the teachings of Syndicalism and to minimise its practical significance in Great Britain; organised labour, by the vote of its representative Congress, pronounced an equally emphatic repudiation.8 I have myself, in the course of this article, been at pains to emphasise the essential antagonism between the philosophy of Syndicalism and the philosophy of Collectivism; the ultimate ideals of the two movements are poles asunder. But while all this is true, and important, it remains equally true that the two isms may travel, and have travelled, along the same road for a very considerable distance before discovering that their paths are ultimately divergent. It is not without significance that the intense and prolonged strain of the last two years should have revealed this divergence; but this should not blind us to the equally significant fact that, although the two philosophies may ultimately diverge, both were bred in the same industrial nidus, and both obtain their driving power from the same floating mass of somewhat hazy and incoherent sentiment. I do not for one moment question the sincerity either of the Parliamentary Socialists or of the trade unionists in repudiating Syndicalism; but I submit that Socialism and trade unionism have alike derived much of the strength which they undoubtedly possess from the same reading of economic history, from the same interpretation of contemporary economic phenomena, from the same prevalent spirit of restlessness and discontent which is to-day seething among the younger and more ambitious of the manual workers, and which induces to the acceptance of the Syndicalist faith. and Socialism, therefore, trace from a common genesis, though they aim at a different goal.

What is this common genesis?

The causes of the prevailing 'unrest' in the industrial world have been endlessly discussed, perhaps over-discussed; and I do not propose to undertake any more extended analysis that will suffice for my immediate purpose. I wish I could share to

* At Newport, September 1912.

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the full the optimism of Dr. Arthur Shadwell, who found in the the full the open to the freeent coal strike 'a profoundly reassuring event,' and regards the prevailing unrest as 'neither strange nor alarming.' There the prevailing observer whose authority I more cordially is no control is no control of Dr. Shadwell. But I have had opportunities, in some ways exceptional, for gauging the force and direction of opinion among the manual workers, and the impression I have derived does not precisely tally with Dr. Shadwell's. I agree that there were aspects of the coal strike which were reassuring; I agree that it is possible to exaggerate the significance of the 'present discontents'; that competent observers might have foreseen, and did actually foretell, a period of industrial turmoil; but, nevertheless, I submit that the phenomenon by which we are confronted is in some respects 'strange.' indeed without precedent, and in many respects 'alarming.'

It is strange because it is the resultant of forces which have not previously combined to produce social unrest; and among the contributory causes are some which must command respect and admiration, and upon the existence of which the nation as a whole is to be congratulated. The present discontents are due partly to a stirring of the dead bones provoked by intellectual awakening and by the provision of educational opportunities. Education, carried beyond the elementary stage and ripening into humane studies, has given to the aristocracy of the manual workers a vision of the good things of the mind, and the first and not unnatural result of the intellectual awakening has been to generate a discontent, which in this case is not far removed from the divine. Those of whom I write have learnt enough to perceive that the first condition for the satisfaction of the mind hunger aroused in them is leisure. The best of them demand higher remuneration for manual labour in order that they may enjoy more leisure for the acquisition of the knowledge which they are learning to regard, not merely as a 'means of livelihood, but as a means of life.' This was the claim urged on their behalf by Arnold Toynbee thirty years ago.

We demand [he wrote] increased material welfare for those who labour with their hands, not that they may seize upon a few more coarse enjoyments, but that they may seize upon a higher life.

It would be disingenuous to pretend that increased material wealth in the manual workers or Wealth is invariably devoted either by the manual workers or by any all legized by Toynbee. by any other class to the objects so ardently desired by Toynbee. But the actual situation in the world of labour will never be appreciated accurately by anyone who ignores the existence of this among other factors in the problem.

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There are many others. Some people attach considerable weight to the marked alteration of emphasis in the teaching of the churches. The doctrine of compensation is now rarely Lazarus is rarely exhorted, as he constantly was a generation ago, to reconcile himself to cold comfort in this world by the vision of Dives in the next world. He is commonly taught, on the contrary, that Dives is unrightfully withholding from him a share of the wealth which his own labour has done most to produce.

And this brings us near to the heart of the argument. For much as ethical, intellectual, and educational causes may have contributed to the prevailing unrest, the root cause is economic. Labour is convinced, rightly or wrongly, that it is getting decidedly less than its fair share of the product of industry, and that the share of labour, so far from increasing, has of late years shown some tendency to relative diminution. The aggregate wealth of the nation is palpably increasing by leaps and bounds. Is the wage-earning class, as a whole, sharing in this increment? Is the remuneration of the individual labourer either absolutely sufficient to give him a decent livelihood, or relatively fair in proportion to the remuneration obtained by the capitalist, the employer, and the landlord?

This is the crucial question which is agitating the ranks of labour; which arises for discussion wherever two or three of the younger generation of workmen are gathered together. These men have been reading two books: the Kapital of Karl Marx and Henry George's Progress and Poverty. The minds of the more thoughtful and better educated of the younger artisans are permeated by the teaching of these writers. They learn from Marx that under the existing wage system capital must necessarily and even innocently exploit labour; that the whole of the 'surplus value 'created by labour—that is, everything beyond a subsistence wage—must, by an automatic and irresistible process, be diverted from labour and absorbed by the sponge of capital. From George they learn that by a law equally irresistible (though somewhat contradictory) the whole of the increment of the national wealth must, under the existing conditions of land tenure, go into the pockets of the landlords. Statistics are invoked as the allies of philosophy; while the philosophers preach that without a radical reconstruction of the economic order these things must be plausible statisticians are prepared to prove that they are. After the statisticians come the moralists and the ecclesiastics. A leading note of the Church Congress held at Middlesbrough at the beginning of October was insistence upon the moral obligation resting upon all Christians to pay to their employés a 'living wage.

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tion ring I have never [said the Archbishop of York] been able to regard it as anything else than a plain application of Christian principles that the first charge upon any trade or industry should be a wage for its workers which makes decent living possible—call it if you will a 'living wage'; that a trade which cannot pay such a wage cannot justify its existence; and that the community has no right to make use of its services.

Almost identical language was used by the Bishop of Oxford:

Is not [he asked] the fundamental claim of the Labour movement—the claim for a fairer distribution of the proceeds of industry, for better opportunities of life for the mass of the workers—a just claim?... Is not the principle that the proper payment of the labourer is the first charge upon an industry the principle to which as Christians we must assent?

It is perfectly intelligible that eminent ecclesiastics should endeavour to persuade 'Labour' that the attitude of the Anglican Church is not unsympathetic towards its claims. And not merely intelligible, but laudable. It would be grievously wrong if the Church were otherwise than sympathetic. But I respectfully submit that language such as that of the Bishop of Oxford, however well-intentioned, is open to grave misconstruction. At the best many of the terms employed are essentially ambiguous; at the worst the appeal is an appeal to prejudice. The assumption underlying the interrogation is that existing distribution is 'unfair'; that 'better opportunities of life' are, as a fact, 'unjustly' withheld; that the 'proper' payment of labour is not a 'first charge' upon industry. The imputation thus conveyed by the Bishop of Oxford—by no means for the first time—is a very serious one, and one which demands scientific substantiation. What, precisely, does the Bishop mean? Does he merely give expression to the pious aspiration that the existing rate of wages should be substantially increased? That aspiration is not confined to Christian Socialists. Or does he deny that the remuneration of labour is, as a fact, the first charge upon industry at present? In what industry known to the Bishop does the payment of rent or the distribution of profits take precedence of the remuneration of labour? Are there not, on the other hand, dozens of industrial enterprises in which, week by week, wages at the trade-union rate are regularly paid, but from which the shareholders, year after year, derive not a farthing of interest? interest? And what is the practical conclusion to which the Archbishop would drive us? Every trade which cannot pay a 'living' wage stands condemned; the community cannot with good conscience make use of its services. unimpeachable; but how is it to be translated into actuality?

¹ The Guardian, October the 4th, 1912, pp. 1271, 1272.

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Every industry in which the wages schedule does not reach a standard approved by Christian ethics is to be shut down. The employés are to be dispersed. What is their destination? Are they to become a charge upon the charity of the State, or of individuals—in either case upon industry in general? Or are they to increase the competition for employment in other and presumably better-paid industries, thus tending to depress the there existing rate of wages? I cannot pursue the argument, but I hope I have said enough to show that the employment of ethical terms—'just,' 'fair,' 'proper,' and the like—is likely to be attended with confusion when obtruded into economic discussion. At the best it results in ambiguity; at the worst it engenders prejudice.

Much of the apologetic of the Christian Socialists seems to me, I regret to say, a mere appeal to passion and prejudice. Dr. Holland, for example, has lately been taking to task (though in his own inimitably genial fashion) his eminent colleague Dr. Sanday. The latter has ventured to express a doubt whether the whole truth has been committed exclusively to the Socialist section of the Christian Churches. Dr. Holland tells Dr. Sanday that he is 'wholly wrong.' Partially wrong—in his statistics—he undoubtedly is; in his main contention I believe him to be almost wholly right. But what is the line of Dr.

Holland's attack upon a serious argument?

Could anyone who had just passed through the vast orgy of pleasure and luxury that surges round Piccadilly and the Ritz Hotel go straight down from that sight to some hideous rubbish-heap of a place like Silvertown or Plaistow, with the hovel streets chucked down helter skelter amid the dark canals, with no sight that is not mean, ugly, sordid and degrading, and say to the bedraggled women clustered round the doors, or the men wearily plodding back from work to crowded courts, 'Be content. The balance has been fairly struck. Those others at the Ritz Hotel have got their proportion and you have got yours. There is no margin over. Their dividends are as low as they can go. . . . Be content?' 11

With all deference I submit that this is nothing but rhetoric, a mere appeal to prejudice. Dr. Holland is not the only Christian Socialist who is apt, as I have observed, to generalise from the single instance of London. The Metropolis offers, of course, an incomparable field for the display of rhetorical contrasts. London—or its West End—is, as Dr. Holland appears to forget, a great pleasure city, one of the great pleasure cities of the world—the happy hunting ground not merely for the

11 The Commonwealth, July 1912 (p. 194).

¹⁰ Some Weak Points in Christian Socialism, by W. Sanday, D.D. London, 1912.

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English country mouse, but for home-coming colonists, English colonists, for Americans, and for foreigners from every land. It is as unjust Americans, and to illustrate the everyday life of the average and prejudice or 'capitalist' from what Dr. Holland observes at the Ritz Hotel or in Piccadilly, as it would be to draw a picture of the cotton spinners and weavers of Lancashire from an exclusive observation of their happy fortnight at Blackpool. Christian Socialist knows his Ritz Hotel, perhaps, better than his Blackpool sands. He knows his Silvertown or Plaistow, maybe, better than his Manchester and Oldham. I would invite him to follow his pleasure-seeking capitalist of Piccadilly back to his warehouse in Manchester or his mill at Oldham. He will find him to be throughout the greater part of the year an indefatigable and incessant worker; at business early and late; never seeing his suburban home in full daylight on five days of every week during five months of the year; and by his energy, skill. and administration maintaining in regular employment those for whose welfare the Socialist is primarily and rightfully concerned. Conversely, I would invite him to follow the dwellers in the mean streets of Burnley and Bolton, of Rochdale and Oldham, to their summer 'outing' at Blackpool or Morecambe or Douglas. No one grudges to the spinner or weaver that annual holiday; everyone rejoices that they can afford to take it; everyone would wish that it were longer and universal. But to judge of the ordinary workaday life of the Lancashire artisan from a contemplation of the delirious delights of the life he leads at Blackpool would be as ridiculously misleading as to generalise upon the workaday life of the Lancashire 'capitalist' from his deportment in Piccadilly.

It may be objected that, in an article dealing with Syndicalism and Socialism, I have devoted disproportionate attention to the teaching of the Christian Socialists. I have done it of set purpose, because I think that their influence has been and is considerable, not only upon the younger clergy of the Church of England, but upon a considerable body of lay opinion, and still more because I am convinced that the wider dissemination of their dogmas is calculated to defeat the beneficent purpose which unquestionably inspires them. anxiety to conciliate the support and win the confidence of the In their supreme and laudable masses they are, as it seems to me, giving currency to conclusions to sions too hastily reached, and holding out expectations which cannot be fulfilled. enthusiasm, brought for the first time into close contact with the Poverty and vice of a city slum, should fall an easy prey to the Socialist teaching of his Fathers in God is not merely intelligible but all gible but almost inevitable. He enters upon his work with an

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imperfect equipment of economic theory, and with little experience of actual economic data. That in the midst of suffering and want he should lose a sense of perspective and proportion is natural; and one would hardly wish it otherwise. But the same excuse cannot serve for his ecclesiastical superiors, and I think it is time that a layman who holds much of their work in very high respect should speak plainly as to the tendency and the effects of their economic teaching. Its importance I do not wish to exaggerate, but it seems to me clear that, among the factors which have contributed to the ferment of economic ideas in which both Syndicalism and Socialism have their genesis, the persistent propaganda of the Christian Socialists is not the least subtle nor the least influential.

The seed they have sown would, however, have withered had the ground not been prepared. How has it been prepared? I have been at pains to probe the minds of thoughtful working men who are inclined to socialistic opinion, and to ascertain the grounds of that feeling of resentment which is increasingly discernible among them. I believe it is fundamentally due to a conviction that 'labour' has been and is being cheated of its fair share of the wealth which it is helping to produce, and that in this respect things are not improving, but are getting worse.

Is this conviction well founded? It may be at once admitted that in the earlier days of the industrial revolution, while as yet the organisation of labour was imperfect, when trade unionism was shackled by obsolete combination laws, the remuneration of manual labour was shockingly inadequate and the conditions of employment were scandalously bad. But a century of legislation has done much; the organisation of labour has done more; and I doubt whether the indictment of 'capital' for the exploitation of 'labour' could now be substantiated. I think that, speaking generally, Dr. Sanday is right in his conclusion that something like an equilibrium of economic forces has been reached.

Take, for example, the Lancashire cotton trade. That trade, both as regards 'capital' and 'labour,' is admittedly the most highly organised trade in Great Britain—perhaps in the world. It commands some of the most acute intellects, the most farsighted organisers, the most efficient operatives, engaged in the work of industrial production. But it works, as Mr. George Peel has lately shown in a suggestive and illuminating study, 2 on It may surprise an extraordinarily narrow margin of profits. many people to learn that the net profit on capital invested in this great and highly organised industry does not exceed average of 5 per cent. Here, at any rate, it is clear that some

12 The Future of England, by the Hon. George Peel. London, 1912.

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thing like an equilibrium has been reached. If we turn to other industrial groups there are greater inequalities. Some individual concerns show a high return upon capital, but how many show a very small return or none at all? Take at random any list of industrial securities quoted upon the Stock Exchange and see how many pay a dividend on the ordinary stock exceeding 6 or 7 per cent., and how many are returned as paying nil.

Nor must a 'dividend' be regarded as 'pure interest.' contains several other elements. A considerable proportion of any dividend—varying in amount according to the industry must be regarded as an insurance premium; in many industries something ought in strictness to be set aside for a sinking fund; some dividends on 'ordinary' or deferred stocks contain an element which ought more properly to go to the director or manager as 'wages of superintendence.' When all these deductions are made it will be found that mere capital-capital provided by those who take no further part in the direction or control of industry—obtains a very small rate of remuneration. I am not contending that it obtains less than it deserves; but I submit that as between pure 'capital' and 'labour' something like equilibrium has been reached, and that if owing to legislation or other artificial interference the average rate of remuneration to capital be sensibly diminished, the incentive to saving, i.e. to capital accumulation, will be disastrously weakened, and it is upon labour that the disaster must recoil.

It cannot be too often repeated that under the conditions of modern industry the employment of labour is rendered possible by the small savings of the many rather than by the vast accumulations of the few. The development of the joint-stock principle and the growth of the big business have in this respect effected a fundamental change.

What [asks Sir William Lever] is the capital to-day even in the very largest undertakings we have got? It is the savings of widows, or of husbands who have died and left widows, the savings of clergymen, the savings of workpeople, all subscribed together to carry on an industry. When you think of a capitalist you always conjure up a rich individual (to use a Lancashire expression) 'stinkin' o' brass' who owns all the money in the concern, and who is domineering and hard-hearted to-day—that is, in business on a large scale. 13

The facts as stated by one of the most liberal and enlightened among our captains of industry are incontrovertible. There is, however, another factor not less essential to the success of the extension of the economic 'market,' with the expan-

¹³ Co-Partnership, p. 5.

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sion of oversea commerce, with the infinite subdivision of labour, and the increasing complexity of all industrial organisation, the part played by the directing brain becomes ever more and more important. In trade statistics the remuneration of management is not infrequently concealed, though with obvious injustice, under the return to 'capital.' So long as commercial undertakings were on a relatively small scale, and so long as the provider of the capital was identical with the 'employer' or director, it was natural for economic theorists to confuse the returns to capital ('interest') with the remuneration of management ('profits'). John Stuart Mill, for example, makes no attempt to discriminate between them. More recent economists, in a laudable endeavour to adapt economic theory to the changed conditions of industrial practice, have differentiated the functions. and have distinguished their respective shares in the product of industry.

Not so the popular statistician. According to his analysis, everything which does not go to 'labour' in the form of wages or to the landlord under the head of rent, is absorbed by the insatiable sponge of 'capital.' No one who is conversant with the trend of working-class opinion can fail to have been struck by the emphasis which is laid upon the fact that, whereas in 1867 'labour' drew 325,000,000l. out of a total national income of 814,000,000l. (or some 40 per cent.), it now draws only about 38 per cent., or some 655,000,000l. out of 1,710,000,000l. 'The precise figures vary in different estimates, but the point is clear, and the figures may be accepted as substantially accurate.

But, accepting their accuracy, to what conclusion do these constantly quoted figures point? That labour, in the aggregate, is getting less than its fair share of the product of industry? Or that the individual labourer is worse off, absolutely or relatively, than he was half a century ago? Neither contention can be sustained by serious argument. What is the 'fair' or 'proper share of labour it is impossible to say. But some points are beyond dispute. It is certain that the increase of national wealth is not being monopolised (as, according to the doctrines of Mr. Henry George, it ought to have been) by the landlord in the form of rent. Agricultural rents have fallen in the last thirty years not less than 30 per cent., and although urban ground-rents have risen, this rise has not been much more than sufficient to offset the shrinkage in agricultural rents. ¹⁵ Clearly,

Congress, September the 2nd, 1912. Mr. Thorne made the disproportion rather greater.

greater.

18 According to the best estimates, agricultural rents have fallen since 189 from about 60,000,000l. to about 40,000,000l., and urban ground rents have rises from about 26,000,000l. to 51,000,000l,

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then, the increment has not gone to the landlords. Much of it then, the increase aggregate, to owners of capital; but while the has gone, in the same has enormously increased. To does not while the tion to labour has enormously increased. In 1867 the average wage paid to the manual workers—men, women, and children wage pand ; it is now at least 45l., if not more. But the was out. For money wages represents only a part of the improvement in the real remuneration of the manual labourer. Prices have risen in the last few years, notably in the last five, but not enough to neutralise the fall of the preceding decades. In the decade 1898-1907 prices were more than 20 per cent. lower than in that from 1878-1887. Real wages (i.e. wages as measured in commodities) rose 50 per cent. between 1850 and 1900, 25 per cent. between 1875 and 1900.16

Nor must it be forgotten that a further and substantial addition to 'real wages' has accrued from the gratuitous provision of various benefits and services furnished by individual charity or by the State. It is, indeed, estimated that such services represent an addition of 15 per cent. to wages, an addition made almost entirely at the expense of the wealthier class. 17

Nevertheless, it is asserted, alike by divines, labour leaders. and political statisticians that Labour has not got its 'fair' share of the rapidly increasing wealth of the nation as a whole. That Labour has got much is not denied; in face of the statistical demonstrations of such men as the late Sir Robert Giffen and Professor Bowley it cannot be denied. But the grievance appears to be that, while Labour has got much, other classes have got proportionately more. Assuming the facts as to the increase of the aggregate wealth of the nation to be as stated above, is there any validity in the argument, any real substance in the complaint? If the aggregate amount of fixed capital has increased more rapidly than the numbers of the manual workers, it cannot be regarded as unjust that capital in the aggregate should claim a larger share of the increment than Labour in the aggregate. Particularly if it be shown, as it has been, that while the return to capital has diminished the rate of wages has increased. As a matter of fact, it is wholly misleading to suggest that a disproportionate share of the increment has gone to the capitalist,' still less to the landlord. 18 It has gone largely

Including charities, these 'services' are estimated to amount to 15 per

Since 1900 there has been a slight decline.

cent of the wages bill—a substantial 'bonus' to labour. the wages bill—a substantial 'bonus' to labour.

I forbear to give detailed statistical proof of many of the arguments above above. employed above, as the reader can refer to two valuable and suggestive articles contributed by contributed by Mr. Mallock to this Review in April and June of the present

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in the remuneration of the class which, under modern conditions of trade, is of pre-eminent value to the community—the great organisers and directors, the captains of industry.

And of all the classes in the community the manual workers ought least to grudge to the organisers their appropriate reward. For on their skill and energy the profitable employment of labour depends. It is the root fallacy of Syndicalism, as it has been the blunder of many productive co-operative societies, to ignore or to minimise the significance of this factor in industrial success. It is, indeed, the avowed object of Syndicalism to eliminate the employer, and to substitute a committee of the 'workers' for individual management or directorial control. It may be admitted that there are some industries in which such a substitution would do less harm than in others; some trades which serve a regular and relatively restricted market may almost 'run themselves.' The history of productive co-operation tends to establish a similar conclusion. There can be no one who does not wish well to the many experiments in this direction. It is, however, notorious that success has been partial; very much more marked in some trades than in others. Nor is there any reason why the Syndicalists, if they are willing to pay a fair market price for going concerns, and able to raise the capital required, should not embark upon similar experiments. Given honesty of dealing there are none to hinder them, and many to encourage and applaud. But they cannot hope to succeed by an initial denial of the true functions either of 'capital' or of 'direction' in economic production, nor by a refusal to pay both for money and brains a fair price. On no other terms will either requisite be permanently available.

The very worst service which the friends of 'Labour' and the advocates of economic reconstruction can render is to ignore the facts which patient investigation reveals. In the social and economic fabric of to-day there are many weak places, admitted by Individualists no less than by Socialists and Syndicalists. The aggregate improvement in the position of the working classes during the last half-century has not been universally diffused; considerable sections have had little or no share in it. Great wealth is not always spent (though much more often than is currently believed) with a due sense of the responsibility attaching to it. Luxury is apt to be, if not more general, much more obtrusive and flaunting than in past days of greater restraint and less publicity. The contrasts between comfort and

want are too frequent and too glaring.

But the remedy for these things lies not in passionate appeals to class prejudice; not in the dissemination of statistics which if not actually inaccurate, are, in the absence of explanation,

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eals ich, ion, wholly misleading; not in the undue exaltation of the economic functions of labour as compared with those of capital and direction; least of all in a fundamental reconstruction of society either on Socialist or Syndicalist lines. It lies primarily in the patient investigation of facts, and in the cultivation of sympathy, based not upon rhetoric but upon knowledge.

J. A. R. MARRIOTT.

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THE CHURCH AND THE MARRIAGE LAW

On the 20th of June in the present year the House of Lords gave judgment in a case which directly touches the relations between the Church of England and the State. The vicar of a parish in the diocese of Norwich had refused to admit to Communion a couple who had contracted a marriage, being already brother and sister-in-law. Both the law of the State and the law of the Church in reference to such unions are perfectly plain. By the one they are valid; by the other they are invalid. By the one those who enter into them are living together in lawful matrimony; by the other they are living together in a state which, according to the Canons of 1604, is no marriage at all. Unfortunately, the question did not come before the court in a way which made this patent antagonism clear. The vicar had pleaded a proviso in the Act legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister which, as he contended, expressly protected him from the proceedings taken against him. Sir Lewis Dibdin put aside this proviso as having no bearing on the case, and admonished Mr. Thompson to abstain in the future from denying Holy Communion either to the husband or the wife; Mr. Thompson then applied to the civil courts for a Writ of Prohibition, and in this way the case came on appeal before the House of Lords. There the prohibition was refused on the ground that Mr. Thompson was not protected by the proviso. Thus, as regards the refusal of Communion, the clergy are in the same position as they would have been in had there been no proviso in the Act. It is clear, I imagine, that if Mr. Thompson had been in a position to repeat the offence the admonition would have taken a severer form, and that continuous disobedience Any clergyman, therewould have ended in deprivation. fore, who follows Mr. Thompson's example will be subject to the same result. to the same penalty, unless he can show by some new argument that he is protected by something else than the proviso in the Act of 1907. I cannot see that this amounts to anything less than an accumulation of the than an assumption by the State of the right to determine the state of the right to determine has terms of admission to Holy Communion. Mr. Thompson has refused Communion to certain persons because they have con٧.

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tracted a marriage which, whatever it may be 'as a civil tracted to not in the eye of the Church anything more than an illicit connexion.' It is not disputed that a clergyman would have been bound to do this as the law of the Church stood before 1907. It has not been shown that the law of the Church on this subject has been altered in any particular in, or since, on this set, notwithstanding this, Mr. Thompson's appeal is dismissed, and he is, in effect, directed to admit to Communion two persons who have broken this law. Why? Because their marriage has been made lawful by Act of Parliament. is not an assumption by the State of a right to determine the terms of admission to Holy Communion, what is it? And if it be such an assumption, how is it that the Church has, to all appearance, offered no resistance to it?

Several answers have been given to this question. It has been argued, for example, that the State has done nothing which it had not a legal and moral right to do. It has interpreted a proviso in an Act of Parliament. What other body than the House of Lords is competent to this? Surely you would not maintain that it rests with the Church to affix a meaning to the statute law? I maintain nothing of the kind. The House of Lords might have given the very same judgment that they did give, and given it in a way which would have left the marriage law of the Church altogether untouched. They might have said: 'Mr. Thompson has pleaded that he is protected against the monition of the Dean of the Arches by a proviso in the Act legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister. We are of opinion that this proviso does not cover, and was not intended to cover, what he has done. We therefore remit the case to the Court of Arches to be dealt with according to the laws ecclesiastical.' If this had been the purport of the judgment, 10 Churchman would have had any possible ground of complaint. The State would merely have decided the meaning of certain words in an Act of Parliament. Whether the rules of the Court of Arches would have allowed Mr. Thompson to amend his plea, and to rest his defence on the canons instead of on the proviso, I do not know. But even if leave had been refused it would have been the act of what, in name at least, is a spiritual court, and there would have been no interference with Church law on the part of the State. As the judgment stands there is that of the State any marriage law of the Church different from that of the State. On the contrary, Lord Loreburn says in his ludgment: 'It is inconceivable that any court of law should allow as a lawful cause [of refusing Communion] the cohabitation of two persons whose union is directly sanctioned by Act of Parliament.' And Lord Ashbourne: 'I am unable to see

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any room for doubt that the direct effect of Section 1 [of the Act of 1907] was . . . to make the description of "open and notorious evil livers' entirely inappropriate to those who came within its provisions.' Possibly Lord Ashbourne was not aware that the Church of England has any law on the subject. It was enough for him that an Act of Parliament has made these marriages lawful 'without stint or qualification.' Taking the decision in conjunction with the reasons given for it, it seems impossible to regard it in any other light than as a pronouncement by the State that marriage with a sister-in-law is not a

disqualification for receiving Holy Communion.

In a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishop of London, dated the 25th of June last, we read that the contention that it rests with Parliament or with the civil courts. and not with the Church itself, which has authorities and courts for the purpose, to determine the conditions of the admission of our members to Holy Communion is untenable, and if it were authoritatively asserted acquiescence in it would be impossible. Probably every man calling himself a Churchman would accept these two positions-in the abstract. He would admit, that is, that the contention which the Archbishop pronounces untenable would be so in certain cases which are very unlikely to happen. He would be clear, for example, that if the State were to legalise marriage with a sister acquiescence would be impossible, and difficult even in the case of a law being passed permitting a man to marry his grandmother. But the existing law of the Church makes no distinction between these unions They are all alike and marriage with a deceased wife's sister. forbidden. I am unable, therefore, to see the grounds for the Archbishop's assertion that as regards the practical question which underlies these technical points—'the question, namely, whether a man who under the existing law marries his deceased wife's sister ought or ought not to be admitted to Holy Communionno universal or sweeping decision has been, or, I think, can rightly be, laid down.' As an indication of what the marriage law of the Church of England ought, in the opinion of her chief pastor, to be made this statement has a very high claim on the consideration of Churchmen. I submit that as a statement of what the law of the Church of England is this is altogether misleading. Rightly or wrongly, she has laid down on this very point a decision of the most universal and sweeping kind. There is nothing, as the Bishop of Oxford pointed out at the last meeting of the Representative Church Council, upon which she has spoken with a clearer voice. Nor is there anything wonderful in this. Through all the Reformation conflicts succession to the Crown hung upon it. If a man might many d

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his sister-in-law Elizabeth was illegitimate, and the Queen of his sister in also the Queen of England. By the time that the succession of Mary's son had put an end to all uncertainty the successful the unlawfulness of these marriages had become on this near a settled matter. As evidence of this we have the Ninety-ninth Canon of 1604. I give it in full:

No person shall marry within the degrees prohibited by the laws of God, and expressed in a table set forth by authority in the year of our Lord God 1563. And all marriages so made and contracted shall be judged lord doct and unlawful, and consequently shall be dissolved as void from the beginning, and the parties so married shall in course of law be separated. And the aforesaid table shall be in every church publicly set up and fixed at the charge of the parish.

If this is not a 'universal or sweeping' decision by this particular Church that a man who has married his deceased wife's sister 'ought not to be admitted to Holy Communion,' I am at a loss what to call it.

Nor is this the only canon that bears on the subject. I will quote a part of the Twenty-sixth Canon: 'No minister shall in any wise admit to the receiving of the Holy Communion any of his cure or flock which be openly known to live in sin notorious, without repentance.' Can it be contended that a man who has contracted a marriage which another canon pronounces 'incestuous and unlawful' is not 'openly known to live in sin notorious, without repentance '? And if this is not contended, defiance of the canon can only be justified by the plea that the canons are no longer binding on the clergy-a theory which, as we have seen, makes the Church the bond slave of an Act of Parliament.

If it be contended that these canons are obsolete, Churchmen have a right to ask when, and how, they became so. no record of their repeal by Convocation, none, indeed, of any proposal of the kind having been brought forward. The only reason, therefore, why they have ceased to be binding is that they were ipso facto abolished by the Act of 1907. That, no doubt, is a perlectly intelligible proposition. But anyone who maintains it stands committed to the very contention which the Archbishop declares to be untenable. If these canons ceased to have any binding force on the day that the Act legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sixty wife's sister received the Royal assent, then it does rest with Parliament and not with the Church to 'determine the conditions of admission to Holy Communion.

In this part of his letter the Archbishop seems for the moment Vol. LXXII—No. 429 30

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to have allowed his opinion of what the marriage law of the Church ought to be to influence his opinion of what the law of the Church is. In many of the speeches on Lord Halifax's urgency motion in the Representative Church Council last July the same confusion was visible. Some of the speakers thought the condemnation of marriage with a sister-in-law unduly rigid, They would have liked the Church to declare it irregular rather than invalid, to subject the couple contracting such a marriage to some kind of 'discipline,' but not to treat them as though they were still single. Whether such a law as this would be preferable to the actual law of the Church of England is a matter about which I am not competent to have an opinion, The canonists of the sixteenth century were of two minds upon it, and I have no doubt that the canonists of the twentieth century, if they were consulted, would be equally at variance among themselves. But I cannot understand their being at variance upon the fact that the Church of England, ever since the time of Henry the Eighth, has held these marriages invalid Upon the similar and more important question of divorce, she has sometimes spoken in faltering tones, but on this one never. There is no argument for ignoring the Ninety-ninth and the Twenty-sixth Canons which would not apply with equal force to her pronouncements upon every question, whether of faith or morals. I can imagine a church living under a needlessly severe law, and having no machinery for modifying it. What might be the duty of a church in this position it might be hard to say. Happily, it is not a question that concerns us. relating to marriages of affinity be too severe, there are ways of amending it. The recent attempt to get a revision of the Prayer Book has made us familiar with the process. The Archbishops have only to ask the Crown for Letters of Business empowering the two Convocations to review the Ninety-ninth Canon, and the thing would be done. Whether the law would be changed, it is, of course, impossible to say; but all the arguments in favour of a change would be considered. present would be a bad time for raising the question, since, if Convocation decided in favour of some relaxation of the canon, it would certainly be suspected of a preconceived determination to bring the law of the Church into conformity with the law of the State. It is only by first vindicating the law of the Church as it is, that we can consider any modification of that law without fear of being misunderstood.

There is another portion of the Archbishop's letter which does suggest ways of putting an end to the present conflict between the two swords. 'It has nowhere,' says his Grace, 'been authorite the two swords.

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tatively declared that the passage of the Act has made discipline impossible in the case of an ecclesiastically irregular marriage. impossible further on we read: 'Nothing has really been done And a little deep church's right through her own authorities and tribunals to interpret her own rubrics, and to regulate her own terms of Communion.' Waiving for the moment the question whether a marriage forbidden in the terms of the Ninety-ninth Canon can be adequately described as 'ecclesiastically irregular,' let us consider in what ways this right of interpretation and regulation can be exercised. I can imagine only two. The first is that there should be another suit in the Court of Arches, and that in this suit the right to refuse Communion should be defended on the ground that the man who demands it has contracted a marriage which the Church declares 'incestuous and unlawful.' heartily wish that such a suit may be instituted. But I see very little probability of this being done. Men who marry their sistersin-law are not usually anxious to call attention to what they have done. They are not very likely to be habitual communicants, and, if they are, they will have no difficulty in getting Communion in churches where they are unknown, or where the clergy do not think that their violation of the Church's law is any reason for refusing it. Mr. Banister happened to be a man of exceptional determination, but I do not expect that he will have many imitators. If he has not, years may pass before the issue is again raised, and all this time the Church will be supposed by the public at large to have submitted, as in duty bound, to the law authoritatively stated by the House of Lords. This is also the answer to an argument which is supported by the great authority of Lord Halifax. When the Ritualist clergy were made the objects of one prosecution after another, and in each case had to choose between obeying the judgment of the court and going to prison, they took the latter course, with a persistence which, in the end, wearied out their adversaries. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has been practically disestablished as a spiritual court by the firmness of a little group of men who were in most cases almost unknown before the trials began. Why should not a victory be gained for the marriage law of the Church similar to that thus gained for her ceremonial? For this simple reason: There will be no prosecutions. If we could count upon a succession of the prosecutions. sion of trials and sentences, we might win in this conflict, as we won in the Won in the earlier one. But this is not a matter to be decided by friendly suits. There can be no fighting unless the people who have made these marriages open the battle, and it is most unlikely

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public feeling would be on our side. The circumstances of the former struggle were quite unlike those with which we are con. The Ritualist clergy were pitied because they were good, hard-working men, who were imprisoned because they were good, hard working and lighted candles when the sun was shining. It might, it was said, be foolish to do these things, but people are not sent to prison merely because they are foolish. Our gaols would be inconveniently full if they were. In the present case public opinion might be inclined to hold that a clergy. man who went to prison rather than give Communion to a man who had married within the prohibited degrees had got no more than he deserved. The Ritualist, it would be argued, had hurt nobody but himself. He had not sought to make other people wear anything or light anything. But to refuse Communion is to hurt someone else, to deny a sacrament to a man who has no disqualification for receiving it beyond marrying a woman whom King, Lords, and Commons have, by an Act passed specially with that intention, permitted him to marry. It is quite possible that an ordinary layman would think a conscientious scruple of this kind too uncharitable and impracticable to deserve sympathy, though it might be well to pass a short Act substituting imme-This is not a result that diate deprivation for imprisonment. would do much to vindicate the law of the Church. suppose, however, that everything went as Churchmen would have it, that the public mind was again shocked at seeing clergymen in prison, and that in deference to this feeling the prosecutions ceased as they ceased in the case of the Ritualists. Even then it would be but a barren victory. The solitary gain would be that individual clergymen would not suffer for their refusal of Communion. But the breakers of the ecclesiastical law would not be shut out from Communion any more than they are now. They would still be able to obtain it at the hands of the many clergymen who think either that the law of the Church has no warrant in Scripture, or that even if it does appear to have such a warrant, a doubtful interpretation ought not to be pressed against an Act of Parliament passed after years of discussion against a constantly dwindling opposition. Thus the Ninety-ninth Canon would remain a dead letter, and the conditions of Communion would still be determined by Parliament, not by the Church.

It is more likely, perhaps, that when the Archbishop of Canterbury spoke of the Act of 1907 as not making 'discipline impossible in the case of an ecclesiastically irregular marriage, he was thinking of direct proceedings against those who have availed themselves of this statutory permission. No doubt the Twenty-sixth Canon does contemplate such proceedings. Church

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wardens and sidesmen are there warned that they have taken an wardens and their ordinaries all such public offences as they of the research charged to inquire of in their oath to preciously charged to inquire of in their several parishes. I am also informed that the right to take proceedings against a nan who has married within the degrees of affinity is not limited to officials. Anyone may institute a suit in the Consistory Court, and pray for the excommunication of the offender. I find it hard to believe, however, that if a layman were now proceeded against in the Ecclesiastical Courts for an offence against the Canons of 1604, the civil courts would not find some way of interfering before the case had gone very far. Else what is the meaning of the dictum that the Canons of 1604 do not ex proprio vigore bind the laity? And I find it harder still to believe that, if it were discovered after all that they did bind the laity, Parliament would not at once enact that they should not bind them for the future. But, putting these probabilities on one side, would not the institution of such a suit be the worst possible way of putting the relation between Church and State on a satisfactory footing? Our object is to prevent the clergy from breaking what we hold to be the marriage law of the Church, and, in order to gain that object, we put a layman to all the cost and annoyance of being made a defendant in a court of which he has probably never heard, and certainly never dreamed that it had any authority over him. I hardly know whether success or failure in such a proceeding would do the greater harm to the Church.

There remains one more reason for putting off the defence of the marriage law of the Church to a more convenient season. This approaches the subject from the point of view of tactics. Wait, it is said, until the recommendations of the Divorce Commission are printed. It is at least possible that the Majority Report will suggest a still further departure on the part of the State from the law of the Church in regard to marriage. Then will be the time for Churchmen to prove how brave a front they can show when the moral principles they so deeply reverence are assailed. It is easy to forecast the sort of appeal that will then be made by the official leaders of the Church. if we are only united, we may count upon defeating this fresh They will tell us that, attack. But the secret of successful defence is to keep our troops tree from every element of discord. Any proposal to add to the causes which are now held by the State to legitimatise divorce will almost will almost certainly be distasteful to the great body of English It is against this extension, therefore, that all our weapons should be directed. To introduce questions upon which this body of this body of opinion is divided would be to risk the sacred principle which tor which we are fighting. This is not the time to contend that

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remarriage after divorce is never lawful. If we do that, half our own army will at once leave the field. Abstruse points such as this can be settled when the battle is over. Fine-drawn reason. ings about the divergence between the law of the Church and the law of the State in reference to marriage would be out of place at such a crisis as that which the appearance of the Report has precipitated. What we have to do now is to make sure that divorce shall not be allowed for incompatibility of temper. These are the arguments that will certainly be used by bishops and politicians in favour of narrowing the controversy as much as possible; and from the standpoint of those who urge them they will undoubtedly have great weight. But if it will be difficult to introduce the amendment of the present law of divorce into the discussion how far the present law shall be extended, what prospect is there that we shall then be allowed to say anything about marriage with a deceased wife's sister? The two subjects, it will be said—and said with a good deal of truth—have nothing in common except that they both concern marriage. To mix up the lawfulness of marriages within the degrees of affinity with the indissolubility of all marriages would be to court defeat upon both. I am certain that these arguments will be freely used if a majority of the Commission proposes to make divorce easier, and I admit that such a proposal will stand a better chance of being rejected if its opponents limit themselves to this one point. But then, what becomes of the marriage law of the Church?

This last reason for sitting still and doing nothing, in view of the judgment of the House of Lords, is no more convincing than

those I have already enumerated.

The sum of what I have said is this: The Church of England has made no effective protest against the judgment of the House of Lords in the Banister case. Of the justifications put forward in various quarters for this strange silence, not one is really adequate; and since the world, as represented by the whole secular Press, regards the question as disposed of, the need of such

a protest grows more urgent every day. Churchmen owe a great debt to the Archbishop of York for pointing out the form which their action should take. His suggestion covers the whole ground, and it comes from the second most authoritative source in the Church of England. address to the Church Congress last month, his Grace said: 'Men are apt to say, "If these powers [powers relating to the free exercise of spiritual discipline] are incompatible with Establishment. Establishment lishment, Establishment must go." But this incompatibility is yet to be proved. is yet to be proved. Across the Tweed there is an Established Church which has almost unlimited powers of self-government.

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With us there has been as yet no strong united movement in this With us there are still listless and indifferent, as a body, about the work of our own Convocation and representative assemblies. We have never brought anything like a united and determined We have to bear on Parliament to secure some further extension of their powers. . . . In short, what is needed is not a rupture but a readjustment of the relations of Church and State. It is for Ohurchmen to betake ourselves to the task too long delayed of thinking out our position."

This is a remarkable utterance in itself, and it is the more so, because it is the first that has not only described the danger which hangs over the Church, but pointed out a way of averting it. The danger is that the Church of England will, in practice if not in theory, submit to treat ecclesiastical law as binding only so long as it is identical with the civil law, that it will, in the Archbishop's words, submit to 'exercise its spiritual discipline at the command of the State.' The way to avert the danger is to demand, not disestablishment, but establishment as in Scotland. That is an intelligible cry. I speak with nothing beyond the most general knowledge of the facts, but my belief is that, if the Established Church of England were placed on a level with the Established Church of Scotland, she would have no further reason to complain of her position. The abstract argument in favour of disestablishment would remain unaltered, but for Churchmen, at all events, the practical argument would disappear. Now they have a legitimate grievance; then they would have none. the principle goes, is there anything in this change that could reasonably offend any section of Churchmen? I can only think of one such group—that which sees in the Church not a spiritual society with laws and principles of its own, but a department of the Government specially charged with the promotion of the moral improvement of the people. The Scottish system does not withdraw matters ecclesiastical from the ultimate control of the State. It merely leaves the spiritual society free to make and interpret its own laws, and to enforce them by purely spiritual sanctions. If in the course of its working the system develops any characteristics inconvenient to the civil society, it is open to any member of Parliament to introduce and, if the nation is with him, to carry, a Disestablishment Bill. The change consequent on the importation of this system into England would be greater in appearance than in reality. No doubt the vast authority formerly. Drime Minister. lormerly wielded by the Crown has passed to the Prime Minister. The Royal Supremacy has become a Parliamentary supremacy. But how often is this supremacy exercised? The whole history of the The Theorem The measure of of the Tractarian Movement has produced but one measure of

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any considerable scope, and in the end that might as well have remained on the table of the Parliamentary draftsman. The Prime Minister does indeed exercise one important ecclesiastical function: He appoints the bishops. But, though in theory he can take any priest he chooses, the list of Crown nominations for the last half-century is open to singularly little criticism. The English and Scottish Establishments might be placed under similar laws without the majority of Churchmen, and indeed of Englishmen, discovering that any change had been made. The Archbishop of York compares the advocacy of disestablishment 'as a means of remedying present difficulties' to 'preparing to tear out one of the roots of an ancient tree because we were too impatient to prune some inconvenient branches.' I am content with this description, provided that the pruning is taken in hand without any unnecessary loss of time. 'Inconvenient' may hardly seem an adequate term to apply to a branch which has the Banister case for one of its fruits. But I have no wish to quarrel about words. The Archbishop holds out a tempting prospect: 'I hope,' he says, '-and have some reason for the hope—that the State will see that a Church, free to maintain among its members the highest ideal of marriage, is one of the best means of keeping the family life of the people, on which the national welfare depends, stable and strong.' The Bishop of Oxford has already told us that 'it is essential that we should frankly face the question, that we should decide whether we do or do not intend to alter our law, and, if we do not intend to alter our law, that we should make it unmistakably plain to society at large what it is, and that there should be no doubt about our intention to keep it.' And now the Archbishop of York suggests a clear line of action. 'Establishment as in Scotland' is an easily understood demand. It bears no likeness to the vague projects of Church reform from which we have seen such infinitesimal results. It means the reform of the English Establishment upon lines which we may see in actual work at the present time and in another part of the United Kingdom. What is possible in Scotland ought not to be impossible in England, if the Church is firm in demanding it, and ministers can be convinced that the line of least resistance offers the best prospect of ecclesiastical peace. But they cannot be expected to recognise this unless those to whom it falls to make the demand are prompt and persistent in urging it. Only in this way is there any chance of getting such a betterment as the Archbishop of York hopes for, with 'some reason.' It will not come of itself. It will not come in moment. Above all, it will not come by using the Scottish precedent merely as evidence that a Church may enjoy all the

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liberty it needs and yet remain established. The duty of Churchmen is to claim that liberty at once, and to go on claiming men is to claiming it without pause or intermission. So only will they deserve to it without parties that await churches which no longer have escape the distribution of the principles they profess, or courage to face the risks of asserting them. D. C. LATHBURY.

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BOSWELL'S DUTCH FLIRTATION

'A DUTCH charmer called Zélide.'

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That is Mr. Thomas Seccombe's solitary reference to the subject in his Introduction to Boswell's Letters to W. J. Temple. in which Zélide is mentioned about half a dozen times. It appears from the Letters that Boswell had some thought of marrying Zélide-and that Zélide was willing-but that Boswell withdrew, partly because his father and friends entreated him to do so, but partly for more personal reasons:

As for Zélide, I have written to her that we are agreed. My pride (sav I) and your vanity would never agree: it would be like the scene in our burlesque comedy, 'The Rehearsal'—'I am the bold thunder,' cries one; 'The quick lightning I,' cries another, 'et voilà notre ménage.'

So the curtain falls, and the two lives drift apart; and the identity of Zélide is left wrapped in mystery. Temple obviously knew who she was; so that there was no reason for Boswell to explain. Mr. Seccombe presumably did not know, or he would Leslie Stephen, who contributed Boswell's life to have told. the Dictionary of National Biography, frankly admitted his ignorance, merely suggesting that Zélide was probably identical with the Mlle. de Zuyl mentioned in Boswelliana. de Zuyl only appears in Boswelliana as the heroine of a quite unimportant anecdote which does as little towards fixing her 'Mlle. de Zuyl' means identity as the name of Zélide itself. as little to the casual English reader as 'Miss Jones' or 'Miss Smith' would mean. It is not even the lady's correct name, but only an Englishman's imperfect recollection of it; and it has been reserved for a later chronicler to find out who Mlle. de Zuyl-or Zélide-actually was.

The discovery, of course, would have had no importance if she had turned out to be nobody in particular. Its interest lies in the fact that she was a woman of great note in her day, and is not yet forgotten, though it is not as Mile. de Zuyl that the world knew or knows her. Boswell's flirtation, in short or his 'entanglement,' if anyone prefers to call it so—very nearly united him to one of the most distinguished women novelists of her day; and the elucidation of the story links up the love

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affairs of four separate countries—England, Holland, Switzeraffairs of France. For the Zélide of the Letters, and the Mile. de Zuyl of Boswelliana, was Isabella van Tuyl van Serooskerken de Zuylen, and Isabella van Tuyl van Serooskerken van Zuylen became Mme. de Charrière, the famous author of Caliste and the Lettres Neuchâteloises, who fell in love with Benjamin Constant, who threw her over for Mme. de Staël.

The story is told in M. Philippe Godet's Madame de Charrière et ses Amis, printed at Geneva in 1906—two years before the appearance of Mr. Seccombe's edition of Boswell's Letters. Mr. Seccombe might, therefore, theoretically, have known all about it; but it would have needed a happy accident to bring the discovery under his notice. M. Godet was not writing for English students of Boswell, and was unaware that he had discovered anything that they did not know already. Those English students, on the other hand, could not be expected to guess that the Life of a Swiss novelist, published in Switzerland. would clear up a Boswell mystery. It was by the merest chance that the present writer picked up the volume at an idle hour and discovered that it did so-and also discovered, incidentally, that there was another side to Boswell's story of the breaking off of his engagement. It is distinctly a story to be told.

Belle van Zuylen, as she was commonly called, was born in 1740—the same year as Boswell himself. Her family was one of the oldest in Holland-noble since the twelfth centuryand possessed an estate a few miles from Utrecht. She was not beautiful, but was clever, witty, and well educated; had visited England and learnt the English language well enough not only to read and talk it, but also to write it: she was particularly fond of reading the Spectator. She also had English (or at least Irish) connexions—one of her cousins became Lady Athlone. Zélide seems to have been a name which she playfully coined for herself. There exists a character sketch of her in her own handwriting headed: Portrait de Mlle. de Z... sous le nom de Zélide, fait par elle-même. An extract from it may serve to introduce her:

Sympathetic by temperament, liberal and generous by inclination, lide is only Zelide is only good by principle: when she is sweet-tempered and easy to get on with, be grateful to her, for she is making an effort. When she is politie and patient for any length of time with people she does not care about, a doubt about, a double portion of your esteem is due, for she is making still greater effort. She was born vain, and now her vanity has no limits, thanks to be seen to be s linits, thanks to her knowledge of men and her contempt for them. Indeed, she goes fined to her knowledge of men and her contempt she thinks she ought she goes further in that direction than, in cold blood, she thinks she ought to. She is also in that direction than, in cold blood, she thinks she ought to She is already of opinion that glory is nothing if it has to be purchased at the Purchased at the price of happiness; but she would nevertheless do a good

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When will the light of the intellect command obedience from the inclinations of the heart? When that happens, Zélide will cease to be a coquette. Sad contradiction! Zélide, who would not beat a dog without good reason, or harm the most miserable insect, likes now and again to make a man unhappy, merely for her amusement—merely to win a kind of glory which does not even flatter her intelligence, and only titillates her vanity for a moment. . . .

retty, or only passable. I do not know—it depends upon whether you like her, and whether she wishes to make you like her. She has a good figure, and she knows it, and lets you see just a little more of it than is quite consistent with perfect modesty. Her hands are not white. She knows that too, and jokes about it; but she would rather be without that

particular motive for jesting.

Tender and refined in her feelings, she cannot find happiness either through love or without it; but Friendship never had a temple more holy or more worthy of her than Zélide. Finding her sensibility too great to allow her to be happy, she has almost ceased to hope for happiness... Realising the vanity of her plans and the uncertainty of her future, she concentrates herself on the attempt to make the most of the moments as they pass.

And now you have guessed it. There is just a little of the voluptuous in Zélide's disposition. Her imagination can be gay even when her heart

is sad. . . .

It is very clever; and the question arises whether the cleverness attracts or repels. A young woman who so adroitly pulls herself to pieces in order to show how the wheels of her mind go round is apt to be an object not only of admiration but also of alarm. The suspicion prevails that she will not stop at self-analysis but may also examine her friends and neighbours with a too penetrating candour; and evidence is not wanting that Belle van Zuylen had that habit. She wrote a novel -or perhaps only a novelette-in which she satirised the simpleminded and slow-witted Dutch aristocracy. It was issued anonymously, but it was known to be hers. Territorial magnates, dowagers, and squireens all appeared in it in a ridiculous light. The consequence was that Belle van Zuylen was felt to be formidable. Eligible young Dutchmen were, as a rule, afraid to marry her; while she, on her part, severely snubbed the few who showed an inclination to do so. She remained single rather long, and her parents began to feel anxious. As the years passed, she herself began to share their anxiety. She looked to marriage not so much for romance as for emancipation. 'I should dependence of my position bores me,' she wrote. feel much better off if I were a free woman.'

So the eligible Dutchmen being dismissed, there were negotiations with eligible foreigners; and it is as one of those eligible foreigners—not all equally eligible—that Boswell comes into the story. Probably, if Belle could have had her way, she would

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have married Benjamin Constant's cousin, Constant d'Herhave married beautiful the Dutch service, who had been wounded menches, a colonel in the Dutch service, who had been wounded menches, a the straid of her: he was a with the heafraid of her: he was a with the heafraid of her: he was a with the heafraid of her: at Fontency.

At Fontency.

The per and not to be afraid of her; he was a wit and a friend of her and not to be afraid of her; he was a wit and a friend of her and Relle was beyond doubt. her and not belie was, beyond doubt, more nearly in love Voltaire, then with any of the others. The with him than with any of the others. Unfortunately, howwith him that already—none too happily—and could fill ever, he would fill no better rôle than that of Belle's confidant and correspondent. He told her what he thought of his wife:

You know very well that I made an ill-assorted marriage with a woman you know with a woman seven years older than myself, dowerless, in poor health, with little intelliseven years of the seven years and a very insipid character. That, in fact, is matter of common gence, and a very insipid character. I have redeemed to knowledge. In spite of that, I have redeemed the error of a young man of twenty, and of parents too indifferent to their son's happiness, by making that woman happy, by helping her to shine, by thinking, writing, and talking for her. . . . I have never allowed my dissatisfaction to be seen, because she was gentle, virtuous, and well behaved. Still, she is getting bad tempered as she gets older.

And so on, for four pages. One quotes only to show the tone of the correspondence and the points of view of the correspondents. They seem to have felt themselves linked, as it were, by the freemasonry of superior intelligence-entitled, therefore, to discuss persons on a lower intellectual plane as freely as they would discuss the lower orders, or perhaps even the lower animals. So when Constant d'Hermenches has thus discussed his wife, Belle van Zuylen proceeds to discuss her suitors. They defile before us in her letters—a distinguished procession, mostly distinguished by titles: a van Tuyl cousin, Rheingrave of Salm, a Baron of Holstein, a Count of Anhalt, a Marquis of Bellegarde, and, finally, James Boswell, not tomention a Count of Wittgenstein, and Lord Wemyss.

There is no need—and indeed there is no material—for telling the stories of all the courtships in detail. One gathers that the Count of Anhalt was rejected because he would only woo by proxy, and that M. de Bellegarde retired from the competition because he was a Catholic and could not obtain the Pope's dispensation for a mixed marriage. One also gathers that Belle Van Zuylen did not weep for the loss of either of them. About the fortunes of the others—always excepting Boswell—we must be content to repress a curiosity which we have not the means

of gratifying.

What Boswell was doing at Utrecht we can only guess. Presumably he came there by accident, because it was on the pre-arranged route of his 'grand tour'—or because he had letters of introduction which he wished to present—and stayed on because he attractive. because he had met Belle van Zuylen and found her attractive. We hear nothing of the commencement of the acquaintance; but the first reference to it shows Boswell already on a footing of familiarity with the van Zuylen household. 'He is a great friend of mine,' Belle writes. 'My father and mother have a very high opinion of him, so that he is always welcomed when he comes to see me.' And, in another letter, she says:

Boswell told me the other day that, though I was a charming creature, he would not marry me, even if I had the Seven United Provinces for my dowry. I thought that very good.

It is impossible to say whether that declaration was meant. when it was made, to be taken literally; but the sentiments which inspired it are made clear by the one letter from Boswell to Belle van Zuylen which has been preserved in the family archives and was lent to Mme. de Charrière's biographer. Boswell was fascinated; but he was also conscious of obstacles. He was disconcerted by Belle's religious scepticism, her interest in philosophy, her addiction to frivolity, and her love of pleasure So he went to Berlin, and thence wrote her a long letter of remonstrance on all these points. It will be observed that he was sufficiently intimate to be allowed to address her as 'Zélide'; and the fact that he does so establishes the identity of Zélide beyond all possibility of dispute or doubt. 'Favourite of Nature,' he begins; and then he proceeds to pour forth his voluminous advice :

Permit me, my dear Zélide, to persuade you to abandon your addiction to pleasure and to seek a quiet happiness. Believe me, God has not destined us to taste much happiness in this world.

He then formulates, at length, his faith in the Christian verities, and continues:

You see that your friend is very fortunate in all that concerns the important matter of religion. Take, I beg of you, the firm resolution never to preoccupy yourself with metaphysics. Speculations of that order are absurd for a man, and more than absurd for a woman.

Consider your numerous material advantages: you are the daughter of one of the first families of the Seven Provinces; you have numerous and exalted relations; you have a sufficient fortune, and I must not forget to add that Zélide is beautiful. You have every reason to look forward to a distinguished marriage; you may hope to play an amiable and respectable part in life. Your talents and your accomplishments are capable of conferring great have ferring great honour upon you. But take care: if all these charming qualities of yours are not governed by prudence, they may be very injurious

If you abandon yourself to your caprices, you may experience here and reasons a short-lived and for the seems there a short-lived and feverish joy but no durable satisfaction. It seems to me that you cusht to be a light to be a short-lived and feverish joy but no durable satisfaction. to me that you ought to believe me: I am neither a minister of religion nor a doctor; I am not even a lover. I am only a travelling gentleman who has conceived a great attachment to you and has your happiness at heart. heart.

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And he presumes on his interest in Zélide's happiness to And he remains to be her faults. She has told scold her for the proof for us that they were already on very confihim—a lurence—that, if she married, and she and her husband dential terms did not love each other, she would be sure to fall in love with someone else. 'My soul,' she has written to him, 'is made for intense emotions. It will not escape its destiny.' 'I know that you mean no harm,' he comments in reply; 'you are only giving free rein to your fancy. Yet observe where it is leading you'; and he quotes from her again:

I should rather like a husband who would accept me on the same footing as a mistress. Then I would say to him: 'Pray do not regard fidelity to ma as a duty. Claim only the rights, and practice only the jealousy, of a lover.'

'Fie, Zélide!' is Boswell's comment on that. 'What notions are those? Is the name of mistress even half as agreeable to you as that of wife?' Then he goes on to speak of his travels; of the politeness of his compatriot Lord Keith, who is in the service of the King of Prussia; and of his encounter with another suitor of Mlle. de Zuylen, already named in this article:

I have had the honour of being presented to the Count of Anhalt: you will readily believe that I regarded him with great attention. He appears tome a man of great politeness, very sensible, and of very attentive manners. I was only in his company for a little while; but, from what I saw and heard of him, I should be happy to learn that he had become the husband of my fair friend. But she must make it a point of honour to behave in strict accordance with the proprieties.

The next sentences define still more precisely the terms on which Boswell and Zélide stood. One may suspect that the appearance of the Count of Anhalt on the horizon had not been without its effect on their relations:

As you and I, Zélide, are on a footing of easy intercourse with one another, I will confess to you that I am vain enough to conclude from your letter that you have been as much in love with me as you are capable of being with any man. I say 'have been,' for I am very much mistaken if the sentiment has not now passed from you. . . You had no control over Jourself, and you could dissimulate nothing. You seemed ill at ease, and ethibited exhibited a forced gaiety on the Sunday on which I parted from you. It was easy to see that you were moved. I perceived that I had a place in your heart Jour heart, and that you displayed an affection towards me which was more than merels. than merely cordial. Your letters have proved to me that you were happy in having in having at last met a man for whom you were capable of feeling a powerful and cold met a man for whom you were capable of feeling a Powerful and enduring passion.

Then why had they not married? Presumably the advent of the Count of Anhalt (whom nevertheless Zélide was not to marry) was one of the reasons; but neither of the correspondents was relief. dents was one of the reasons; but neither of the dents was willing to recognise it as the particular reason to which

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they had bowed. The reason which Zélide herself gave was her own unworthiness: Je ne vaudrais rien pour votre femme: je n'ai pas les talents subalternes. If by those talents, responds Boswell, she means the domestic virtues, she had better make up her mind to the fact that they are indispensable not only to his wife, but to the wife of every sensible man. But he does not stop there. 'I know myself,' he adds, 'and I know you; and I am certain that, if we were to marry, both of us would very soon be unhappy.' And he pictures Zélide protest ing that she is capable of making a good wife, and proceeds to cross-examine her on the deposition:

Would you be capable of submitting your inclinations to the will, perhaps to the caprice, of a husband? Could you do this joyously, without the loss of any portion of your good temper? Could you live quietly in the country for six months of the year? Could you make yourself agreeable to simple and honest neighbours? Could you converse like an ordinary woman, and make your humours obey you like your harpsichord? Could you pass the remaining six months of the year in a town in which the society, though very good, is not quite in the latest fashion? Could you live in that style and be happy? Could you find an abundant source of joy in your own family? Could you restore your husband to gaiety when he was melancholy? I have known women who could do so, Zélide; but are you one of them?

Boswell was evidently quite clear in his own mind that she was not; and, as he desired for his wife no frivolous butterfly, but a domesticated helpmate, prepared to practise the submissiveness which St. Paul enjoins, there remained nothing for him to do but to wish Zélide farewell. He did so with a religious—not to say an unctuous—air, as though he were pronouncing a Benediction upon the union which might have been but was not to be:

Farewell! I trust that religion may not make you unhappy. Think of God in His true character, and all the world will appear gay to you. I hope that you will some day become a Christian. But, my dear Zelide, become a sun-worshipper rather than a Calvinist! May Heaven bless you and make you tolerably happy! Farewell!

Such were his parting words—or what were meant for such. Assuredly they were solemn enough to be parting words in very truth; and it comes as a surprise to the reader to find that they had a sequel. Zélide, however, did not marry the Count of Anhali, or the Marquis of Bellegarde, or any other of the épouseurs, as she playfully styled them; nor did she regard Boswell's dismissal, or retirement, as definite. He remained, as it were, the permanent second string to the bow: the man whom she was still disposed to marry, in default of a better match, whether he would or not, and in spite of her failure to conform to the exacting standard of his specifications. It is possible that their

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relations were temporarily interrupted; but, if so, they were soon renewed. The date of the letter from which so many extracts have been made was the 9th of July 1764. In the spring of 1767 Belle van Zuylen came with her brothers to London; and both her letters and Boswell's bear witness to the revival of the acquaintance, and show that matrimony very nearly resulted from it.

She had good introductions, and moved in the best London society. She was presented at Court, and invited to supper with Lady Harrington. She stayed in the country house of one of the Bentincks. She fell ill, and was attended by the fashionable physician Sir John Pringle—whose name she writes 'Pingle.' 'My apothecary,' she writes, 'has fallen in love with me. My doctor, old Sir John Pingle, talks of nothing but me to the Queen and to everybody.' She also speaks of duchesses, whom she does not name, coming to call on her; and she describes how she gave a dinner in her lodgings to David Hume. The fare was 'rostbeaf' and plum-pudding—sent in from a tavern; and after dinner the party played three 'robbers' of 'wihst.' 'I liked Mr. Hume and his simple, honest manners very much,' she reports.

That was at the time when the negotiations for her marriage with the Marquis de Bellegarde were still proceeding. It may be partly for that reason that she does not mention Boswell; but Boswell mentions her, though only as Zélide. He was at Edinburgh at this time, and received news of her, duly passed on to Temple in a letter which usefully supplements her account of Sir John Pringle's professional attendance on her:

What shall I tell you? Zélide has been in London this winter. I never hear from her—she is a strange creature. Sir John Pringle attended her as a physician. He wrote to my father: 'She has too much vivacity; she talks of your son without either resentment or attachment.' Her brothers and I correspond; but I am well rid of her.

But he was not rid of her. 'Do you know,' we find him writing, a few months later, in November of the same year, I had a letter from Zélide the other day, written in English, and showing that an old flame is easily rekindled.' The reason for the rekindling of it seems to have been the failure of the negotiations for Belle van Zuylen's marriage with M. de Bellegarde. Don't talk to me about husbands,' she writes to Constant d'Hermenches at about this time. 'If I want one, I will find the now proposes to marry Boswell—a hypothesis borne out by Boswell's letter of the 24th of March 1768:

Do you know, my charming Dutchwoman and I have renewed our Vol. LXXII—No. 429

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sensible, so accomplished, and knows me so well, and likes me so much sensible, so accomprished, and analysis with her. Sir John Pringle is that I do not see how I can be unhappy with her. Sir John Pringle is now for it; and this night I write to my father, begging his permission to now for it; and this higher was some properly writes, we should neet go over to Utrecht just now. She very properly writes, we should neet go over to Utreent just now. without any engagement, and if we like an union for life, good and well;

And then, on the 26th of April:

I have not yet given up with Zélide. Just after I wrote you last I received a letter from her, full of good sense and of tenderness. 'My dear friend,' she says, 'it is prejudice that has kept you so much at a distance from me; if we meet, I am sure that prejudice will be removed.' The letter is in English; I have sent it to my father, and have earnestly begged his permission to go and see her. I promised, upon honour, not to engage myself, but only to bring a faithful report, and let him decide. . . . Surely it is worth while to go to Holland to see a fair conclusion, one way or other, of what has hovered in my mind for years. I have written to her and told her all my perplexity; I have put in the plainest light what conduct I absolutely require of her, and what my father will require. . . . I tell you, man, she knows me and values me as you do.

That contemplated journey to Utrecht, however, was never taken, the whole matter being settled by correspondence. would give a good deal to see the correspondence; but it has, unfortunately, disappeared. We have to content ourselves with the accounts given of it by the two correspondents to their respective confidants; and those accounts, as usually happens in such cases, do not completely coincide. We may take it that each of them tells, and each of them omits, a portion of the truth. Let us begin with Boswell's version, which has, so far, held the field. On the 14th of May 1768 he writes to tell Temple that he has received his answer:

So you are pleased with the writings of Zélide! Ah, my friend! had you but seen the tender and affectionate letter which she wrote to me, and which I transmitted to my father! And can you still oppose my union with her? Yes, you can; and, my dearest friend, you are much in the right. I told you what sort of a letter I last wrote to her; it was candid, fair, and conscientious. I told her of many difficulties: I told her my fears from her levity and infidel notions, at the same time admiring her, and hoping she was altered for the better. How did she answer? Read her letter. Could be answer? her letter. Could any actress at any of the theatres attack me with a keener—what is the word?—not fury, something softer. The lightning that flashes with so much being do so flashes with so much brilliance may scorch, and does not her esprit do so Is she not a termagnation Is she not a termagant, or at least will she not be one by the time she is forty? and she is now the time she is Indeed, Temple, thou reasonest forty? and she is near thirty now.

. . . As for Zélide, I have written to her that we are agreed. My pride (say I) and your vanity will never agree. . . .

That is to say that Boswell has admonished Zélide, in the tone of his previous letter, as to the submission which a wife V.

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owes to her husband and the obligations of the trivial round, owes to he trivial round, the common task; and Zélide has not taken the admonition in the common so far, so good—we may believe him. But he has good Part. But he has not told us everything. There was another rift within the lute of which he says nothing, but of which Zélide informs us. He of which had talked not only of matrimony, but also of literary collaboration. It had been arranged that she should translate his Account of Corsica into French. She was not satisfied with the rôle of translator, but aspired to that of editor as well. She wanted, in short, to use the blue pencil on Boswell's work—the work of which he was so proud that, at a fancy-dress ball, he put the label 'Corsica Boswell' in his hat. He would not hear of such an outrage—and she insisted—and so all was over between them.

The author (she writes to Constant d'Hermenches), though he had, at the time, almost made up his mind to marry me, if I would accept him, refused to sacrifice a single syllable of his book to me; so I wrote to him to say that I had quite decided not to marry him, and I have abandoned the translation.

That is the end of the story: love sacrificed on the altar of literary vanity, and the project of marriage dropped together with the breaking off the literary negotiations. Boswell and Belle van Zuylen drifted apart, and passed out of each other's lives-both of them nonentities at the time, and both of them to become famous thereafter.

His subsequent career is well known, and need not be followed further. Hers would be worth a book, if the book had not been written already by M. Philippe Godet, of Neuchâtel. She continued her quest for a husband, and, at last, at the age of thirtyone, made a poor marriage with M. de Charrière, who had been her brother's tutor. With him, she went to live in a quaint old house, a few miles from Neuchâtel, in the village of Colombier. He bored her; but her married life was not otherwise unhappy. She relieved her tedium by writing the Lettres Neuchâteloises work which satirised her Swiss neighbours, as she had previously satirised her Dutch friends, and produced an effect like the stirring of a hornets' nest. She also wrote novels which had a great vogue at the time—some of them being translated into English—one of them anticipating situations which Mme.

de Staël took from her and got the credit of originating. It was at Colombier that Benjamin Constant took refuge with her after divorcing his first wife, and began to write the History of Religions, which he published many years afterwards, on the backs of her playing-cards. He was little more than a boy at the time, and she was a middle-aged woman, but there is little doubt that all the with her—until that she was a middle-aged woman, but ther—until

Mme. de Staël captured him. 'I have met,' he then wrote to her, 'the second woman who has been capable of being all the world to me. You know who was the first.'

That, however, is another story, and a long one, not to be related now. The purpose of this paper has merely been to solve a mystery, and give Mme. de Charrière her right place in the variegated chronicle of Boswell's multitudinous amours.

FRANCIS GRIBBLE.

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THE NEGLECTED CHILD IN NEW SOUTH WALES

A RECENT speaker has pointed out that 'the neglected child takes a terrible revenge upon society when he grows into an habitual criminal.' No doubt the great wave of social reform in the treatment of the waifs and strays of the community which has characterised the last half-century, not alone in England but practically in every civilised country in the world, may in some measure have been due to a genuine altruistic feeling; but it seems to me that the recognition of the truth of the above statement was in no small degree one of the primary causes of the impulse to social reform. Up to the middle of last century society concerned itself with the developed criminal alone, without troubling itself to consider the question why he became a criminal. The judiciary apparently considered that its duty was done when the crime was sheeted home to the individual, and that the only thing that remained for society to do was to get the criminal out of sight either by incarceration in a prison for punishment at home, or by transportation to one of the penal settlements; and it will scarcely be believed that many hundreds of children of exactly the type now brought before our Children's Courts, and from thence sent to Industrial Schools, fined trivial amounts, or dismissed on probation to their parents after being simply reprimanded, were at that time condemned to penal servitude, and often to transportation to the convict settlements, many for long periods, and some

A short time ago, while looking over some of the public records in the Mitchell Library of New South Wales, I found a book containing a report sent to the Admiralty by Dr. Andrew Henderson, R.N., which throws a very lurid light on the manner in which is in which juvenile offenders were treated so lately as the middle of the nineteenth century. Dr. Henderson says that on the 19th of September 1840 he sailed from Sheerness for Hobart Town in the shirty and the shirty of the shirt in the ship Hindostan, having under his care two hundred convict boys of ages varying from eleven to sixteen years, and no doubt his voyage occupied the usual 130 to 150 days; he had therefore ample time to observe the characters of those under his charge, and

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this is how he sums them up: Ten were of 'most exemplary' nine were 'exemplary' nine were 'most exemplary' character,' thirty-three were 'exemplary,' nine were 'very wellbehaved,' six were 'in general well-behaved,' eight were 'of in. different character,' while one was of 'very indifferent character,' As to the remaining hundred and thirty-three he makes no remark, probably parental neglect and evil environment had placed them in the category of very bad boys indeed.

Now as to the ages of these terrible criminals. Five were but eleven years, ten were twelve years, ten were thirteen years, fifty were fourteen years, fifty-five were fifteen years, and the remain. ing seventy were but sixteen years old. These unfortunate children were therefore of exactly the same ages and type as those now dealt with in our Children's Courts. Surely society must have breathed more freely when it realised that it had got rid of

such a crowd of desperadoes!

As casting additional light upon the treatment of juvenile offenders in those not very distant times, I may cite another document, a despatch sent in 1840 by Sir John Franklin (then Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land) to Lord Glenely, in which he reports upon the juvenile prison establishment at Point Puer; he states that there were there confined 494 prisoners, of whom 388 were between ten and eighteen years, and that of these no fewer than 400 were serving sentences of seven years, sixty-two of ten years, eighteen of fifteen years, and nine were imprisoned for life. He further states that 294 of these boys had received corporal punishment, the total number of stripes being 5741, and 677 cases had been subjected to solitary confinement. He adds that other boys of eighteen and nineteen years had been sent to Point Puer, but that they were too old to commence learning trades, or to be subject to the milder discipline of that establishment.

The transition from these brutal methods in England has been very gradual, and perhaps not less so in Australia. law-makers were apparently unable to realise that reformation and not punishment was the object to be desired, and therefore the legal enactments in relation to children, almost without exception, dealt with the fact of having done wrong rather than with growing tendency to do wrong. In New South Wales, about the middle of last century, several so-called orphan schools had been established by the Government, which really were for the accommodation not only of orphans, but of neglected as well as vagrant and delinquent children; but apparently these institutions were entirely inadequate, for about the year 1855-56 public attention, was drawn to 111. tion was drawn to 'the large number of deserted and destitute children for aphone children for whom some effort should be made, who, as police office records and office records and police reports show, are present in large ry

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numbers.' This state of affairs was no doubt a sort of aftermath of the great stampede for gold which had taken place a year or of the great when large numbers of men abandoned their settled two perors, and rushed off to the goldfields; and no doubt there were many cases of both wife- and child-desertion as the direct outcome of these unsettling influences. The result of the agitation which followed was the establishment of a society for the Relief of Destitute Children. A large area of the public lands was granted to the society, and a barrack capable of accommodating no fewer than 900 children was built; in 1857 an Act for its incorporation was passed, under which power was taken to place children under its board of management, and a grant of a certain sum of money was made to aid the society in their maintenance, in the same way that such institutions receive aid in England at the present time.

During the next few years there does not appear to have been any movement towards social reform, or any attempt to deal systematically with the problem of children's vagrancy or delinquency; orphans or vagrants when brought before the courts were usually sent to barrack institutions, while children found guilty of serious offences were often sent to the ordinary prison. The exact extent to which juvenile delinquency existed, however, cannot be definitely stated, and it is probable that, because of the reluctance of the authorities to hale little children before the ordinary police courts, and so expose them to the degrading atmosphere of such places, the administration preferred to ignore the delinquencies altogether. Thus the absence of proper legislative machinery led to the necessary reformative work being ignored at the very time when if undertaken the greatest chance of success would have been offered.

In 1866, however, the late Sir Henry Parkes, no doubt moved by the legislative activity in regard to children which took place in England at that time, introduced several Social Reform Acts—viz. the Industrial Schools Act, the Reformatory Schools Act, and the Workhouse Act (the latter happily was never brought into force, and it has long since been repealed), and establishments of both kinds were opened which to a certain extent had the attributes of ordinary prisons (as is the case with such institutions everywhere), and although there is a difference expressed in the Acts as to the nature of the cases treated by each, the distinction between them has generally been a fiction. tren could legally be admitted to a reformatory upon conviction; while destitute, vagrant, and neglected children, merely because of such condition, vagrant, and neglected children, merely because of such conditions were supposed to be sent to Industrial Schools; but in practice the distinction has been by no means invariably

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preserved. Actual malefactors were frequently sent alike to an experience of the sent Industrial School or a reformatory, and vagrancy when it showed criminal tendencies was also generally treated in a reformatory.

The barrack system continued to be the only method for the treatment of delinquent as well as orphan, neglected, and vagrant children until 1881, when, again, Sir Henry Parkes took the matter in hand, and passed a Bill through the Legislature autho. rising a new system, which was destined in a short time almost entirely to supersede the treatment of children of these classes in large institutions. The Act, while still retaining the reformatories for what were deemed really criminal children, placed the matter of dealing with all other classes in the hands of an honorary board called the State Children Relief Board, who administered the law on behalf of the Government. The board was authorised, with the consent of the Minister, to withdraw children from any charitable institution wholly or partly supported by grants from the Consolidated Revenue Fund, for the purpose of placing them in private homes as boarders or apprentices, or when so directed by the Minister 'to remove any child from a Reformatory School and cause him to be boarded-out in the house of a person licensed under the Act for any period not extending beyond the term of detention of such child.'

During several years following the children were gradually withdrawn from all barrack institutions wholly or in part maintained by the State, and in 1887 they were entirely emptied. And it is worthy of note that the remarkable diminution in the number of criminals in our gaols, to which I shall presently refer, began about that period, and has continued until the present time. I am not disposed to give too great weight to this circumstance, for many other causes have contributed, and in fact may have had a much greater influence in that direction; but experience has shown not only in Australia, but all over the world, that where large numbers of young people are herded together in barracks it is practically impossible to classify them effectually; and seeing that it is usually the worst and most unruly character that exercises the most influence, the effect produced by a few vicious ones is always bad.

No further legislation in regard to neglected children was undertaken until the year 1905, when the State Parliament of New South Wales passed the Neglected Children and Juvenile Offenders Act, which provided for the establishment of separate courts for the trial of offences committed by or upon children, and under which power was taken to remove children from evil environment, and so give them a reasonable chance of evading such disabilities as are the result of a degenerate parentage. The power to take such action had already been in principle

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embodied in the laws of England under Act 62 and 63 Victoria, embodied in which amends Section No. 1 of the Poor Law; there it is provided that 'when a child is maintained by the there it is Poor Law Union, and the guardians are of opinion that by reason of mental deficiency or vicious habits or mode of life the parent of a child is unfit to have control of it, the guardians may at any time resolve that until the child reaches the age of eighteen years all the rights and powers of such parents shall vest in the guardians.'

It will be noticed that this power is limited by the antecedent condition that the child is already being maintained by the Board of Guardians. I would, however, argue that there should be no such condition, and to a certain extent that view has been adopted by the framers of the Children Act. But it is to Germany that we must turn in order to obtain the clearest and most logical application of the principle that it is the duty of the State to concern itself with the control, and in its broadest sense the education of the young. There the law relating to neglected children prior to 1901 was that they could be sent to an institution only in cases where it was shown that not only was the child neglected and uncontrolled by his parents, but that he had also committed some punishable offence. However, on the 1st of January 1901 a new code of civil law came into force which had been framed on the assumption that the right of parents to educate their children is entirely subordinate to the right of the State to intervene where children were likely to drift into evil courses through culpable parental neglect; on the ground that if through want of proper parental control or a bad environment children drifted into a vicious way of living, it was the community that suffered; and, therefore, it was the duty of the State to intervene. Under the new civil code, what is called 'Fürsorge Erziehung' has been provided for, and the Court of Ward may direct that it shall be established in any case, even where serious faults of the parents have not been proved, if it is shown that they are incompetent. So that practically the principal features of our children's law were in practice in Germany years before our enactment was passed.

Under the New South Wales Act 'special magistrates' are appointed for the trial of children's delinquencies, and the procoedings are held not in an ordinary court but in a special building, in which in which accommodation is also provided for such children as hay be awaiting trial or have been remanded after a preliminary investigation investigation. The superintendent of this establishment is the Chief Probation Officer, whose duty is to make an inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the case before the delinquent is brought before the 'special magistrate.' Everything that would suggest to the child's mind that he is the hero of a trial is elimi-

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nated, the policeman in charge of the case is forbidden to appear in uniform, and all persons who are not directly connected with the case are rigidly excluded from the place of hearing. Great discretionary power is given to the 'special magistrate'; he may inflict a fine or he may release the child on probation to his parents, or to the care of some person who is willing to undertake such care, or he may commit the child to an institution; or, where the child has been guilty of an indictable offence, he may commit him to take his trial in the ordinary way, but in that case a copy of the proceedings must be at once transmitted to the Minister, with a statement of the reasons for the decision.

The salient feature of the law is the power to release the child to his parents on probation, and in the great majority of cases that is the course adopted. The regulations under the Act provide that children who are released on probation to relatives, or other persons, shall be systematically visited and inspected by the salaried probation officers of the State Children Department at their homes at least once in each month, but the number of visits varies according to the nature of the case and the general home environment, and it is the duty of the probation officer to satisfy himself that the conditions of release ordered by the 'special magistrate' are being fulfilled.

The general conditions of release on probation which are to be fulfilled by the parent or other person are prescribed by regulation

under the Act as follows : he shall-

(a) Supply him with adequate and suitable wearing apparel and sleeping accommodation. (b) Afford him reasonable opportunity for amusement and healthy

recreation.

(c) Provide him with proper medical attendance, nursing, and medicine in case of illness.

(d) Arrange for his punctual and regular attendance at day school, in accordance with the requirements of the Public Instruction Act of 1880.

(e) Send him at least once each Sunday—unless prevented by sickness or other reasonable cause to a Church and Sunday School of his own religious denomination, when practicable, and generally safeguard his moral and religious training.

(f) Undertake the responsibility of faithfully performing all the conditions imposed by the Court in respect to the child released to his care.

(g) Afford to any authorised officer convenient and ready access to both child and his home to the child and his home to ascertain that the conditions of the child's release are being fulfilled, and that the Regulations are being complied with.

(Any person denying such access, or deliberately impeding any such cer in the execution of his officer in the execution of his duty, shall be guilty of a breach of the Regulations. A panelty not Regulations. A penalty not exceeding 201. may be imposed for any breach of these Regulations.)

of these Regulations.) (Page 19 of Regulations.)

(h) The transfer of a child from a parent or person (appointed by the made Court to take charge of such child) to any other person shall not be made without the sanction of the Minimum and other person shall not be made

without the sanction of the Minister for Public Instruction.

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(i) Notification in writing to the Minister for Public Instruction shall be given by the parent or other person of any change of residence, absconding, absence without leave, or serious misconduct of any child placed in the care of such parent or person.

As has been before stated, both the children and their homes are under the supervision of the salaried officers of the State Children Department, of whom there are thirty-five, once in each month. But they are also visited at frequent intervals by the honorary probation officers, of whom there are 326, appointed by the Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council; so there is a very close and constant supervision of every child placed on probation. And any failure on his part to observe the conditions laid down by the magistrate is at once reported, and the child thereby renders himself liable to be again brought before the court and dealt with de novo.

The value of the probation method depends entirely upon the thoroughness with which the probation officers perform their duties. It may, therefore, be interesting to observe how the work is done by the Society of St. Vincent de Paul (one of the religious bodies who have undertaken the honorary office). They have divided the Metropolitan area into forty-two districts, in each of which a small committee is appointed to supervise the children in the vicinity. Once in each month these committees meet in a central hall, and form a general committee, to whom a report of the behaviour of each child is made, which is entered in a book kept for that purpose, and from that book a general report is from time to time compiled and transmitted to the State Children Department.

The last report which was submitted to me by the Central Committee stated that there were 280 Roman Catholic children under the supervision of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, and that

during the year 9764 visits had been made to the homes of the probationers, 93 per cent. of whom were reformed and induced to lead better lives; 17 per cent. Were instructed in Christian doctrine, and prepared for their religious duties; these would probably never have come under the influence of religion were it not for the fact of their being on probation, and 9 per cent. of the parents were induced to attend to the practice of their religion.

The underlying principle of the Probation Act is that the moral uplifting of delinquent and wayward children should, as far as possible, be effected in the homes in which they reside, and the recital of the above statement would seem to indicate that in Australia, at any rate, it was accomplishing that very desirable end.

The figures of the Metropolitan Children's Court show that offenders may be roughly divided into two classes—children up to

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twelve years and children from twelve to sixteen; and although offences against property are numerous at all ages, experience has shown that at the early ages the less serious offences are more These include climbing trees in the public parks, bathing in view of the public, swearing, stealing fruit or other trifling articles, breaches of traffic regulations, riding on trams without paying fares; the more serious offences are generally committed between the ages of twelve and sixteen. These are found to be comparatively few in number although great in degree; such as burglary, false pretences, and the more serious forms of stealing, receiving, and embezzlement.

The great majority of children brought before the court are either admonished and fined in trivial amounts, or dismissed on probation to their parents; but where the parents are found to be of such vicious or disreputable character, or where their habitation is situated amidst such undesirable surroundings that a return to the child's home would be likely to cause him to continue his froward courses, the court may, and frequently does, commit him to the care of someone nominated by the magistrate or to the care of the State Children Board, in which latter case he is sent to one of the Board's cottages in the country, where he is kept under observation by the mother of the home, and attends the ordinary village school; he is usually restless for a few days, until the glamour of street life has worn off; and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred he settles down into the family life of the farm, and usually in a few months he is dismissed to his own home on probation,

provided some improvement has taken place there.

It is only in the last resort that a child is sent to a reformatory. It may be asked why should the committal to an institution for reformatory treatment be regarded as a final alternative. Would it not be better to send him there for discipline in the first place, and then allow him to return to his parents? The answer to that question is: Because it is perfectly unnatural to confine a child to a barrack. The discipline of a reformatory is fixed and rigid, and it is not suitable for the vast majority of children. discipline that the average child who appears before the court requires is family discipline, family routine, family obligations, and the give-and-take of social life in the family circle. It is not sufficient that he should be taken from his home and placed in an establishment where everything will be found for him, where he must conform to a code which he certainly will not understand, and where he will have no growing sense of responsibility; and a further objection is that the detention in reformatory institutions usually tends to become unduly long. No doubt a child can at times be matured physically and even mentally in a reformatory, but when he leaves the institution where his individuality has been suppressed, and his inclinations so curbed that his character

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may be said to be merely machine-made, he is dumped down into may be salu to munity, usually with an entire ignorance of the the general version with the handicap of social ostracism, which world, and provided the lot of the reformatory boy. The effect produced upon the mind of a child when he is sent to a reformatory produced appropriately trifling offence is usually bad; in the case of dull or mentally deficient boy, the harm done may not be appreciable, but where he is bright and intelligent the feeling that he has been unjustly treated rankles in his mind and cannot be easily eradicated, no matter how much he may be subjected to discipline; he usually has a grievance which, but too often, in after life is followed by a 'war against society.' In this connexion I may say that there are at the present time only two reformatories for juvenile offenders in New South Wales: the Carpentarian, capable of accommodating 100 boys, and the Industrial School for about 80 girls, and to my mind it is very questionable whether in each case the numbers might not be materially reduced.

I have dealt with the Neglected Children and Juvenile Offenders Act of New South Wales only, but laws of a somewhat similar character are in existence in all the Australian States.

CRIME IN THE COMMONWEALTH

The question whether crime is really decreasing or increasing isnot an easy matter to determine in any country; and in Australia it perhaps presents more difficulties than elsewhere, due, on the one hand, to our advanced legislation which during recent years has created numberless new offences, and on the other, to the operation of the First Offenders Act, the Influx of Criminals Prevention Act, and the tendency of the courts to inflict fines instead of imprisonment. But after giving due weight to each of these considerations, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that crime is rapidly decreasing in all the Australian States. The Commonwealth statisticians' tabulated figures, brought up to the close of the year 1910, show that between the years 1891 and 1910 there has been a decrease in the number of prisoners (in confinement at the end of the various years) in our gaols of from 17 per 10,000 to less than 7.5 per 10,000 of the total population of the Commonwealth. And if we go back to the year 1885, the year in which the boarding-out system for children came into full operation in New South Wales, and confine our inquiries to that State, an examination of the attached diagram, which has been taken too the Discons will show tom the Report of the Comptroller-General of Prisons, will show that the Report of the Comptroller-General of Prisons, will show that the prison population has declined from 27 per 10,000 in 1885 to 7.5 per 10,000 in 1910. The Comptroller-General's Report also shows that the offences committed by prisoners while under-soing sents. going sentence had fallen from 1378 in 1896 to 245 in 1910—that

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is, to 1.6 per cent. of all the prisoners who had been received into the various gaols during the year. The expenditure of the prisons department has also materially decreased during the same period; in 1895 the cost for the year was 129,059l., and in 1910, notwithstanding a considerable increase in the salaries of officers, and a more liberal diet for the prisoners, it was but 82,130l.

No doubt many causes have contributed to bring about these remarkable results. As the Comptroller-General says in his Report for 1911: 'Improved methods of classification in use in the prisons, aiming at the elimination, as far as possible, of all contaminating influences' have had their share; 'and the general spread of education has in a large measure moulded the law abiding instincts of the community,' while the fact that 'for many years there has been abundance of work at remunerative rates of pay has been the means of reducing the ranks of the occasional offender, a class considerably affected by the social elements.'

But I believe that probably by no means the least of the causes of the decrease of the criminal population has been the adoption of more rational and humane methods in dealing with the waits and strays of the State.

CHARLES K. MACKELLAR.

Figures to the left give the prison population; those on the right the general population. Dotted line shows the growth of the general population; the black line shows the variation in the prison population. The population in both cases is taken as on the 31st December in each year.

On the last day of 1891 out of every 445 of the general population 1 was in gaol

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From these figures it will be seen that during the last sixteen years the general population has decreased actually by 1284, and relatively, as regards the general population, by 2197.

CHART showing General Population and Prison Population of New South Wales year from, and inclusive of 1890, to the year ended 31st December 1910.

(Taken from the Report of the Comptroller General of Prisons.)

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BRITISH LANDS AND BRITISH **EMIGRATION**

OF schemes to provide homes and careers for British folk in British Colonies there is no lack. Some are initiated by the Colonial Governments themselves, some are developed through semi-official agencies, and others are the outcome of private benevolence, or private enterprise organising benevolence on business lines. Methods vary, but the objects are the same—to find places abroad for those for whom their Motherland has no place, to offer a future abroad to those with little hope here. There are thus three parties to the great process of organised migration-the colony which receives the migrants, the Mother Country which provides them, and the migrants themselves. For two out of the three the arrangement is admirable. The colony is enriched by the advent of sturdy citizens, energetic, capable, vigorous; taking good care to admit none but those with respectable credentials and the attributes which make for success, in every boatload of immigrants it receives the elements essential to national progress. The migrants, endowed with these qualities, have before them a career, rough perhaps, and hard, but a career with great possibilities. They have exchanged a monotonous round of unrewarded drudgery for a path which may be rugged, but which leads to better things. Behind them lies hopelessness, before them there is, at least, the chance of success, an opportunity.

But what of the Mother Country? What is her share in the transaction? An endless bidding of farewell to people of whom There is, indeed, a considerable she has great need at home. class of which the Mother Country could take leave without any poignant emotion; but that class does not go, for the good reason that no other country has any more use for it than we have The shuffling wastrels, the lawless hooligans, the professional out-o'-works, the useless flotsam of the cities—these accumulate, while the blood and bone and sinew, the stalwart, the efficient In every boatload of emigrants Britain sees herself drained of these elements that are essential to national existence.

It is not easy, perhaps not possible, to determine with accept the extent of the content of the racy the extent of this drain, but an approximate estimate may be made on an analysis of the following figures of persons leaving

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the United Kingdom for places out of Europe during the last half-century:

	English	Scottish	Irish
1861–1871 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	649,742	158,226	866,626
	996,038	170,757	530,924
	1,572,717	278,626	741,883
	1,110,584	187,961	465,146
	1,919,354	473,318	492,680

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These figures, of course, cannot safely be assumed to represent the exact growth of emigration as distinguished from casual transit during the period given. With enlarged facilities for travel the number of those who pay flying visits on business or pleasure to distant countries has without question greatly increased. But that they do indicate an enormous growth of permanent emigration becomes clear when we consider the figures which show the balance of movement between the United Kingdom and non-European countries during the last thirty years. (The comparison beyond that date is impossible, since figures of separate nationalities entering the United Kingdom are not available before 1876.) It appears that in the decade 1881-91 the net balance of migration outwards from the United Kingdom was 1,754,095; in the period 1891 to 1901, 735,800; and in the decade just ended, 1,481,139. This latter figure is, however, probably below the mark. If we remember that a vast number of soldiers, who had gone to South Africa before March 1901, returned during the last census period, it is probable that the figure of emigration was close on 1,600,000. We find, therefore, that during the last thirty years about 4,000,000 emigrants have left the country. It would further appear that the increase of emigration has come entirely from Great Britain, for the number of persons leaving Ireland has decreased by nearly one-half since 1861-71, and by about 33 per cent. since 1881-91.

Study of the 'Census Report' lately published leads to the conclusion that emigration is on the increase at the present time. During the last decade the figures have steadily grown. the net balance of movement outwards was 233,709 in 1910, as compared with 72,016 in 1901. Comparing the gross movement outwards in those two years according to nationality, we obtain the following the following result:

English and Welsh	Scottish	Irish
111,585	20,920	34,210
LXXII—No. 420	79,784	51,284

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Here we find the emigration more than twice as great from England and Wales, nearly four times as great from Scotland about 50 per cent. greater from Ireland. For the moment let the latter country be dismissed from our purview, while we consider only the drain of population from Great Britain.

Quantitatively regarded, it is serious; considered qualitatively it becomes a portent. If it merely represented the clearing out of the surplus urban population, we might dismiss it with the reflection that, while it is regrettable that we cannot find work for all our people, their going is inevitable, and leaves elbow-room There are even aspects from which the efflux of the for others. urban population might be regarded as an advantage. But the emigration which is actually in progress gives no room for satis. faction, no shade of consolation, not even the poor consolation that it is inevitable. The gravest phenomenon of emigration is this-that while its volume grows its source becomes narrower. Half a century ago the new countries welcomed all who came to them. A great poet of the West could still write with truth of his country as one

Whose latch-string never was drawn in Against the poorest child of Adam's kin.

Neither poverty, nor occupation, nor idleness was a bar against immigration. Men went on chance, they were taken on trust; there were places for all if they were able to fill them. In those days emigration did to a considerable extent reach the

unemployed class, it did touch the surplus population.

The new countries have become That era has passed. They have their own native-born people who have to be provided for, who are to be protected against undue competition. And such competition is in the towns. countries are beginning to have urban problems of their own; they do not want to add to them by filling their towns with the city-bred men of Europe, who shall be competitors for every old job, who will swell the army of casual labour. The latch-string is rigorously drawn in when any such approach the door. There is another class of emigrants for whom it dangles temptingly for whom, indeed, the door stands always open—the men of the fields, the young and vigorous men who come from the hamlets and the cottage either direct, or after filtration through the cities For such there is urgent need in the Colonies to people the empty spaces, to clear the forests to bring the the forests, to bring the land, idle through the ages, into cultivation, to provide for the Women, too, the Colonies need and welcome, less for the immediate purpose of domestic service than for the ultimate purpose of becoming mothers of a nation. Bearing in mind the altered social condimothers of a nation.

tions of the new countries, it is evident that, as emigration has tions of the area from which it comes has narrowed, and that growing percentage of these increasing numbers goes from our ountryside, while the capacity of the countryside to feed the stream has diminished. In 1861 the population of the rural districts formed 52.7 per cent. of the whole; in 1905 it formed only 28.7 of the whole. These, then, are the phenomena—an increased emigration; that emigration more exclusively drawn from the rural community; that rural community reduced from more than one-half to less than three-tenths of the population.

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This is not intended as a protest against oversea emigration. but against the system which makes emigration to our Colonies a danger to the Mother Country, and which even threatens eventually to dry up the sources of emigration altogether. figures showing the altered balance of urban and rural population in the last fifty years make it obvious that oversea emigration is not the sole, or even the main, cause of rural depopulation. It is much more largely due to the absorption of the rural population in our large towns. Now it is clearly better that our country-folk should be guided to a career in our Colonies than that they should be left stifling and perishing in overcrowded towns. If they cannot find a career on British land, it is kindly and wise to help them to one on the land of our dependencies. But unhappily we have not the choice of these alternatives. Both processes are at work simultaneously; one portion of the rural population is absorbed in the towns and stays there; the other is depleted by our Colonies. Like the pelican, we are feeding our young with our own blood. It is the custom to regard this as an imperial gain, in that it promotes the growth of the young communities, and increases their value as an imperial asset. Quite so, but, even regarded imperially, the question has another aspect. As her Colonies are strengthened, so is the Mother Country weakened. Is the loss to the one counter-balanced by the gain to the other? That seems more than doubtful. Now, and for a long time, the Mother Country is and must be the great force to which the Empire must look for its defence and safety. Always, while the Empire lasts, she must be its pivot and mainspring. Can she fulfil those functions if her rural areas be depopulated? Even from a lower standpoint, can the Colonies hope to maintain the inflow of population if the rural areas of the Moth the Mother Country are exhausted? Are they not exhausting the soil? is not the mine being worked out? Is it not time to replenish the source from which these supplies are being drawn? The full peril of the situation does not lie entirely in the fact that the balance of urban and rural population has been changed in the last con has been in the last fifty years. A similar process, if not quite so startling,

has been in operation in other countries as well. Thus, in CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwarq 2

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France the urban population has increased from 28.9 per cent in 1861 to 42.1 in 1906. In Germany, between 1871 and 1905 the urban population grew from 36.1 to 57.4 per cent.; while in the United States the urban population, which in 1880 was only 16.1 per cent., had become in 1900 33.1 per cent. That our case is worse than these countries is clear from these figures, in that the growth of our cities has been in a larger ratio than of theirs, while at the start they included a far larger proportion of the population. This, a fact of enormous gravity, is not, however, the worst feature of the case. The emigration from France and Germany is small; the United States is yearly importing fresh blood; we are exporting the best blood of the country districts already depleted by the migration to our towns. In our case oversea emigration is accentuating the evils of that internal movement from the country to the towns, which in all countries -even the newest-arouses the concern of Governments.

The problem, anxious for all, becomes acute for this country in view of the fact that in rural districts the increase of population is at best very slow, while in many cases there is an actual decrease. In the decennial period 1881-91 in England and Wales there was a decrease of population in thirteen counties, of which eight were Welsh. The average increase of population for the country was 11.65 per cent., but in thirteen counties the rate of increase was under 5 per cent., while in some cases it was merely fractional. Between 1891 and 1901 the average increase was 12.17; in ten counties there was a decline of population; in fifteen the increase was less than 6 per cent. During the last census period the average increase was 10.9; in fourteen counties the increase was less than 6 per cent.; in eight counties the population declined. All the counties referred to were agricultural, with the single exception of London, which showed a decrease of 0.3 per cent. during the period 1901-11. These figures are the more significant if we remember that infant mortality is less in rural than in urban counties. There is an interesting table in the Report of the Physical Deterioration Committee, which compares the infantile mortality of the two groups of counties for two quinquennial periods:

AVERAGE RATE OF INFANTILE MORTALITY UNDER ONE YEAR PER 1000 BIRTHS IN THE OPENING AND CLOSING QUINQUENNIA OF THE LAST QUARTER OF A CENTURY.

Urban Counties

Rural Counties

	O Toute	Jounites						
M	ales	Fen	nales	Ma	les	Females 1898		
1873 to 1877	1898 to 1902	1873 to 1877	1898 to 1902	1873 to 1877	1898 to 1902	1873 to 1877	1902	
175.9	180.0	145.5	149.2	139.9	138.8	112.5	111.0	

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Here we find infant mortality greater in the urban than in Here we find in the urban than in the rural counties, and increasing—and yet we find the populathe rural total areas growing rapidly, while that of the rural areas is almost at a standstill, and frequently decreasing. clearly, therefore, rural depopulation comes from the migration of the adults, a fact which is supported by the census figures just of the address. Comparing the increase of population during the last three decennial periods, we find it greatest between 1891-1901, when emigration was lowest, and lowest in 1881-91 and 1901-11, when emigration was heavy.

Here we come to what is, perhaps, the most melancholy and minatory feature of the rural exodus—the class of men who leave the land. During the last fifty years of the last century the number of agricultural labourers diminished by more than 50 per cent. With a population enormously increased we have now less than half as many men working on the land as we had half a century ago. Bad enough, but worse from the fact that those who now stay on the land are less capable than of old. The proportion of young men in the country districts is terribly small.

According to the Report of the Census of 1891 the age distribution of the male population of England and Wales between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five-excluding army, navy, and seamen—was as follows:

Years				Number	Percentage
15 to 20			et.	1,448,500	100
20 to 25				1.271.400	87

The age distribution of the corresponding male agricultural population was as follows:

Years	Number and Percentage	Number and Percentage
15 to 20	. 171,000, or 100 per cent.	1891 159,000, or 100 per cent.
20 to 25	. 108,000, or 63 per cent.	100,000, or 63 per cent.

The age distribution among 1,000,000 males of the rural districts was :

Years 15 to 20				Number	Percentage 100
20 to 25				52,204	100
20 10 25			39,172	77	

It appears from these figures that the decrease of the agricultural population between twenty and twenty-five as compared with the with the class between fifteen and twenty is 24 per cent. more than that than that of the whole population, and 14 per cent. more than that of the whole population, and 14 per cent. that of the whole population, and 14 per cent.

There is the rural districts generally. These figures do not need any elaboration and 14 per cent. any elaborate exegesis to uncover the reality that lies beneath the pages of any be required, it will be found broadcast in the pages of Sir Rider Haggard's Rural England. Apply the

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'Young men,' said Mr. Squarey, Jun., 'are now seldom to be seen upon the land, while hedgers, ditchers, and thatchers are

all over fifty years of age. The race is dying out.'

This of Wiltshire. In Hampshire 'it is now very difficult to procure young men.' In Sussex, a clergyman of much experience declared that 'none of the young people are staying on the land.' In Kent, an authority said that 'only the old men remained permanently on the land; the younger ones departed.' His cheering view of the result of this condition was that 'apparently it must mean the depopulation of the rural districts and the laying down of all but the best lands to grass, larch, and woods. Even the most zealous advocates of afforestation will hardly agree that it would be a sufficient compensation for the loss of the people. In Hereford, 'Labour is very short. The land is going back.' In another place 'all the young men who were worth anything went away, only the dregs remained on the land'; and so runs the melancholy tale everywhere—the efficient go, only the dregs remain.

Regarded merely from the rural standpoint this is deplorable, meaning, as it does, the substitution of grass for tillage, a return to uneconomic forms of agriculture, a reduced home food supply, loss of internal trade, reduction of the general wealth. From a broader national standpoint it constitutes a grievous danger-the danger of national extinction. It is easy to joke at the expense of 'Hodge,' but Hodge is the father of the race. Rousseau, in Emile, enunciates the truth in words which bear quotation:

Les hommes ne sont pas faits pour être entassés en fourmilière, mais épars sur la terre qu'ils doivent cultiver. Les infirmités du corps ainsi que les vices de l'âme sont l'infaillible effet de ce concours trop nombreux. L'homme est, de tous les animaux, celui qui peut le moins vivre en troupeaux. Des hommes entassés comme des moutons périraient en peu de temps. . . . Les villes sont le gouffre de l'espèce humaine. Au bout de quelques générations, les races périment que de l'espèce humaine. les races périssent ou dégénèrent; il faut les renouveler, et c'est toujour la campagne qui fournit à ce renouvellement.

Migration from country to town, then, is not only not alarmin itself ing in itself, but it is the inevitable process by which Nature repairs her wastage. But there must be some measure proportion in the movement. Indeed, if the movement is to continue, if we are not to provide our physical dividends out of our physical capital, there must be maintained a certain balance between town and country. That the balance has been sorely endangered in Great Britain will hardly be denied in face of the fact that less then 20 fact that less than 30 per cent. of the population is rural, and that of that principles the that of that minority the most efficient go, 'and only the dregs

remain. If the young and efficient went to the towns of Great Britain and stayed there, it would be bad enough, but at least we should have the satisfaction of knowing that the physical we should standard of the cities was being maintained. But they do not standard; many, and those probably the best, leave the Mother Country altogether. Worse still, and not yet sufficiently recognised, is the result of this exodus on the physical standard of the country-folk themselves. With the departure of the fittest the reproduction of the species falls to the least fit; with the parrowing of the marriage market come more consanguineous unions; from the overcrowded, degenerating city population the failures struggle back to the country. And so, while overcrowding and unemployment work their wicked will on the city-bred people, the source of physical regeneration becomes not only exhausted but polluted.

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Emigration then-a blessing to those who go and to the country which receives them-becomes a curse and a menace to the country which they leave. In a paper read before the Colonial Institute in 1909, Dr. Arthur, M.L.A., New South Wales, dealt with this aspect of the emigration problem. Eager and anxious to transfer the tide of British migration from foreign countries to the Colonies, in which all will agree with him, he still recognises the danger to the Mother Country of a too full stream of emigration even to her Colonies. He regards the danger as so pressing and imminent that he believes that it would be a bar to the success of any attempt to promote emigration by agreement between the Imperial and Colonial Governments.

I cannot [he says] for a moment believe that the Imperial authorities could regard with favour any attempt to denude the country districts of the British Isles of the best of their bone and sinew. As an Imperialist myself, I cannot approve of such an undertaking, however much I might wish to see so desirable immigrants arriving in the Colonies. The truth is that the Mother Country has few or none of these people to spare, and her carnest endeavour should be to retain them all within her bounds.

But how to retain them, that is the problem. And it is a problem which admits of no delay in the solution. It is not a problem that should be difficult of solution. There is nothing the matter with British soil, nor even with the British climate, much as it is abused; there is nothing the matter with the men themselves. Other countries are struggling to get them. Colonies, as Dr. Arthur says, are prepared to canvass the United Ringdom. Kingdom from end to end for immigrants of such a character. Given such men and such land, it ought not to be an insoluble problem to keep the man on the land, and to enable him to live and thrive upon the land, with the added inducement that he would remain near the old home and among the old folks. It is

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a mistake to think that the rural emigrant goes away with cheer. ful alacrity. Mr. Thomas Hardy, than whom no one has more deeply penetrated the rustic mind, bears witness to the reluctance with which he goes:

This process [he says], which is designated by statisticians as 'the tendency of the rural population towards the large towns,' is really the tendency of the rural population tendency of water to flow uphill when forced. The poignant regret of those who are thus obliged to forsake the old nest can only be realised by people who have witnessed it, concealed as it often is under the mask of indifference.

Nor would the problem long remain unsolved were we but to follow facts, not theories. We are at the present time the victims of two theories, one economic, the other political. The economic theory, which is now regarded as less axiomatic than it used to be, is that farming, to be profitable, must be conducted on a large scale. That theory had a large substratum of truth when it was started, some 130 years ago. Applied to wheat-growingand wheat was a prime necessity in those days of war-it was economically sound. And for years Britain prospered under the system which resulted in the engrossment of farms. But even in those days there were dissenters, who saw a social danger lurking behind the economic success. As the farms grew the rural population dwindled. That fact is now generally recognised; indeed, the evidence of other countries as well as our own insists on recognition. But still we are to some extent obsessed by the tradition of large farms. There are people who still think in terms of wheat, forgetting that men do not live by bread alone. And they persist in the theory though they find themselves revolving in a vicious circle. Large tillage farms require abundant labour, but they kill the supply of labour.

There are others who recognise that the economic theory can no longer be maintained, who see the danger of rural depopulation, and who recognise the necessity for a larger distribution of land, but who themselves refuse to face facts, and have constructed a theory of their own, under which the country is at this moment groaning. This is the political theory—that there should be no freehold ownership of land, that the land should be held in tenancy from the State. This theory of limited ownership is far less defensible than the theory of large farming, for the latter at least did for a considerable time achieve the desired result, while the former has never succeeded or survived in any civilised country where it has been tried, if we except Lord Crewe's famous example of that 'ancient civilisation'—Northern Nigeria' Every Nigeria. Everywhere else it has failed. A glance at the agricultural history of Communication and ancient civilisation — Toursian tural history of Communication and the agricultural history of Communication — Toursian tural history of Communication — Toursian — Toursian tural history of Communication — Toursian tural histo tural history of Germany, Denmark, Belgium, France, Russia, and Rumania and Rumania and Rumania, even at our own dominions, such as New Zealand

or Australia, would have warned the authors of the Small Holdor Australia, 1907 and 1908 that they were courting failure when ings Acts of 1907 and 1908 that they were courting failure when ings Acts of Level theories of Socialism instead of the experience

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And failure has followed. At the Crystal Palace, last autumn, Lord Lincolnshire (then Lord Carrington) revealed it in all its magnitude, even though the revelation posed as a triumphant pean. One hundred and twenty thousand men planted on 12,000 acres of land—this represents the sum of agricultural regeneration in the space of some four years! If we be told that the time was short, that we should wait and see, we turn to the Report of the Small Holdings Commissioners, and find that the remaining genuine demand will be satisfied by the distribution of another 60,000 acres or so. That would not be a great stride towards the reconstruction of our agricultural system; it would be but a poor spigot against the stream of migration, even were the working of the scheme satisfactory. But already we hear warnings of failure, complaints from the tenants of high rents, protests against the monstrous redemption charges, whispers of rates being charged, and so on. Our late Minister of Agriculture could find nothing better to say than that the situation need not cause measiness. But it is not freedom from uneasiness that the situation demands, it is a sure and certain confidence and hope.

Unless land-holding be made attractive, unless it be invested with the elements of hope and confidence, the policy of 'speeding up' must not only be in vain, but actually injurious, by reason of the disappointments it will inevitably engender. The disappointment is already showing itself, unreasonably, for what could be expected from the policy of 1908? If limited ownership, tenancy, has failed to satisfy other peoples, even under conditions so favourable to the tenants as those created in Ireland under the Land Act of 1881, or the perpetual rent-charges of Denmark and Germany during the first half of the last century, or the leaseholds of New Zealand to-day, who could expect that the British peasant would be satisfied or attracted by a system which imposed heavy rent, created large charges for management, and even demanded that the tenant should purchase the land for the county council and still remain a rent-payer on his own land? No one, except persons compelled to dance to the socialistic pipe, and blinded by theory to the patent lessons of fact.

The British peasant probably knows little of socialistic theories. He does not know what 'collectivism' means; 'communal tenure, has no significance for him; 'land nationalisation,' i he known if he known is the known in the known is the known in the known in the known in the known is the known in the known in the known in the known is the known in the known in the known in the known is the known in the known in the known in the known in the known is the known in the if he knows the phrase at all, remains only a phrase. He understands the stands the meaning of the chorus of the Land Song, The Land for the Pennis of the chorus of the Land Song, The Land for the People, but translated into prose the sentiment presents itself

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to him as a system under which he has to pay larger rents and get less indulgence than his neighbour hiring land under the old, discredited system of private landlordism. As a method of discredited system of private landlordism. tributing the land to the people, this strikes him as being practically unsatisfactory.

Our peasant knows little of the peasantry of Europe, and probably cares less. He does not know how they have progressed from serfdom to ownership, but, being human, he has in his heart the instinct which has guided them through that evolution, It may be admitted that the instinct is not at this moment strong, Through long-enforced repression the appetite for ownership has become dull. But with opportunity it revives. Unhappily, to gratify it the Englishman has to go far afield, and he goes. He does not want to leave the land, he wants to live on it, and so he goes-he is forced to go-where he can live on it, not as a servant, but as a master. Our peasant probably does not think the matter out on these lines. He is only conscious of a profound discontent, and a vague idea of 'bettering himself.' He looks for betterment in countries where the chance of becoming a landowner is not denied him.

This is the great fact on which all schemes of agricultural regeneration must be based if they are to be successful. It is quite useless for the Prime Minister to assure the peasant that tenancy is the best form of tenure, or for Lord Lincolnshire to warn him against ownership as a system which, by developing his individuality, will 'put back the hands of the clock.' Abstract theorising never yet destroyed natural instincts, and never will, and until our legislators grasp that fact and act on it, all their efforts to keep the people on the land will be in vain. Inspectors may be appointed, county councils may be 'speeded up,' political minstrels may sing the Land Song till they are hoarse, hysterical orators may hold the dukes to ransom—the tide of emigration will still flow.

How greatly in vain will be these efforts may be judged by reference to the countries mentioned in the course of this article; to which may be added Russia. Here the system of communal tenure has completely broken down, and is being rapidly replaced by individual ownership. Already in some five years half a million proprietors have been placed on the land, while millions of acres are in the hands of the Peasants' Bank, being divided up ready for distribution. But we need go no further afield than Ireland to see how tenancy, no matter how favourable to the tenant, fails to satisfy tenant, fails to satisfy. The Irish tenant under the Land Act of 1881 had advantages possessed by no other cultivator under tenant in the world. He had fixity of tenure; the free right of disposing of his tenant-right—which often fetched as much as, or more than

1912 BRITISH LANDS AND BRITISH EMIGRATION 975

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the fee-simple value of the land; his rents were periodically adjusted by a tribunal notoriously predisposed in his favour. He was practically in this position: that he stood to reap all the benefits of improved conditions while his landlord had to bear the burden of depreciation. It would not have been difficult to prove that his position was in many respects more advantageous than that of an owner. The rewards of his industry were his own, the penalties of neglect or misfortune could be shunted on to someone else. And yet he was neither prosperous nor content.

To men in such a position it might have been supposed that ownership had nothing to offer, save added responsibility and risk. But what has happened? Contracts for sale have either been completed or approved for more than half the cultivable area of Ireland, at a cost of some 115,000,000l. Since 1903 something like 6,000,000 acres have changed hands. That is really an agrarian revolution, which makes the figures on which Lord Lincolnshire prided himself appear in their true perspective as a record of ludicrous failure. As the revolution has been large and thorough, so have its results been astonishing. Swelling bank deposits, clean and tidy homesteads, well-tended farms, increased self-respect, growing contentment—these things are a constant theme of admiring discussion, except, perhaps, in the case of Mr. Dillon, who has recently deplored the growing contentment as conducive to selfishness and patriotic languor. But for the purpose of this article the effect of ownership on emigration only need be considered. During the last fifty years, while emigration from England and Scotland has trebled, emigration from Ireland has fallen off by about one-third. During the last decennial period the balance of movement outwards was: England and Wales 935,310, Scotland 292,559, Ireland 267,083. Thus the net emigration is greater from Scotland than from Ireland at the present time. So far as the rural districts are concerned, the emigration from Great Britain must be in far greater proportion, for the reason that much of the rural emigration goes to the large industrial centres in England and Scotland, as is shown by the figures of the census; while in Ireland, emigrants from the rural areas, having few large towns or industrial districts to attract, leave the island altogether. Bearing this in mind, the effect of ownership on emigration becomes very marked.

Surely the lesson is obvious. By full, unfettered ownership and the chance of ownership new countries are drawing away our people. By full ownership Germany has checked a rural exodus which excited her alarm. In full ownership Ireland is finding security, and her people are finding a bond that keeps them to the land. In Great Britain alone do we find legislation avowedly tramed to place obstacles in the way of the peasant to freehold

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tenure—a deliberate antagonism to natural instinct. And from Great Britain we see a ceaseless flow of her most essential citizens—a flow unceasing and increasing. The offices of the High Commissioners and Agents-General are besieged by applicants for passenger accommodation. The companies that run ships to Australia are harassed by calculations of how many round trips they can make, and lament the fact that it would require fifty ships to transport the living cargo to Australia, for which a dozen would suffice in the case of Canada. The manager of one great line fears that there will not be ships enough to meet the demand, even though cargo ships have been adapted for passenger traffic. It is even proposed to meet the difficulties by the Colonial Government guaranteeing a minimum traffic over a lengthy term, in order that shipowners may buy or build vessels to deal with the trade over long periods.

Such is the prospect, happy for the Colonies, cheerful for the emigrants, fraught with peril for the Motherland. Is it not high time that we took measures to avert the evil that threatens the physical superiority of our race, that will complete the destruction of the balance between the field and the workshop, that will make

us wholly dependent for our food upon the stranger?

GILBERT PARKER.

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STATE INSPECTION OF CONVENTS

A REPLY TO DR. ELIZABETH SLOAN CHESSER

In the last issue of this Review there appeared an article entitled 'Convents in England: a Plea for State Inspection,' by Mrs. Sloan Chesser. I have no desire to enter into any controversy concerning the different aspects in which conventual life can be legitimately regarded, although, being, as I am, either related to or connected with a large number of those who have deliberately and of their own free will chosen that mode of life, I should probably present a picture of it entirely different from that which apparently fills the mind of the writer of the article referred to. But I do desire, if I may, to remove some misapprehensions on her part, and to correct, if I can, certain inaccuracies of statement to which she, though obviously earnest in her contentions, has, through no fault of hers I am sure, inadvertently committed

I will follow the article as closely as I can, and it will be my endeavour to state nothing which cannot be verified by anyone who seeks for the truth; though, within the limits assigned to me, it will not be possible to deal so fully as I should wish with the many disputable points raised by Mrs. Chesser.

She begins by referring to the number of religious houses in England, and states that there has been, within the last few years, a large increase of convents in this country. quite true, and of that fact England certainly has no need to be ashamed, for, true to her traditional policy, she has afforded an asylum, as she did at the time of the French Revolution, to a good number of honest and religious people, notably from France. The welcome they have received is gratefully acknowledged, and there is an earnest desire on their part to serve, as best they may, the country which has given them shelter. They are no burden to us; they interfere with no one; they observe the laws of the land, pay their rates and taxes, and, as they must be fed and clothed, must help the trade of the country. With regard to those who came from France, if the French Government promulgated such legislation as they knew could not fail to bring about the practical suppression of the religious orders,

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it was not because they considered that their houses needed inspection. The movement in France against the religious orders was, as is well known, directed by anti-religious and socialistic It will not be pretended that it had the support of Catholics who professed and practised their religion.

In Italy, where the same forces have been in operation there has been, I believe, some legislation regarding the religious houses, but it would puzzle anyone to say what it amounts to It has apparently had little or no effect, for the religious houses do not seem to be much diminished in number, though I have heard of one religious order of men of its own accord closing some of its houses for economic reasons, much to the grief of the people in their neighbourhood. There are very few Italian nuns After a long and wide experience, I cannot in this country. remember ever having met one.

As regards Belgium, I am unable to verify Mrs. Chesser's statement that 'the only conventual establishments recognised by law are those which have for their object the care of the poor, and where each inmate retains full ownership of her property and income.' I have referred the subject to two Belgians, but they are quite unaware of the existence of that law. Anyhow, from the annual returns before me, I cannot detect any appreciable diminution in the number of religious houses throughout Belgium, whether they are connected with the cloistered or the But there can be no doubt that the Socialist active orders. section of the Belgian people has its eye on the religious houses, as was made manifest at the recent general election. make no secret as to what their political aims are, but inspection of convents is the very last thing they are likely to ask for.

But to come to the chief point of Mrs. Chesser's contention. She names the following as being in most urgent need of inspection—namely, 'convents, convent schools, orphanages and laundries.' For the sake of convenience I will deal in the first So far as the place with schools, orphanages and laundries. inspection of these is concerned, Mrs. Chesser is obviously unaware that this 'urgent necessity' has already been met by legislation. All schools and orphanages which receive what may be called children of the State, such as workhouse, reformatory, industrial, and 'special' school children, must be certified by one or other of three Government Departments—namely, the Local Government Departments—Ramon Home Office. For instance, in the Roman Catholic diocese of Westminster, comprising London north of the Thames and the countries of Middlesson T ties of Middlesex, Essex, and Herts, there are fourteen certified schools conducted by schools conducted by members of religious congregations, and these seven are continued by members of religious congregations, and these seven are continued by the seven are continued these seven are certified by two Government Departments and d

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two by all three Departments. One would imagine that sufficient two by an of this class of school had been thus provided for, but evidently our legislators have not thought so, for under Section 4 of the Poor-Law (Certified) Schools Act, 1862, a power of visiting and examining into 'the state and management' of the school and 'the condition and treatment' of the children is conferred upon Boards of Guardians who have placed children in a certified school. Nor can this section be regarded as a dead letter, for it is exercised to the full. I could name several Roman Catholic schools where as many as twenty or more Boards of Guardians do each of them, twice a year at least, make surprise visits of inspection to these schools. Surely schools that are liable to so many visits without notice may be regarded as being rather overinspected. Similarly, the reformatory, industrial, and 'special' schools are also visited and inspected by county councils and education authorities, at whose instigation children may have been sent to them. With regard to orphanages which are not certified by a Government Department, it should be borne in mind that the inspection of these has been provided for under Section 25 (1) of the Children Act, 1908, which says: 'The Secretary of State may cause any institution for the reception of poor children or young persons supported wholly or partly by voluntary contributions, and not liable to be inspected by or under the authority of any Government Department, to be visited and inspected from time to time by persons appointed by him for the purpose.' This section of the Act applies to all orphanages, whatever religious denomination they may be connected with. I have positive evidence for the belief that the Roman Catholic body would have been pleased if all such institutions had been placed under a Government Department to be inspected by His Majesty's inspectors in the same way as are the certified schools, but Mr. Herbert Samuel, who had charge of the Bill, could not, it was understood, entertain the idea on account of the enormous cost which such a system of inspection would have involved.

I will now deal with the subject of convent laundries and workshops. It should be observed that the Factory and Workshop Act, 1907, relates to all such institutions, to whatever religious body they may belong, and the effect of that Act has been to bring all such institutions within the scope of all the factory and workshop legislation up to 1907. Towards the end of her article Mrs. Chesser says that 'the only inspection of convents at present existing relates to convent laundries, and as convent laundry save in the presence of the Superior or priest, it is an inspection not worthy of the name.' It is quite clear

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that Mrs. Chesser is here referring to the Factory and Workshop Act, 1907, Section 5 (2) (d), which says: 'In the case of premises forming part of an institution carried on for reformatory purposes, if the managers of the institution so give notice to the chief inspector of factories, an inspector shall not, without the consent of the managers or of the person having charge of the institution under the managers, examine an inmate of the institution save in the presence of one of the managers or of such person as aforesaid.' It will be observed that there is no mention here of 'convent,' 'superior,' or 'priest,' and I am able to state, without fear of contradiction, that the request made for this concession was from non-Catholic sources. Further, I am in a position to state that no managers of a Roman Catholic convent laundry have availed themselves of this concession, nor are they likely ever to do so.

The conclusion, then, at which I arrive regarding inspection of 'convent schools, orphanages, and laundries' is this, that the State does inspect Roman Catholic certified schools as rigorously as it does any others: that provision has been made whereby all Roman Catholic voluntary homes and orphanages, in common with those of other denominations, have been placed by statute under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of State, and may at any time be inspected under his authority: and that all Roman Catholic laundries and workshops are under the same inspection as are commercial laundries, and subject to the same regulations of the Factory Acts, with a few unimportant concessions made on

account of their different circumstances.

Mrs. Chesser refers to an inquiry made so far back as 1902 at a Roman Catholic school certified by the Local Government Board, when an apparently sad state of things was discovered. I have no knowledge of the case myself, but it would seem that the management was inefficient, and the Local Government Board's inspectors were rather late in detecting the consequent defects in the school. This sort of thing will happen from time to time, and any school, whether Roman Catholic or not, is bound to suffer from an inefficient staff; but I think it pertinent to observe that the ophthalmic disease, usually called conjunctivitis, which would seem to be the disease from which most of the children were suffering, is very prevalent among Poor-Law children who have been all large dren who have been drawn chiefly from districts near the large ports. At the present moment the Metropolitan Asylums Boards ophthalmic schools are filled almost to overflowing, but not will Roman Catholic ability Roman Catholic children, who are provided for elsewhere. Poor-Law school is liable to an outbreak of trachoma or conjunctivitis, neither of tivitis, neither of which diseases is due to 'eye-destroying tasks.

Much is soil to an outbreak of trachoma or control tasks. is said by Mrs. Chesser regarding competition iv.

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between work done in convents and that done by companies and private persons who pay rates and taxes, as if convents were exempt from such payments. But why does she single out convents? Is she unaware that there is a vast number of non-Catholic charitable institutions throughout the country in which similar work is done? I will make but one or two observations on the subject of competition, and will take the laundries as a typical industry. When it is alleged that this competition is injurious to others, it is presumed that the prices charged at convent laundries—with which, in common fairness, all charitable laundries must be joined—are lower than those at the average commercial laundry. This can be easily tested by obtaining price lists from both classes of laundries. My own experience is that, on the whole, the prices at convent laundries are somewhat higher than at commercial ones. The women in these charitable laundries have a right to live and a right to work, and, if they get no wages, they are well lodged, clothed, fed, and medically attended to during the usually short period of their residence. They cannot be overworked because of the Factory Acts. But is it a fact that the majority of laundry hands in commercial laundries get much more than a living wage? If I can rely on the evidence before me, such is not the case, and, if this is so, where does the grievance regarding competition come in? there is competition there is no unfairness about it. Then it is said that the convent laundries may be worked at a profit. there is a profit, what becomes of it? Surely the nuns do not require it for themselves. If, then, there is a profit, it can only e used in one way, namely, in works of charity, which an ctive religious order is bound by the rule or law of its existence to carry out.

TT

I now come to the subject of convents themselves. As Mrs. Chesser has correctly stated, these may be divided into two classes—namely, the cloistered and the active orders. Council of Trent began its sessions in 1545, but since that date there has been a large amount of legislation by the Holy See affecting religious orders. Two Tridentine Decrees are partly Anoted by Mrs. Chesser, of which the first is as follows: 'Let no nun come out of her monastery under any pretext whatever, not even for a moment.' It is hardly fair that the quotation was not continued. The following is, I believe, an accurate translation of the Decree of Chapter V. of Session XXV.: 'But for no nun, after her profession, shall it be lawful to go out of her convent. convent, even for a brief period, under any pretext whatever, except for some lawful cause, which is to be approved of by the bishop, bishop. Thus completed, a somewhat different impression is Vol. LXXII-No. 429

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conveyed. The second quotation, which is from Chapter XIX.

It is impossible in the space allotted to me to deal seriation with all the inaccurate statements made in Mrs. Chesser's article. I will, therefore, confine my observations to a few points only, but first I should like to state my own personal experience, I have a near relative in a cloistered order, and so far from 'all human love' being given up by her, our affection for one another has not diminished, but has rather been strengthened. She is at liberty to receive visits from any relatives or friends without any third person being present. I often go to see her, she writes whenever she pleases, and we frequently converse over the telephone. I always regard her as the brightest and happiest member of my family. There are no traces of 'scourgings, disciplines, or insufficient diet.' I know many nuns, and I cannot recall one whom you could truthfully describe as 'neurotic and highly strung.' Such a temperament would be, in itself, a sufficient disqualification for taking vows.

As already mentioned, there has been much legislation by the Holy See since the Council of Trent, but, speaking generally on the subject of vows, this is the usual practice at the present time. Vows may be taken for one year, for two years, or any other period of years, or for life: these last are called 'final vows.' The practice varies, of course, in different religious The members of one of the largest, if not the largest, orders. of the active orders take the vows for one year at a time; but the more general practice is to take them for a period of years, to be renewed of their own free will for another fixed period. At the end of any of these fixed periods final vows may be taken According to Chapter XV. of Session XXV. of the Council of Trent, 'in no religious order whatever shall the profession, whether of men or women, be made before the age of sixteen years is completed '—that is, before the attainment of the seventeenth year. It should be borne in mind that, in the sixteenth century, womanhood was regarded as beginning much earlier than it does with us in the present day. Moreover, when the Church legislates it is for the whole world, and there are countries where womanhood does in fact begin at a much earlier age that it does in a northern country like ours. This decree, therefore, covers all cases, but in this country the ordinary custom is for girls to be considerably older than seventeen years of age before they would be admitted in this country the ordinary custom girls to be considerably older than seventeen years of age before they would be admitted in this country the ordinary custom girls to be considerably older than seventeen years of age before they would be admitted in this country the ordinary custom girls to be considerably older than seventeen years of age before they would be admitted in this country. they would be admitted into a convent, even as novices, and it is rarely, if ever, that a profession is made before the age of twenty-one.

To state that by the vow of obedience a nun 'yields will conscience, freedom of action, and even thought, to the head of

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her Order,' in no degree whatever represents what is implied by this vow, which simply means obedience to all lawful commands.

As to the property of one who wishes to be a nun, by the latest decree of the Holy See on the subject every would-be nun is bound to make her will before her profession, and she can

dispose of her property in any way that she thinks fit.

It may not be generally known that convents are under a system of strict inspection by the Ordinary of the diocese or his delegates. In fact, either the Ordinary or his delegate is bound to interview every nun privately and without the presence of a third party once a year, and she can, at this interview, make any complaint or any statement which she may think desirable, without any fear whatever that her confidence will be abused.

Mrs. Chesser alludes to what is undoubtedly a fact-namely. that the death rate from phthisis and other pulmonary affections' has been high in convents. It is not surprising that nuns shared the ignorance of the cause and nature of tubercular disease with the rest of the world. It is only within recent years that the remedy, more or less effectual, for consumption has been discovered. In spite of the statement in the Daily Chronicle of the 12th of December 1906 to the effect that the Pope had decreed the abolition of the conventual law of strict enclosure, I am obliged to say that the Pope has never issued any such decree. This is only one more instance of an invented decree by the Pope in the public Press. Nor is such a decree in the least degree necessary, for the history of the religious orders is not a record of ignorance or want of common sense. They are quite able and ready to take advantage of all new and useful knowledge, and they are quite up to date in dealing with tubercular disease. Besides, every convent has its medical man, who in this country, in perhaps nine cases out of ten, is a non-Catholic. also be cases of insanity, a disease which is not unknown outside convents, and the medical officer is responsible for seeing that every such case is dealt with in accordance with the law of the land. So again, when a nun dies, all the formalities required by law must be complied with. What does Mrs. Chesser mean when she says that 'nuns can be buried in secret without any interlerence from the State '? As a matter of fact, the great majority of nuns, in this country, are buried in the public cemeteries. It is hard for me to refrain from expressing what I felt when I read such a statement as the following—namely, that 'there can be no doubt that the existence of private burial grounds belonging to such institutions presents facilities for concealment of crime which should not be allowed by the State.'

Before bringing this article to a close, I would say just one 3 R 2

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word on the subject of so-called 'escaped' nuns, of whom there word on the subject of so cannot whom there are very few instances. If a nun wishes to withdraw from an Order, there is a simple method by which her desire can be effected, and in almost all such cases recourse is had to this method. But occasionally it so happens that a nun chooses to leave in a more or less sensational way. Such things as these will happen—indeed, they happen everywhere; it must needs be so—lapses from faith, lapses from high ideals—but, to the healthy in faith and morals such things cause sadness but not surprise Mrs. Chesser's description of the attitude of the Church towards all such cases is the very opposite to the truth.

In conclusion, if the inspection of convents, as urged by Mrs. Chesser, means that adult women, sound in mind and body. honest of purpose, having a high ideal, are not to be allowed to choose a mode of life which is neither seditious nor injurious to others, without interference from the State, this would be a blow to personal freedom which it is inconceivable that English. men would ever sanction. No suggestion has been made that men who enter the monastic life should be similarly interfered with, and I feel convinced that all true sound-hearted women would resent any differential treatment as between themselves and men in regard to their personal liberty.

FRANCIS BENJAMIN KINDERSLEY.

Archbishop's House, Westminster.

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THE ENDOWMENTS OF THE ANCIENT BRITISH CHURCH IN WALES

It seems incredibly mean and unpatriotic for any Welshman be he Nonconformist, or Agnostic, or of any other creed, or of no creed-to intrigue with English Radicals and Irish Nationalists for the humiliation of his own ancient national Church. The Disestablishers talk glibly of 'privilege,' and of the 'freedom' of the nonconforming Churches. But for all practical purposes—save only for the glorious triumph of the unbeliever, in the withdrawal of national recognition of religion in Wales—we all know that 'Disestablishment' (apart from Disendowment) means very little more than the ousting of the Welsh Bishops from Parliament. That ousting, if carried out as part of a great national reform of the Second Chamber—such as that to which Mr. Asquith 'pledged his honour'-need offend no one. But when carried out merely from motives of social or sectarian jealousy, by Welshmen to injure other typical Welshmen more eminent than themselves, it is simply despicable.

Happily for the good name of Wales and the Welsh people, the phenomenal array of petitions against the Bill signed by Welsh men and Welsh women, and the extraordinary enthusiasm of the vast gatherings of Welshmen in Hyde Park and at the Royal Albert Hall and elsewhere, under banners testifying to their love for their Hen Fam—their 'Old Mother,' the Church—are pretty clear evidence that the majority of the Welsh people are heartily ashamed of this squalid envy and jealousy. The people of Cornwall and Devon are practically identical with those of Wales, alike in race and origin, in religion, and in local clannishness; and we all know what the people of Cornwall said to King James the Second, when, like Mr. Redmond to-day, he threatened a Celtic Bishop—Mr. Hawker put it into a fine ballad-verse:

And shall they scorn Tre, Pol, and Pen?
And shall Trelawny die?
Then twenty thousand Cornishmen
Will know the reason why!

There was a time, so the legends tell us, when the Cornish Bishops of St. Germans—who subsequently became successively

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Bishops of Crediton, Bishops of Exeter, and now Bishops of Chester and Coventry suffrage of Chester and Chester an Truro—were, like those of Chester and Coventry, suffragans of Truro—were, file those of the Bishops of St. Davids. Nonconformity and Radicalism have always been as powerful in Cornwall as in Wales. But the Cornishmen, though many of them Radicals, are not mean Radicals—nor would the Welsh be, if they were not misled (some of them) by mean leaders.

But if mean jealousy be the badge of the Welsh Disestal. lishers, what can be said of those Welsh Radical members who advocate Disendowment?—which will take away the all-too. scanty funds that provide for the preaching of the Gospel to the poor of Wales, in order to hand them over to the County Councils and the University Colleges, to pay for museums and libraries and University education and other luxuries of the Welsh middle classes. Some of these gentlemen are presumably rich. Probably most are well-to-do-and at any rate they all have the 400l. a year apiece given them by a stroke of the lavish pen that now signs the cheques of the British taxpayers. In every other part of the United Kingdom -and certainly in the Celtic districts of Cornwall and Devon in which I live-the middle classes not only pay for these luxuries out of their own pockets, but they also gladly share them, so far as possible, with their poorer neighbours. They would scorn to rob those poorer neighbours to provide luxuries for themselves.

To do him justice, Mr. Lloyd George himself seems to be conscious of this meanness, and not to be very proud of it. For in his preface to an official defence of the Welsh Bill, he

If it [Disendowment] refers to endowments given to the present Church as a separate spiritual organisation, and not as a national institution, and given without any Legislative Act, then I admit that such a measure of Disendowment would be unfair and unjust to the Anglican Church in Wales.

And even Mr. McKenna, in his speech on the second reading of the Bill, said:

I admit to the full the force of the objection that private benefactions to a particular Church ought not to be touched. I agree that they should be held as second in the be held as sacred in the case of the Church of England as they would be held in the case of any M held in the case of any Nonconformist body. I agree also that antiquity would neither increase nor diminish the sacredness of the trust.

These pledges, publicly recorded by the two Ministers chieffy responsible for the Di responsible for the Disendowment Bill, greatly increase importance of the birt importance of the historical aspect of the question. I assume of course that there are a single of the single of t of course, that these pledges are given by honourable men in plain sense of the week and the sense of the sen plain sense of the words here quoted, with no pettifogging loop

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holes. I assume that they will be honourably fulfilled. And I proceed to show that, on that assumption, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. McKenna must be bound to withdraw from the purview of their Bill all, or nearly all, of the ancient endowments of the Welsh Church—certainly the Welsh tithe and the Welsh glebe.

THE ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES ON THE WELSH TITHE

Incomparably the first, the earliest, and the most trustworthy of the original authorities on the early history of the Welsh Church is the one that was first quoted by Mr. McKenna when introducing his Bill-Giraldus Cambrensis. I shall notice the other original authorities presently. But of Giraldus alone can it be said that he was himself a great Welsh historical personage, intimately acquainted with all the current events and with all the traditions of the past of which he tells us, of great erudition, and familiar with the writings of Gildas and Beda and all those who had preceded him, as well as with the ancient Celtic laws and institutes and the Canon law of the Churchand, above all, that his voluminous writings have come down to us in a very different condition from that of every other Welsh historical or quasi-historical document, practically unmutilated and untouched, and with ample internal evidence of their trustworthy character. He was a grandson of the famous Nesta, and great-grandson of the great Rhys-ab-Tewdwr-who was not a mere tribal chieftain, a brenin or sub-regulus like a Norman Dominus manerii, but the overlord of South Wales, the lineal descendant of Rhodri Mawr, whose return from Ireland was hailed by the Welsh as the restoration of the old royal line. And throughout his life Giraldus was on friendly terms with his royal Welsh relatives, Rhys-ab-Gruffydd (who is mentioned in the Demetian Code as the Prince who had amended the Laws of Howel Dda, and who was the grandson of Prince Rhys-ab-Tewdwr), and the other Welsh princes, who were still practically independent of the English Crown, as their successors remained until a hundred years later.

Giraldus was also the nephew of David, Bishop of St. Davids, from whom he received his early education. From St. Davids he went as a student to the University of Paris, where he subsequently became a Professor of Canon Law. returned to St. Davids, and was soon appointed Archdeacon of Brecon; and from that date the story of his active and eventful life is a story of his works. life is vividly described for us in the eight volumes of his works, written in the light Letin that have written in simple and often humorous monkish Latin, that have been admirably edited for the Rolls series by the late Professor

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Brewer and Mr. Dimock. In the pursuit of his lifelong ambition to become the Bishop of St. Davids, and to induce the Pope to restore that see to its ancient status as the Metropolitan See of the West, Giraldus made four journeys to Rome—and he tells us all about his delightful interviews with the great Pope Innocent the Third. On different occasions he attended King Henry the Second and Richard Cour de Lion in their visits to Normandy, and Prince John (afterwards King John) in his Irish progress. He acted as the cicerone of Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury, when the latter preached the Crusade throughout the four dioceses of Wales and celebrated High Mass in each of the four cathedrals. And on one occasion Giraldus preached before Prince Rhys and the Archbishop in Latin and French, and moved the vast congregation of Welshmen to tears, so that two hundred of the retainers of Prince Rhys then and there volunteered for the crusade, a fact almost as miraculous (so Giraldus notes) as St. Bernard converting the Germans by preaching to them in French.

In the course of his various narratives and treatises, Giraldus gives us a closer insight into the history and customs of the early Welsh-and especially of the early Welsh Church-than all the other original sources of information put together. Professor Brewer speaks of the vast debt which Wales owes to the memory of this great Welshman, 'from whom alone more complete information may be derived as to its true condition, than from all others who have treated of its history and antiqui-Full use has been made of this information by such writers as Sir John Rhys and Sir D. Brynmor Jones in their scholarly work on The Welsh People—they speak of Giraldus as their 'principal authority,' with the Laws of Howel Dda, for the characteristics of the medieval Cymry. A similar value is attached to Giraldus by Seebohm in his classical exposition of The Tribal System in Wales and in the Welsh chapters of his English Village Community—by Stubbs, by Freeman, by Round, and in fact by every recent writer of repute on the early history of Britain. Only Mr. McKenna prefers to go elsewhere for

More than forty years ago it was my privilege—after taking my degree Oxford and before proceeding to the proceeding to t at Oxford and before proceeding to India—to be intimately associated for nearly two years with Professor Processor Processor Professor P two years with Professor Brewer as one of his assistant editors in the Public Record Office while he was editional to be intimately associated for the Record Office while he was editional to be intimately associated for the Record Office while he was editional to be intimately associated for the Public Record Office while he was editional to be intimately associated for the Public Record Office while he was editional to be intimately associated for the Public Record Office while he was editional to be intimately associated for the Public Record Office while he was editional to be intimately associated for the Public Record Office while he was editional to be intimately associated for the Public Record Office while he was editional to be intimately associated for the Public Record Office while he was editional to be intimately associated for the Public Record Office while he was editional to be intimately associated for the Public Record Office while he was editional to be intimately as the public Record Office while he was editional to be intimated for the public Record Office while he was editional to be intimated for the public Record Office while he was editional to be intimated for the public Record Office while he was editional to be intimated for the public Record Office while he was editional to be intimated for the public Record Office while the public Record Office while the public Record Office while the public Record Office Record Office while the public Record Office Record Off Record Office while he was editing the works of Giraldus for the Master of the Rolls. And when subsequently the works of Giraldus for the Master up my Rolls. And when subsequently I left the Public Record Office to take up my appointment as Professor of Hard appointment as Professor of History and Political Economy in the University of Calcutta, I received from the then Master of the Rolls, Lord Romilly, and blearned Deputy, Sir Thomas Duffer II. learned Deputy, Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, an official grant of all the published Chronicles and Calendars of State D Chronicles and Calendars of State Papers, in recognition of my work there.

So I may fairly claim to have been a local to recognition of my work there. So I may fairly claim to have had a longer and more intimate acquaintance will Giraldus than most men

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support of his travesty of history—to ill-informed compilers of support of his person the bigotry of extreme partisanship.

Giraldus, in his Descriptio Kambriae, states distinctly that tithe in Wales originated in the teaching of St. Germanus and St. Lupus in their Welsh mission of 429 A.D.; and he adds that the Welsh had preserved the lessons (documenta) of that mission usque in hodiernum diem. He says it originally took the form of a tithe on all personal property (omnium rerum quas possident, animalium, pecorum, et pecudum), levied on certain stated occasions—like the heriot and similar 'customary' dues of the Norman manor, as distinguished from the annual chief-rent or 'rent of assize.' He adds: 'But this giving of a portion of all their goods they call a Great Tithe ' (Decimam magnam); and he explains that two-thirds of the great tithe were payable to 'one's baptismal church,' and one-third to 'the Bishop of the diocese' (episcopo diocesano).

In the Itinerarium Kambriae 3 Giraldus tells us that when he and Archbishop Baldwin were preaching the Crusade at Abertawy (Swansca), a very old man named Cador was so moved with the desire to make the pilgrimage that, as his age made this impossible, he offered to the Archbishop in lieu thereof cum largo lacrimarum fonte, as usual—the tithe of all that he possessed, as being due on making a pilgrimage.

In his De Jure Ecclesiae Menevensis 4 Giraldus shows that the institution of tithe had not only endured usque in hodiernum diem, but also that it had greatly developed, and become in fact universal throughout the whole of Wales. For in one of his many interviews with Pope Innocent the Third at Rome, when trying to convince the pontiff of the advisability of making him Bishop of St. Davids, and of restoring that see to its ancient Metropolitan status, he promised that, if these boons were conceded, Rome should receive annually not only a Peter's penny from every house in Wales, amounting to two hundred marks, but also the great tithe—and he significantly added that the gross proceeds of that tithe throughout the whole of Wales at that time amounted to a sum of more than three thousand marks! he, 'this For, said

Giraldus Cambrensis, Rolls Edition, vol. vi. pp. 202, 203. 1 Ibid. vol. vi. p. 73.

When Giraldus was pressing this request, and pointing out to the Pope at twenty 6... 4 Ibid. vol. iii. p. 175. that twenty-five Archbishops of St. Davids in succession had received the pollium from D. Politum from Rome, the Pope in a playful manner (subridens) put to him several Posing question. posing questions. For instance, he asked him how many years had elapsed since the last time that St. Davids had received the pall, and when Giraldus replied that the last time that St. Davids had received the pall, and when Giraldus replied that time that St. Davids had received the pair, and sampson, who about the last occasion had been on the consecration of St. Sampson, who about the year 561 had carried away the pall with him to Dol in Brittany, the pope quickly rain. Pope quickly rejoined: 'Tuti sunt ergo longa prescriptione Cantuarienses.'

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they call great tithe, when they give tithe, not only of all their flocks and herds and horses, but also of the whole of their move. able property (omnem substantiam suam mobilem).

Elsewhere—in the De Invectionibus 6—Giraldus confirms this account of the great tithe with some interesting variations. In letter to the Bishops of Ely and Worcester, he suggested that it would be greatly to the honour and glory of the see of Canterbury if St. Davids were made an Archbishopric, as York had been since the days of Paulinus, and as Lichfield had been in the time of King Offa 8—for it was more honourable for a Primate to have an Archbishop subject to him than to have merely 'simple bishops' as his suffragans. And then, in another letter, he narrates the offer made to the Pope, of the Welsh Peter's pence and the great tithe. He points out that the actual gain (emoly. mentum) which the Pope would obtain from the tithe would be 'more than one thousand marks' per annum-and this agrees with his former account, in which he had said that the total amount of the great tithe was three thousand marks a year, for of this total sum, two-thirds (as we have seen) was payable to the baptismal church, leaving only one-third (or one thousand marks) for the Bishop to spend as he liked. This, however, was an immense sum for that age-and clearly indicates the firm and universal establishment of the tithe system.

Now, in all these accounts of the great tithe in Wales even Mr. Lloyd George will admit that there is not one word of any gift to 'a national institution,' not one word of the gift being by a 'Legislative Act.' Even Mr. McKenna will admit that there is not even the vestige of any reference to tithe being 'charged with national responsibilities'-he was thinking of the Capitularies of Carolus Magnus and the Leges Barbarorum of Continental Europe, of which Stubbs and Freeman, and every other historian of repute, assert that they never applied to these islands, except in the dreams of ancient monks and modern Radical politicians out for plunder. The Pope of Rome was hardly, for Wales, a 'national institution'!—and payments to him could hardly be said to be in discharge of 'a national obligation'! The preaching of St. Germanus, the hero of the legendary 'Alleluia Victory,' the General Booth of the Britons,

was hardly a 'Legislative Act'!

The case is even stronger when we come to consider the small tithe—now called the parochial tithe, divided into rectorial and vicarial tithes—which vicarial tithes—which, founded on the same teaching, gradually

Giraldus Cambrensis, Rolls Edition, vol. iii. pp. 53, 54, 55.

⁸ William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum, Rolls Edition, pp. 15, 16.

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grew up side by side with the great tithe, as the idea of the grew up was gradually evolved out of the ancient local divisions of the Welsh tribal system.

Whatever may be the value of the references to tithe in the Laws of Howel Dda in the tenth century, of which I shall speak presently, there is absolutely no doubt whatever that Graldus conclusively proves that the customary payment (consuctudo) of the small tithe had been fully established in Wales, in the customs and the social life of the Welsh people, long before his time—even before the time of his uncle the Bishop of St. Davids—and therefore long before there could be any suspicion of that Norman influence that was hardly efficient in Wales till more than a hundred years later. He proves, indeed, that the custom was strongly held by the Welsh to have a high religious sanction—and that it was obstinately adhered to and insisted on by them, even in opposition to Norman influence.

For he tells us, in the De Rebus a se gestis, that on his return to St. Davids from Paris in 1172 he found that there had grown up, in the Demetic and Keretic districts of that diocese. a certain laxity in the collection of the tithes of wool and cheese, a laxity which, he expressly declares, was entirely due to the carelessness of the Bishops of St. Davids—ex praelatorum incuria. The fact of laxity having grown up obviously presupposes an earlier period of better administration. The carelessness was not alleged of his uncle David, the then Bishop-it was on the part of his predecessors in the see-and this at once brings us back to a period before the twelfth century, when the influence of the English kings was practically negligible, and when it is simply ridiculous to suppose that they could have forcibly imposed a customary payment on the Welsh people.

Again, in the Gemma Ecclesiastica,10 there is a remarkable reference to decimae minutae (vicarial tithes) and decimae exteriores (rectorial tithes), which in itself is sufficient to show that the system of tithes had already been carried to its fullest development. And the same reference also proves (1) that the tithe in Wales was only applied to the needs of the clergy qui ecclesias possident—i.e. rectors and vicars, and (2) that the Frankish customs of 'national obligations' spoken of by Mr. McKenna did not apply to Wales. Giraldus is discussing the question, then a very thorny one in Wales, of the marriage or concubinage of the clergy. At page 187 he declares his own opinion that the prohibition of clerical marriages had been 'the Breadest evil the devil had done to the Church'—and in the preceding chapter he suggests a remedy or palliative—that

10 Ibid. vol. ii. pp. xliv. and 186.

Giraldus Cambrensis, Rolls Edition, vol. i. p. 25.

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rectors who are in minor orders should be allowed to many provided that they give up the services of their churches to honest and discreet vicars, vicarios honestos et discretos, to whom should be assigned 'modestly sufficient stipends from the altar gifts and vicarial tithes,' minutis decimis, while 'the rectors themselves retain the rectorial tithes,' exteriores decimas. And Giraldus adds that 'we see in the Kingdom of the Franks that knights, with the connivance or dispensation of the Roman Church, sometimes hold the exteriores decimas.' This passage from the Gemma is alone sufficient to prove the absurdity of Mr. McKenna's mistaken views—for here we see the parochial tithe not only in full force in Wales, a hundred years before the Norman Conquest of that country, but actually so fully developed that the difference between minutae decimae and exteriores decimae is fully understood and recognised.

This most important point is even more strikingly illustrated by the account given by Giraldus in the De Rebus a se gestis." of his first visitation as Archdeacon of Brecon-which, curiously enough, was to the parish church of Hay in Brecknockshire. rendered famous by the fact that the charter under which it was endowed with glebe (fifteen acres and two measures of land) by William Revel, the lord of Hay, and also with the tithe both of the demesne and of the tenants of Hay, at its consecration between 1115 and 1135, is still extant, and was quoted by the late Lord Selborne in his Facts and Fictions Concerning Churches and Tithes, Appendix H. Giraldus tells us that at Hay he found 'a certain knight, the brother of the parson (personae), halfing with the parson the decimas exteriores et obventiones omnes'; and he declares that it was only with much difficulty, and by punishing and excommunicating the knight, that he put a stop to 'that enormity.' And he shrewdy adds that 'the ecclesia being in this way restored whole to the parson, he (Giraldus) put the knight completely out of it.' Here we see that the church was absolutely identified with the tithe and other emoluments attached to its holding—and the abstraction the abstraction the abstraction that the abstraction the abstraction that the abstraction t tion thereof for secular purposes was regarded as an 'enormity'

That the Welsh people before the Norman Conquest held these views, and regarded the withholding of tithe as accursed and contemptible, is shown by Giraldus in many passages. his Topographia Hibernica, 12 written after his peregrination of Ireland with Driver and the peregrination of the Ireland with Prince John, he speaks of the Irish as 'the meanest race (gens spurcissima), the race most wrapped up in their vices, the race of the vices, the race of all races in the world most ignorant of the rudiments of the faith. rudiments of the faith, for even yet they do not pay their titles

¹¹ Giraldus Cambrensis, Rolls Edition, vol. i. p. 30.

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and first-fruits, they do not contract marriage, they do not avoid incest, they do not frequent the Church of God with due reverence. And this strong condemnation of the Irish for not paying their tithe is repeated with more elaboration in his De Rebus a se gestis. 13

But perhaps the most striking and conclusive evidence of the strong religious feeling of the mediaeval Welsh people as to the sacred obligation of paying the tithe, and of securing it from diversion by ungodly men to secular purposes, is afforded by the account which Giraldus gives at great length of the results of his own preaching as Archdeacon of Brecon. Even when a student at Paris he had been filled by zeal to insist on the more universal and punctual payment of the tithe in Demetia 14 (Pembroke and West Carmarthen), where a large number of Flemings had been settled as colonists by Henry the First in order to be a check on the Welshmen. These Flemings, relying on the influence and friendship of the English King, throughout the cantreds of Ros, Dugledu, Angulo, and Talachar, had refused to pay their tithe of wool, although they possessed the finest and largest flocks of sheep (ovibus longe prae ceteris abundabant). Owing to the exhortations of Giraldus, his relatives, who owned much land in those parts-his own church was in Angulo-had paid up considerable arrears of their tithes of wool and milling (lanis et molendinis); whereon had arisen a great uproar in those districts-et Flandrensium in Giraldum exacerbatio. his return to St. Davids, Giraldus soon found that all his Welsh fellow-countrymen entirely fell in with his exhortations—they all not only paid their own tithes willingly (cuncti patriae totius praeter Flandrenses de Ros et complices suos), but were also determined that the Flemings should be compelled to do so So, not long after, the whole Welsh population rose in arms, raided the cantred of Ros, and drove off all the woolbearing sheep and other booty of those men who 'refused to give their tithe of wool to God and his Church.' 15

Mr. McKenna, in his speech on the second reading of his Bill, had the effrontery to declare that: 'It must pass beyond dispute that tithe (in Wales) has no origin as a private benefaction, that it is the creature of law and Parliament.' And yet here we have a popular uprising of all the Welshmen in the diocese of St. Davids to enforce the payment of tithe on the creatures of the English King, many years before the signing of the Great Charter, and nearly a century before the assembling of the first regular English Parliament! The writer from whom

¹³ Giraldus Cambrensis, Rolls Edition, vol. i. p. 68.
14 Ibid. vol. i. p. 28.
15 Ibid. vol. i. pp. 24 to 28.

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Pp. 18

Mr. McKenna is understood to derive his inspiration once to Parliament' in the reign of Ethelwulf! But Mr. McKeng goes one better than his mentor, when he talks about the Welsh goes one better than his tithe being the 'creature of Parliament,' a hundred years before the existence of Parliament!

Commenting on this armed insurrection of the Welsh pop. lace to enforce the payment of tithe in the twelfth century Giraldus remarks that it reminded him of the dictum of & Augustine when inveighing against the robbers of tithe and other ecclesiastical dues—Hoc aufert fiscus, Quod non accipit Christia —which Giraldus interprets to mean, 'You will have to gire to an impious myrmidon of the Government what you refuse to give to the priest.' And so now, in these later days, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (fiscus) robs the poor of the Welsh parishes, to give to the County Councils and the Welsh middle classes.

And Giraldus goes on to tell us that at the very time of that insurrection a miracle was wrought in Pembroke to prove the Divine origin of tithe. One Roger Bechet of Kaeren. at the time of sheep-shearing, owed a creditor of his in Pembroke ten stone of wool-his whole shearing only amounted to exactly ten stone-so he sent one stone to his baptismal church of Kaereu, and nine stone to his creditor, promising the latter that he would soon send him the balance of one stone to settle his account—when lo and behold! as in the case of Elijah and the widow's cruse (instar Elysaei olei), the devout tithepayer's nine stone of wool, though weighed iterum et iterum by the creditor, turned out to be semper decem lapides integros!

The remarks of Giraldus on this marvel contain two lessons that might well be taken to heart by Mr. McKenna and Mr. He says: Lloyd George and their friends.

It is wonderful (mirum) how some people, possessed by that nefarious desire for forbidden fruit which they have inherited from our first parents (sicut primi parentes fructum arboris) strive to wrongfully appropriate, their their own perpetual damnation, that tithe of the Lord which has been reserved as a recognition of reserved as a recognition of the Divine power and for the sustentation of His ministers.

In these words, the first point to be remembered by our robbers of henroosts is that the same curse, or one similar to it is invoked on plunderers of Church property in every one of the the numerous early charters that have been preserved walks endowments of parish churches, both in Cornwall and in Wales And the second point is this—that here, as elsewhere in Walls as in England the as in England, the tithe is expressly declared to be, not any general national and any general national and the second point is this—that here, as elsewhere in the second point is this—that here, as elsewhere in the second point is this—that here, as elsewhere in the second point is this—that here, as elsewhere in the second point is this—that here, as elsewhere in the second point is this—that here, as elsewhere in the second point is this—that here, as elsewhere in the second point is this—that here, as elsewhere in the second point is this—that here, as elsewhere in the second point is this—that here, as elsewhere in the second point is the second point in the second point is the second point in the second point in the second point is the second point in the second point in the second point is the second point in the second point i any general national or eleemosynary purposes, as falsely sugar

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gested by the advocates of Disendowment, but simply, as stated gested by the distribution ministrorum Dei. This last point was bere in sustentationem ministrorum Dei. This last point was here in sustained with equal definiteness in the Gemma Ecclesiastica, vol. ii. page 186, where it is said that the altar-gifts and the yol. II. Passage to be stipendia modeste sufficientia for the vicars of Welsh churches—there is no word anywhere of any national or eleemosynary obligation.

With all this weight of absolutely unimpeachable testimony from the one great original authority on the origin, history, and nature of the Welsh tithe, it seems unnecessary to call for much further witness from lesser authorities.

One of the most truculent of Mr. McKenna's supporters argues that there was no ancient tithe in Wales because it is not mentioned in the Black Book of St. Davids of 1326though he knows perfectly well that that document was simply an Extent or Terrier of the lands of the then Bishop of St. Davids, and it is difficult to imagine by what miracle any reference to a fluctuating payment of a customary and quasivoluntary nature could possibly find its way into such a record! Moreover, even the most ill-informed Disestablisher must know that, as a matter of fact-whatever may be his own opinion about the date of origin—the general existence of tithe in Wales at such a late date as 1326 has never been questioned even by the wildest visionary. Perhaps this wiseacre would expect to and a mention of tithe in the Bruts or the Triads!

The case is somewhat different with regard to the 'Laws of Howel Dda,' 16 said to have been codified in the tenth century, and coming down to us in numerous MSS., all later than the time of Giraldus-for though a consuetudo of a fluctuating and quasi-voluntary nature could not find a place in a code of laws until it had been actually embodied in a legislative enactment of some sort, still we might expect to find some reference to it. And, as a matter of fact, we do find exactly such relerences as we should expect in such circumstances. And though all the MSS. are of a late date, and some are doubtless corrupt, this is unhappily the case with all early Welsh documents except the works of Giraldus—and Mr. Seebohm has clearly demonstrated (and in this Sir John Rhys and Sir D. Brynmor Jones agree with him) that these flaws do not seriously impair the Value of the information given by references of this kind. 17 The MS. of the Demetian Code, for instance, dates from the thir-

Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, Rolls Series, edited by A. Owen Received Laws and Institutes of Wales, Rolls Series, edited by A. One Seebohm's English Village Community, p. 118. See also Seebohm's Tribal in Wales, Rolls See also Seebohm's Property Jones' Welsh People, System in Wales, passim; and Rhys and Brynmor Jones' Welsh People, Pp. 181-260 and 645-648.

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teenth century, and contains amendments stated to have been the contains ab-Gruffydd of Demetia, the made by Lord Rhys-ab-Gruffydd of Demetia, the cousin of Giraldus to whom I have already referred more than once by the fact does not render that code less valuable for historical

purposes.

Of the three codes that come under the name of Howel the Good—the Venedotian of North Wales, the Demetian of South Wales, and the Gwentian for Monmouthshire—the Venedotian is the one that contains most details about the Welsh of the tenth century. In it we find a provision that 'The priest of the house.' hold is to have his land free, and to have a third of the king's tithe, and to have the tithe of the household.' 18 It is not stated to whom would be paid the other two-thirds of the king's tithe -probably it would be one-third to his baptismal church, and one-third to his Bishop. And elsewhere in the same code" it is provided that 'The priest of the Queen is to have his land free, his horse in attendance, and his linen and woollen from the King and Queen. He is to have a third of the Queen's tithe, and of what may pertain to the chamber.'

The laws of Howel Dda also made provision for the settlement of disputes regarding tithe between clerics and laymen. I quote from Rhys and Brynmor Jones: 'In general, the spiritual court could not deal with suits against laymen; but in regard to tithe, daered (income or fees), &c. . . the Church

had jurisdiction over laymen.' 20

THE ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES ON WELSH GLEBE.

Discussing some of the general conclusions to be drawn from the Laws of Howel Dda, Sir John Rhys and Sir Brynmor Jones observe: 'It is clear that in Howel's time the Church possessed a large amount of landed property with various immunities, which seem to have depended principally on the terms of the original endowments.' 21 Mr. Seebohm, in The Tribal System in Wales,22 agrees with this statement, and quotes from various sources a large number of original documents to show what were the actual terms of the original endowments. Whitaker in his Ancient Cathedral of Cornwall, Oliver in his Lives of the Bishops of Exeter, and Reynolds in his Ancient Diocese of Exeter, quote for us similar d for us similar documentary evidence for the original endowments of the ancient British Church in Cornwall and Devon.

Absolutely the whole of this unimpeachable evidence goes to we that the condensation of the condensation o show that the endowments were invariably given by individuals

¹⁸ Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, Rolls Edition, Venedotian Office. 20 Ibid. vol. ii. p. 367. vcl. i. pp. 18, 19.

¹⁹ Ibid. vol. i. p. 53. 21 The Welsh People, p. 216.

²² The Tribal System in Wales, pp. 172 to 233.

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to individual churches, and simply for the maintenance of the worship of God in those churches. There is not one scrap of evidence to show that those endowments were given to 'a national institution'—indeed, there has never been 'a national institution,' either in England or in Wales, having a corporate entity capable of receiving such endowments. There is not one scrap of evidence to show that those endowments were given by a 'Legislative Act,' or to be applied to any 'purely secular purposes' of which Mr. Lloyd George speaks in his Preface. There is not one scrap of evidence to show that those endowments are other than 'private benefactions to particular churches,' of which Mr. McKenna spoke in the House of Commons.

I have already quoted, for its reference to tithe, the charter by which William Revel—a private individual—at some date between 1115 and 1135 endowed the church of Hay in Brecknockshire—an individual church—with the glebe which its parson

held subsequently when Giraldus visited it.

In the margins of the famous Book of St. Chad—an illuminated Latin MS. of the Gospels that was long in the possession of the church of Llandaff, and was transferred thence to Lichfield, possibly by sale, about the year 964—there was inscribed, according to the custom of the age, a number of grants and other documents of formal records. Thus, it is stated—and Mr. Seebohm points out that 'there can be no reason to doubt for one moment the authenticity of these records'—that Ris and Luith Grethi gave to God and St. Eliud (the patron saint of an individual church) the land called Trefguidauc. The census or food-rent of this Tref is carefully stated—and, as usual, the curse of God is solemnly invoked on all who would interfere with this endowment.²³

A similar grant in the Book of St. Chad is from Ris and Hirv of land at Bracma—and these are all gifts from individuals to individual churches.

So, too, Mr. Seebohm quotes from the Book of Llan Dav a long grant to the church of Garth Benni of Constantine in Erging, by one Peipian—the son-in-law of Constantine—of the land called Mainaur Garth Benni, which is given to God and St. Dubricius, to be held free from all secular tribute for ever. And he refers to a number of other grants in similar terms. He says: 'Many of the early donations to churches in South Wales are recorded in the Book of Llan Dav, St. Dubricius and St. Teilo being the reputed founders of that see.' St. Dubricius and St. Teilo were both related to the royal line of Cunedda, ival.

So, too, Mr. Seebohm quotes from the Book of the Book of Constantine—in Erging, by one Peipian—the son-in-law of Constantine—of the land set. Dubricius and the refers to a number of other grants in similar terms. He says: 'Many of the early donations to churches in South Wales are recorded in the Book of Llan Dav, St. Dubricius and St. Teilo were both related to the royal line of Cunedda, rival.

So, too Hand Dav and Dav and Dav and Dav and St. Teilo were both related to the royal line of Cunedda, rival.

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The legendary life of St. Cadoc, that has come down to the British Museum and the British M The legendary IIIc of the British Museum, contains a twelfth-century MS. in the British Museum, contains a number of remarkable donations to the church of St. Cadoc, dating from a very early period, about 547 A.D. These dona dating from a very carry transfer and stipulations, precisely similar to the grants which I have already quoted. They are the solem records of the benefactions of individuals, given to individual churches, for the preaching of the Gospel to the poor, and for no other purpose whatever. And they are all accompanied by the invocation of a curse on those who would defraud Godthe gift being invariably stated to be 'to God and to' the patron saint of the particular church endowed. Some Radicals, more sensitive than their leaders, have protested against the spoliation of the parish churches in Wales being stigmatised as 'a robbery of God'-but they would no longer do so if they would take the trouble to read the original deeds. For instance, in the St. Cadoc donations, one Conbellin gives the land of Lisdin-barrion 'to God and St. Cadoc, for the purchase of the kingdom of heaven.' Again, one Temit gives his land of Ager Crucin 'to the altar of St. Cadoc in perpetual possession,' and adds: 'Who shall keep this, God keep him !- and who withdraws it, God will break him in pieces.' And every other grant of glebe to a Welsh parish church that I have seen has a similar curse for the impious man who shall dare to divert it to secular uses. Without incurring the reproach of superstition, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. McKenna may well shrink from deliberately defying the undoubted beliefs, and outraging the deep religious sentiments, of all their Welsh ancestors.

It would be possible to quote numerous instances of the same kind of thing in the endowments of the ancient British Church in Cornwall, where the Celtic Bishop Conan held the see of St. Germans in the time of Howel, the last Celtic king of Cornwall, who reigned at Liskeard circa 936. It was Bishop Livingus, King Cnut's justiciar and the Devonian Bishop of Crediton, who succeeded his uncle Bishop Brihtwold as Bishop of St. Germans, and transferred the Cornish see to Creditory whence Leofric carried it to Exeter. It was in Leofric's time that the Domesday Survey of Cornwall was made—and this shows the individual Cornish churches, as in Wales, holding their glebe-lands in the names of their patron saints, having received them by received them by grants similar to those to St. Teilo and St. For instance, under the heading of Lanchehoc, a manufacture of the Down of the heading of Lanchehoc, Mareter near Bodmin, the Domesday Survey tells us that: 'Earl Moreton holds Lancheboo for the Bodmin and the Bodmin is the Bodmin in the holds Lanchehoc from St. Petrocus, and one Cargan a thank a number of other manors, all stated to be held from St. Petrocus held it in the time of King Edward the Confessor.'

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thane follow trocus; the patron saint of the great parish church of Bodmin where St. Petrock was buried—and then this striking declaration: Omnes superius descriptas terras tenebat tempore Regis Edwardi Sanctus Petrocus—hujusce terrae nunquam reddiderunt geldam nisi ipsi ecclesiae.' The endowments of the old Celtic saint of Bodmin had been held sacrosanct through the Saxon Conquest by Athelstan, and the Norman Conquest by William—as subsequently they were held, both through the time of the Reformation, and through the Puritan rule of the Commonwealth. It has been left for the predatory instincts and the immoral methods of the 'new finance' to devise hypocritical excuses for the robbery of God, and the plunder of the poor, by this mean measure of disendowment.

Mr. Lloyd George, in the Preface to which I have already referred, declares that 'Parliament has several times exercised this right '-the right of seizing the endowments of the parish churches-'notably at the time of the Reformation, and the fortunes of many of our great families and the prosperity of many of our educational institutions are dependent upon a full acknowledgment of this right.' This ad captandum reference to the Reformation of religion in England is simply a grotesque misrepresentation of the facts of history. Henry the Eighth's dissolution of the monasteries had no more connexion with the Reformation of religion in England-except in the accident that it was facilitated by the political breach between the King and the Pope on the divorce question—than Mr. McKenna's Disendowment is connected with the Revival of religion in the Welsh Church which he hates. The persecution of religious reformers as heretics went on as merrily after the dissolution as before. Mr. Lloyd George may, indeed, fairly compare Mr. McKenna's disendowment of the Welsh parish churches to King Henry's dissolution of the monasteries to this extent, that the latter was founded on greed and envy, and that the proceeds of that robbery were distributed to the friends of the King, just as Mr. McKenna's plunder is to be given to his friends in the Welsh County Councils and the Welsh University Colleges. that had nothing to do with the Reformation.

Moreover, the comparison to the Reformation is particularly unfair in the case of the Celtic churches of Wales and Cornwall. The learned Cornish antiquary, Mr. Lach-Szyrma, of Brasenose College, Oxford, has proved beyond dispute that the course of the religious Reformation in Cornwall was an absolutely imperceptible and peaceful development, with no disturbance whatever of local church work.²⁴ And Sir John Rhys and Sir D.

²⁴ Lach-Szyrma's Church History of Cornwall, pp. 64, 65.

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Brynmor Jones 25 bear witness to precisely the same pheno Brynmor Jones beat menon in the history of the Welsh Church. They say; By the bulk of the population it seems that the events of the six century were practically unnoticed.' McKenna's Bill were ever to become law, no one knows better than Mr. Lloyd George how terrible would be the upheaval how heavy would be the blow struck at the religious life of the Principality for years to come.

Mr. McKenna's Under-Secretary in the Home Office, Mr. Ellis Griffith, M.P., speaking at a meeting in Cardiff on the 18th of February 1907, dealt with Welsh Disendowment in terse and concise terms of almost brutal frankness. In the Doile News of the following day he is reported to have said: 'Dis. establishment meant a social reform programme, and MONEY That certainly puts the whole question into BEHIND IT! nutshell. Whether that frank and straightforward declaration is entirely in harmony with the words of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. McKenna quoted by me above, is not for me to say. Mr. Ellis Griffith says plainly: 'Rem . . . quocunque modo rem'! Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. McKenna seem coyly to whisper the qualification, 'Si possis, recte'! Of these two conflicting policies, which will the Government elect to follow?

ROPER LETHBRIDGE.

25 The Welsh People, p. 461.

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A GHOST OF THE LIVING

GHOSTS of the dead are not uncommon, if we are to believe the Society of Psychical Research. Alleged appearances at the hour of death are also common material for the Society's investigation, and, in many cases, have been satisfactorily established. As a boy I often saw the brass plate at St. Edmund's College, Ware, which was set up in memory of Philip Weld; and the story of his being drowned at Rye House in 1846, and appearing to his father and sister at the moment of his death, was familiar to me. I once told it to Mr. F. W. Myers, and, at his request, I communicated with Philip Weld's sister, who was still alive, that he might have something more authentic before him than my own recollection of the story. I received from Miss Weld a written account of the episode, which I still have somewhere, and of which I sent a copy to Mr. Myers. The correspondence I had with Miss Weld was not wholly satisfactory, as it seemed that she and her father at the time of the occurrence had only thought that they saw a boy very like Philip Weld. They had not, at the time, any feeling that the likeness was so great that it must be Philip himself. And it was only after they learnt that he was dead that they attached significance to the incident. occurrence was worth chronicling.

Either my own ghost or my double was seen by my relations more than once at Eastbourne when I lived there, and on one of these occasions I received an anxious telegram in London to ask if I were living or dead—for my relatives were apparently more ready than Mr. Weld's to suspect a sad significance in the apparition.

I think there are several instances well authenticated of People having seen living friends who were at a distance. But had never until recently heard of A. appearing to B. and B. appearing to A. in the same place and circumstances, and recognising cool. at different the same place and circumstance, place only at different times. The annihilation of time which such an idea implies to implies seems to raise Kant's metaphysical question as to the

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objective nature of time, and to give fresh significance to his own view that it is only a 'form of thought.' Yet this is what happened in Aberdeen in the year 1859, and was brought to my knowledge not long ago by the surviving representative of the occurrence, Mr. Spencer Nairne. The story is very remarkable, and, as names and dates give actuality to such a story, I have asked Mr. Spencer Nairne's permission to reproduce here his own account of the incident bodily, with every circumstance and name recorded, and he has most kindly consented. His narrative runs as follows:

In the year 1859 I went on a cruise to Norway in a yacht belonging to my cousin, our party being: James Cowan (M.P. for Edinburgh); Mrs. Cowan, his wife; Miss Cowan, his sister; Miss Wahab, his niece; Robert Watson, his brother-in-law; John Chalmers, his cousin; and myself. These were all distant relations of mine, whom I had not previously met (they being Scotch and I English), so that on the day that we started I was cast among comparative strangers. We were to start from Edinburgh, but the yacht was coming up the west coast of Scotland, and we were to join her at Thurso; and we all left Edinburgh by steamer at 8 A.M. on Tuesday, the 31st of May 1859, and arrived at Aberdeen at 4 P.M. the same day. I had never been there before. We went about the city and saw its places and objects of interest; then had a 'high tea' together at an hotel at about 6.30; and after that went out together to pass the time until 9.30, when we were to rejoin the steamer and continue our voyage to Thurso. We walked up the principal street of the town-Union Street, I think it is called; the time was about 8.30 P.M., still full daylight (at Thurso there was blue sky at midnight); the street was moderately thronged with people walking on the footpaths in both directions. walking with John Chalmers, arm-in-arm with him, and conversing; and while thus walking and conversing, there passed me, walking in the opposite direction, a lady of my acquaintance, named Miss Wallis. This lady was not an intimate acquaintance. I had known her from my childhood, for some twenty years or more (I was now twenty-six), as holding the position of governess to some little cousins of mine of about my age, and so much valued and beloved that she had ever since then lived as governess or companion or visitor in one or another branch of their family. I very seldom met her, but I had a great regard and respect for her, and would never have met her without putting myself out of the way to speak to her and of course T. T. and of course I did so now. She passed me close enough to

¹ The family of Christopher Dowson, formerly of Limehouse.

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touch me (I don't know whether we actually did touch one another), certainly close enough for us to see clearly and recogpise one another. The path being thronged, I did not see her till she was close upon me; she was walking with a gentleman, holding his arm, and talking to him with some animation, and I saw plainly that in the moment of passing she saw me and recognised me. I at once dropped my friend's arm and turned round to speak to her, quite expecting that she would do the same; but not only had she not done so, but she was, as far as I could see, gone. I looked everywhere—in the path, across the road—walked quickly on in the direction she was going, and then turned back to meet her; but I never saw her again. I also looked into a good many of the shops in the immediate neighbourhood, and satisfied myself that she had not turned At 10 o'clock we left Aberdeen in the into any of them. steamer, and I did not give much further thought to the matter. We were in Norway till the 5th of September-sailed on that day (Monday) from Stavanger, and landed at Aberdeen on Thursday, the 8th of September, in the evening, after dark. and we left for Edinburgh by train early the next morning; so I had no opportunity of returning to the spot where I had seen Miss Wallis; nor, indeed, should I have done so, as I did not, then, feel any curiosity about it.

Some three weeks after, I went with my mother to make a call at another 'Dowson house' in Mecklenburgh Square, London, and I found Miss Wallis there; and, my mother talking with Mrs. Dowson, I had Miss Wallis to myself. I could begin, she said, 'Now, I have a quarrel to settle with you, Mr. Nairne: you cut me in Aberdeen a little while ago.' I assured her that I had done nothing of the sort, that I saw her, and saw that she saw me, but when I turned round to speak to her, which I did immediately, she was gone. She said it was exactly the same with her—she turned round at once, and I was gone. I said, 'You were walking with a gentleman, and talking to him, and I thought that you recognised me, just at the moment of passing.' She said, 'Yes, it was exactly so. I was walking with my brother, and I called out, "Why, there's Mr. Nairne; I must speak to him "; and when we could not find you my brother said, "I am sorry; I have so often heard of Captain Nairne, and I should have been so glad to See him," and I said, "It was not Captain Nairne, but his son, Mr. Spencer Nairne.'''

We could make nothing more of the subject, so we dropped it, and she began to ask me about Norway, and presently asked bow long I was there. I said a little over three months, from the 6th of June to the 8th of September. 'Well, but,' she

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said, 'when were you in Aberdeen?' 'On the 31st of May.' But,' she said, 'I was not in Aberdeen then; I spent a week there with my brother in the latter part of July. I have the day I saw you in my journal, and could show it you if I had the book here with me; and I have never been in Aberdeen before or since.' She said, also, that she had not been in Aberdeen at that time of day (8.30 P.M.)—her brother lived some distance out of Aberdeen, and they were never there in the evening.

I told her that my journal would also fell me the day on which I saw her in Aberdeen, and it was certainly not in July; in fact, I knew it was Tuesday, the 31st of May. (I may say that in writing this present account I have my journal before

me, and I have verified the dates which I have given.)

We could not clear up the mystery. I am sorry that I did not at once write out what I have now written here and send it to her for verification and signature. Some few years afterwards, having conversed with some friends who were 'psychologically' interested, I did, on their advice, write it, but she died just then, before I had time to send it to her.

I can only vouch for the complete truth and accuracy of all that I have written here. Miss Wallis was one of the last persons who was likely to present herself to my mind had I not seen her, and I saw her so distinctly, and saw her recognition of me so unmistakably, that there is no possibility, in my mind, of explaining the vision away as a case of mistaken

identity.

I am not at all in the habit of possessing 'second sight,' or of seeing visions. The only other occurrence of the kind that has ever happened to me was this: When I was at school, aged seventeen or thereabouts, I was walking arm-in-arm with a schoolfellow, and we passed our headmaster (the Rev. C. Pritchard, afterwards Savilian Professor of Astronomy in the University of Oxford), walking rapidly in the opposite direction. We touched our hats to him, and he returned our salutation (though he did not look at us) and passed on, and within two or three minutes after exactly the same thing happened again. We were astounded, dropped one another's arm, and said in a breath, 'Where did he come from?' We satisfied ourselves that he could not have played a trick upon us by running round some other way, nor was it likely that he would have done so, though I daresay that we, as schoolboys, were quite capable of crediting him with it. crediting him with it. This took place in an unfrequented part of the village care. of the village or town of Clapham, in the year 1850 or 1851.
We were sauntoning We were sauntering slowly, talking probably about nothing The name of particular, and we both saw him both times.

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It remains to add that the writer of the above—the Rev. Mr. Spencer Nairne—is still alive. He was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and was sometime Rector of Hunsdon, Herts, and later on Vicar of High Wych, Herts, and afterwards Vicar of Latton, Essex.

Mr. Nairne informs me that he sent his narrative to the late Mr. F. W. Myers, who replied that there was no difficulty in believing that Miss Wallis saw Mr. Nairne after he had been on the spot, but a good deal in believing that he saw her before she had been in Aberdeen.

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PRESIDENT TAFT AND THE SOLID SOUTH

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THE Italian Vico defines a nationality as 'a natural society of men who, by unity of territory, of origin, of customs, and of language, are drawn into a community of life and social conscience.' More modern writers, amplifying this definition, enumerate as among the constituent elements of nationality race. religion, language, geographical position, manners, tradition, history, and laws. The Englishman Lecky says of a nationality. 'It becomes perfect when a special type has been formed, when a great homogeneous body of men acquires for the first time a consciousness of its separate nationality, and thus becomes a moral unity with a common thought.' Keenly conscious is the homogeneous South of this separate nationality—all these many years. As for this special type, in Europe, and especially in Great Britain, tourists from the South find themselves accepted as of a people distinct from the kind of Americans Europe has long known. As for this moral unity with a common thought, more than forty years it has been held up to the South as her most heinous sin.

Consciousness of nationality—even pride of nationality—is not inconsistent with willing attachment to a stronger power for security or favour (witness the oneness of Scotland with England, and consider the intense loyalty of New England to the United States—at present at least), and in this sense the South is thoroughly imbued with American patriotism. Since the war (the South knows only one war), the South has been profoundly impressed with the littleness of herself and the bigness of the United States, and nowhere has there been more of that absolute faith in the transcendent greatness of the United States among nations, which in the United States is the test of true patriotism. Since the South began to acquire wealth, she has thought better of herself, and the late Administration's eagerness to appears. Japan, after the mobbing of Japanese labourers by the good people of California people of California, was not calculated to strengthen faith in the calmly conscious invincibility of the United States; still, Southerners rejoice in being a part—politically at least—of of

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great, mighty Power that is respected, if not dreaded, in the affairs of the world. Southerners looked upon President Roosevelt's flaunting of the Monroe Doctrine much as sane persons look upon the antics of a crazy man, but when President Cleveland dignifiedly reminded Great Britain of her absent-minded trespass upon Venezuela's territory, the South glowed with national pride.

Oddly detached and impersonal is the South's feeling for the United States republic and its concerns, and that with not the least soreness. In the heart of his heart a Southerner thinks of the federal government much as he thinks of the weather, as a mysterious and irresistible thing that is deaf to his protests and expostulations, and whimsically disregardful of his comfort when not overtly hostile to it. Where Northerners speak of the United States as 'we,' Southerners say 'they.' 'Shall we increase the navy?' say Northerners, anxiously. 'Will they increase the navy?' say Southerners, curiously. 'What shall we do with Cuba and the Philippines?' say Northerners, wearily. 'It is up to you all,' say Southerners, cheerfully. (Southerners say 'You all 'to more than one person,

and usually they say it yawl.)

Long the South has observed how a Northerner writhes under the word 'Yankee' when unthoughtedly spoken by a Southerner. Also, the South notes with wonder the shyness and diffidence of the cultivated Northerner who settles in the South for his health and receives the friendly advances of Southerners to the manner born, and marks with amusement the bashfulness of the rich Northerner seeking to buy up some broken-down Southerner's old family furniture. Southerners smile when told of ostentatious applauding of audiences of the North when the orchestra plays the inspiring air of 'Dixie,' every individual covertly hoping that his demonstrations may cause those who see them to suspect him of having Southern blood in his veins; but only very lately has the South even heard of those occasional Northerners who have been in the South, or seen Southerners visiting in the North, and thereafter attain an importance and an honourable distinction in the North by imitating the Southerner's low voice, his un-American inflexion, and the swinging carriage that is bequeathed to him from generations of hard-riding Southern planters and English squires; professing a Southerner's hankering for cornbread and greens, affecting the Southerner's graceful styles of hats—English cavalier and modified sombrero—the slightly longer cut of his coat, and his inborn habit of rising and taking off his hat when a woman enters; and palming themselves off to their awed compatriots for genuine Southerners. 'What does he mean?' asked puzzled Southerners, when Jerry Simpson, the Populist Congressman of Kansas, said to the people of the old town of 'Cyahtuhsville' in Georgia,

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'This is the first time I ever appeared before an audience of American people.' (But Simpson did not say 'American,' he said 'Ummurroukun'; and he did not say 'first,' he said 'furrust.' 'Why should he cyaah what we think about it?' Wondered Southerners, when there floated through the South whispers of President Roosevelt's secret sensitiveness on the subject of that dining that nauseated the South, the dining of a buck negro at a white man's table; and much the same wonder has been in Southerners' minds ever since President Taft announced his hope of 'winning over' the Southern people. 'Win us ovuh from what, and to what?' say perplexed Southerners. (Not yet can Southerners roll their final r's, as do Northerners and Irish. men, nor wrestle them, as do Westerners and Germans. They still speak the English tongue much as did English country gentlemen of the time and type of Sir Roger de Coverley.)

Rarely a distinguished Northerner comes into the South and delivers an address that he does not touch gingerly upon the war that reduced Southern homes to ashes and avow his regret Southerners listen, partly bored, partly amused, wholly polite, just as they listen to the Northerner's high-pitched voice, sputtering enunciation, and funny little accent. Was not that old quarrel settled at Appomattox? wondered the South, when President Taft, guest of the North Carolina Society of New York, discussed the bitter controversies that brought on the war, and declared there should be no discussion of them. Does he feel guilty about it? was the South's amused comment, when the President went on to say the North might have done as the South did had the North owned slaves. If he feels so uncomfortable about it, why does he keep talking about it? wondered the South, when the President deplored to the people of Charlotte 'the troubles, the sufferings, the sad losses' the South sustained in her war with the United States before most living Southerners were born. Where has he been for the last half-century? asked the astonished South, when the President congratulated the people of Augusta that 'the war is in the past'; and Southerners laughed from sheer enjoyment of the President's unconscious humour, when he innocently disclosed to the people of Birming ham his wonder and delight that the South is now 'loyal to the old flag to which she had come back.' 'Still protesting, remarked the South, when the President rejoiced to the people of Wilmington of Wilmington that there is now only a fraternal desire to manifest and exhibit love of each other,' notwithstanding the war. Will he never convince himself? asked the tired South, when the President assured the people of Richmond that in spite of the war the South 'is as much a part of the country and as such entitled to as much consideration as any other IV.

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part, 'Queer how sore they still feel about it,' thinks the

South. When the United States went to war with Spain the South was an undisturbed spectator. For the South could not take the war seriously. To Southerners it seemed an affair of arms gotten up to make glory for those permitted to participate in it. Highly entertained were Southerners, but with none of the hysteria that raged in the North and the West. Groups of men scanning bulletin boards before newspaper offices were intent, but quiet, and orderly, and good-humoured, and like nothing so much as men following reports of a ball game. A man just come up stretches his neck and strains his eyes trying to read a hastily written telegram just pasted up. 'What is it?' he asks, curiously. 'They ah still bombahding Matanzas,' volunteers a man in front of him, just as he would say that Kelly has hurt his foot at third base and is relieved by Blake. 'Haven't they taken that place vet?' says the newcomer, in mild surprise. On every hand was this undisturbed interest. 'What's the wawah news to-day?' calls a farmer, as he halts his mule on the courthouse square and returns the salute of a cotton-buyer lounging in the door of the bank of the County Seat. (Southerners salute like soldiers when beyond handshaking distance of each other.) 'They've taken that San Juan Hill,' answers the cotton-buyer, reaching into his hip pocket after his plug of bitter North Carolina weed. (Most Southern men chew tobacco, but it is not the sweet and gummy tobacco Northern workmen use.)

Those who hoped for commissions, with a chance to distinguish themselves without any sacrifice of bodily comfort, persuaded enough men to enlist to make up the South's little quota of soldiers, almost, but the times must be considered. Over the South, like a leaden sky, still hung the stagnating depression following the panic of 1893, and those who do not like to work were finding it very hard to make a living. Among the silent spectators at a railway station, curiously gazing at the poor little squad that had been raised in their midst, a physician said to a lawyer: 'What ah these men going fawah, vain love of show?' The lawyer laughed. 'The govuhnment pays sixteen dollahs a month,' he said; 'do you see a man in that line who was getting that much in this community?' Not the least did the South oppose the war. Do you know,' said a dealer in acid phosphate to a linen supply merchant, 'we ah getting moah out of this thing than anybody?' What ah you talking about?' exclaimed the supply man; 'look at the New England mills, with theah govuhnment contracts fawah tents and unifawahms, and look at Missouri with huh sales of mules fawah the ahmy.' The fertiliser merchant was undistrict the state of the s disturbed. 'But remembuh,' he said quietly, 'New England

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must give good cloth fawah what money she gets, and Missouri must give a good mule fawah every two hundred dollahs she gets; but look at us, thousands of dollahs ah being spent in the South, and we ah giving nothing fawah it but a handful of men who ah dead stock on ouah hands.' (Of course, they both said New England. In the backward South not yet have even the graded school teachers learned to say 'noo,' 'Toosday,' 'dooty,' as is general in the German cities of Cincinnati and 'She-caw-go' and the Irish cities of Boston and 'Noo Yarrik'—in which latter city, in certain sections, Southerners have been roughly handled under the impression that they were Englishmen.)

Only among older Southerners, and especially those who had suffered in the service of the sacred Confederacy, was there a sort of personal interest and something like enthusiasm. 'But, Captain,' teasingly said a young man to an honoured jurist who in his youth led a company of the great Stonewall's ragged and hungry infantry, 'what if some othuh powuh comes into this thing? What if France joins Spain?' The Captain's eyes blazed as he reared his grey head. 'Let France help Spain,' he roared; 'we can wallop all the mulatto peoples in the wohld.' The look of amusement on the young man's face was succeeded by a puzzled look. 'We,' he asked, innocently, 'whom do you mean?' A few weeks later, when the newspapers reported in all seriousness that Germany was showing sympathy with Spain, a quiet remark heard from every walk of life in the South was: 'Wonduh whethuh we shall be drawn into this thing befoah it is ovul with?' Nobody asked whom this 'we' meant.

From everywhere else considered a land of one party, actually the South, within herself, is a land of no parties. Down South there is not the identity of State politics with national politics there is in the North and the West. The thing that dominates in each of the States of the solid South bears the name of the Democratic party, but that is nearly all. It is not controlled by the national Democratic party, it admits to its membership, and even to its nominations, men of every variety of political persuasion; and it, or something like it, would have been devised if the national Democratic party had never been organised. It is naught but a white man's club, and its sole purpose is the ensuring of united action by the white men and the prevention of dissensions among them. It does its office; it keeps peace, the peace of stagnation. A Southerner may preach any political creed he likes (the South telepaters) (the South tolerates any heresy), but if he would take any part in the practical politics of his State, his county, his precinct, he must work with and there is a state, his county, his precinct, he must be such that the state is a state, his county, his precinct, he must be such that the state is a state of the state work with and through this club. Tired of it? Southerners shoulders droop at the shoulders droop at the mention of it. They long to fling of the tie that holds them had a should be should tie that holds them bound one to another, and pick and choose .

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every man for himself like free men. But individual action is not to be thought of in the South. The ebony elector of the proud United States waits and watches to thrust in his shining visage at the narrowest breach in the ranks of the white men, and the Southern people never fail to stand closely together, sinking every principle in favour of the one great principle—white man's law and order. Southerners have contrived to bar nearly all the negroes from the ballot-box, but well they know what transparent pretexts are their State constitutional evasions of the Constitution of the United States, and over the shoulder of every black incendiary the South sees the menace of the federal courts.

The pending threat of the North to reduce the South's representation in Congress, in retaliation for the disfranchisement by the Southern States of the negroes within their borders, is viewed in the South more with indifference than with dread, and it is even favoured a little by those who hold that such a reduction by Congress would mean the final acquiescence of the Northern people in the South's sidetracking of the negroes, and an end of nagging of the South about the negroes. Besides, thinks the South, are so many men needed to distribute seeds? As a rule a Southern member of Congress is not a man of monumental honour and distinction in his own State. He is a politician, and the South looks upon a politician with a sort of tolerant contempt. Down South there are no questions of national politics for politicians to debate, for there is only one side to every question, and a candidate for office has nothing to talk about but himself, and nothing to advance but his fitness for the office he yearns for and his worthiness of favour. Loudly he tells of his poverty and consequent need of the salary of the office, vociferously he professes his love for the cotton-grower, and abjectly he slobbers upon his public, shaking hands, and kissing babies, and praising favourite mules to their owners, and enthusiastically agreeing with everybody. Ask a Southerner who is his Congressman, and he may think a moment and say, 'It seems to me I have heahd his name, but I cyaant recall it just now.'

The defeat of Parker in 1904 disturbed the South less than might be thought. 'I told you so,' said Bryan Democrats, so-called. 'Yawl try it next time,' retorted old-line Democrats, so-called.

The defeat of Bryan in 1908 dismayed the South. Bryan's very defeats, and snubs, and chronic hard luck had gained him the sympathy and goodwill of most Southerners, but it was for no kindness to Bryan that the South joined in choosing him to lead the party for the third time; it was because it appeared clear to the South that Bryan was the only man acceptable to those of the North and the West—mainly of the West—who

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would deign to join hands with the South. The complete rejection of Parker had shown the South—as Southerners saw it that the conservative class of the American people would have no league with the South, however dissatisfied with the Republican Administration it might be; therefore, the South turned to the radicals; in good faith the South took up the cause of Bryan and acquiesced in making his ambition the one issue of the campaign. The South joined in the call to Bryan wholly at a venture, and with only that hope a gambler feels in choosing a colour to risk his money on; but as the campaign progressed, and Southerners felt their sporting blood lashed, the South began to hope, with that same hope a gambler feels for the colour his stake is on; the South hoped Bryan might be elected by good luck.

The South heard that Bryan was pandering to the Northern negroes, sore over President Roosevelt's discharge of the Browns. ville rioters, but she highly approved it. 'Didn't we bamboozle the dahkies when we ovuhthrew the Cyahpetbagguhs?' said Southerners, winking. (Southerners do not call negroes 'coons.') The South heard that Bryan was grovelling to the public, shaking hands and pleading for votes as abjectly as a candidate for town ship magistrate, but her loyalty to the Democratic nominee wa. unshaken. 'It's all right if it will help elect him,' said Southerners dubiously. The South heard that Bryan's children were educated with negro children in mixed schools, but she loftily forgave that. 'It is all the kind of schools they have out theah in that benighted land,' said Southerners magnanimously. As in 1896, the South heard that Bryan was exposing his wife to the fierce light of publicity, and that she seemed to 'They ah not ouah like it, but the South stood for even that. kind of people,' said Southerners resignedly. The South fell that Bryan had one chance in a hundred, but Southerners hoped it might be a favourable time for that one chance. The very fact of Bryan's having twice essayed to be President and failed seemed reason to hope he might win at the third cast.

As always at such a time, the South looked beyond her own borders; in a Presidential campaign the South is a spectator. As the day for the election drew nearer and nearer Republican chances looked bigger and bigger; still, there came encouraging news for those who hoped for a victory by accident. All breaches had been healed; all wanderers had come back to the party; it looked as if Bryan had the chance of his life. When the full extent of Bryan's defeat became known the South was stunned; then over Southerners came something like the darkness of despair.

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As Southerners interpret that election, it shows that not even the soreheads and outcasts of the American people will affiliate with the South. No educated negro yearns to be a white man among white men more than the South yearned to be American and of the American nation, and after that election Southerners felt themselves spurned by the entire American people and by the very last party, faction, and class thereof.

Scorned though the South feels, the most obvious consequence of that election was the sudden general attention to the defeated section; the isolation and solidarity of the South have been considered in the United States as never before, and with an interest curiously like apprehension. Long the South has been stolidly accustomed to bitter denunciations of her wickedness in invariably supporting solidly the same one of the two great parties, obstinately withstanding all the battering advances of the other. but only of late does she hear also of the folly and stupid unreasonableness of her solidity. The South is assured now, by those who think they know what they are talking about, that all her woes are due to her egregious blunder in perversely adhering to her one-party policy, and solicitously she is advised to dissolve for her own good and divide herself up. How, it is argued, can the South look for favours from either of the two parties so long as she holds herself the absolute property of one of them? It is needless for the Democratic party to take thought for the South, for it knows that it will certainly receive the vote of every State of the Solid South, and it is useless for the Republican party to offer inducements for the support of the Southern people, for it knows that it will just as certainly receive the vote of not a single State of the Solid South. If, now, the South would annul the ban that is upon her, then let the Southern States give up their disdainful exclusiveness, disperse themselves indifferently as between the two parties, and mingle among the other States of the Union. There are even rare Southerners, superficial or secretly disloyal, who profess this characteristically American ratiocination, but the silent multitude in the South listens in blank astonishment.

Is it for sheer contrariness that a hunted rabbit crawls into Kicks and hard knocks caused the South to withdraw, cooter-like, into her shell, and the South, solidly encased in her shell, became the asset of the Democratic party because that party alone would tolerate her. Southerners look back to the dark years following the war—'the era of good stealing,' Republican leaders actually called it at the time. It was when the fair South was ravaged of black savages, insane with unrestrained licence and incited of those freebooters from the North yelept Carpetbaggers and turncoats of the South,

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all directed from the Administration in Washington and backed up on the ground with bayonets of the United States. In South Carolina, the State that suffered longest, that era endured till 1876, eleven years after the close of the war, and to this day 'Cya'linians' reckon all events, not from the war, but from 'seventy-six.' A South Carolinian will say, 'That old field yonduh was tuhned out about foah yeahs aftuh seventy-six' (Southerners call a forest of second-growth yellow pines an 'old field'), or, 'These new hats ah as ugly as the fashions befoah seventy-six.' The great State of Texas was largely settled and made what she is to-day by that reign of licence and plunder; good citizens swarmed out of the older settled States of the South, fleeing from the negroes and their white accomplices.

If the Republican party had stood at that time for civilised decency and order in the South there might now be a South solidly Republican, or never a Solid South of any kind; but the Republican party stood for revenge upon the surrendered South. The Republican party had its choice, and it chose to bid for the approval and support of all who thirsted for the blood of the fallen South; it made hate of the prostrate South its basic principle. The Democratic party had nothing left to bid for but the South and those of the North who were surfeited of revenge and tired of the jangle of sectionalism. The Democratic party accepted the alliance of the South, but naturally the chased and driven South became the Democratic party's sycophant. Democrats of the North—and later of the North and the West-framed the platforms and named the candidates, with about as much thought of the South as a feminine leader of fashionable society thinks of the working member of her family, but the South accepted unquestioningly what and whom the Democratic party named—the South had to; the Republican party pressed sorely upon her. (As late as 1890 the last Force Bill was before Congress, and as recently as 1900 the Secretary of War threatened soldiers of the United States to the aid of negro rioters in North Carolina.)

The Democratic party kept its compact with the South, when in power, by not putting negroes and renegade white men into authority in the South, and, when not in power, by helping the South defend herself from Force Bills and other measures of Republican aggression, but its association with the South was always more or less of a reproach to the Democratic party in the North and the West, and it was always shamefaced about its North and the West, and it was always shamefaced about the lukewarm ally, humbly grateful for the one hand that not against her, unobtrusively shrinking in the background and not against her, unobtrusively shrinking in the background and keeping faith with unwavering constancy. Southern pride!

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What Southerners look back upon is Southern is to laugh. meekness and docility.

But where was the Democratic party in 1908, and whence the South's sudden loneliness? Bitterly the South looks to the West, and to one man who turned the West's head a single moment. The awful financial crash of 1893, and the paralysing depression extending over the years following it, bred a new school of politicians in the West, mainly out of the ranks of the Republican party. The West was stinging with want, men were actually hungry, and these statesmen turned fiercely against the financial East, the South's North. There was desolation in the South, but Southerners were not unaccustomed to it. Naturally Southerners are conservative, and that quasi-communistic movement that carried away the Democratic machine in 1896 would never have originated in the South. Southerners cared not a copper for it. They did not even understand what free silver meant, if anybody understood. Sincerely they professed their faith in it, but they took the word of others for it; the bait they swallowed was the proffered alliance of the West. The West was bawling for silver, and Southerners saw the great West extending her hand to the South. Southerners thrilled; the South was no longer a pariah! Thoroughly Southerners believed that 'new sectionalism' which a Southern member of the Chicago Convention started to speak about and was hissed. Did not the most striking picture in that rule and guide of the noisy partisans of cheap money, Coin's Financial School, represent the West as a blanketed Indian and the South as a broad-hatted planter, each with an arm over the other's shoulder, pledging union with a glass of wine? Deliriously the South took up the clamour for silver; fanatically Southerners joined in reorganising the Democratic party and in driving the tried leaders therefrom. But after the South had burned her bridges the West's feet cooled. The men who had been bewitched with the inspired Nebraskan's howl of calamity suddenly faced a sensational rise of the price of wheat. Also they found the inspired Nebraskan a flustered leader. Moreover, the company they were in made them blush: screaming alarmists, wild-eyed extremists, blundering theorists, and—Southerners. who called the new Democratic party into being shrank away from it in 1896 and rejected it in 1900. In 1904 the disgraced party tried to recall those it had cast out in 1896 in vain, and in 1908 it turned again to the discontented Westerners, to find them contented Republicans. Oh, well the South sees now her fearful mistake of 1896!

Hardly was the election over—that of 1908—when victorious President Taft began saying nice things to the South. Very

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comforting to the lonely South was the President's graciousness but she looks askance at his friendly proposals. heard President Taft declare his ambition to cultivate the favour and confidence of the Southern people and break up the Solid South by persuading the South of her error, and they heard this ambition approved by those who failed to persuade the South by clubbing and choking her. The President actually said to the North Carolina Society, within a month after his election 'Nothing would give me greater pride, because nothing would give me more claim to the gratitude of my fellow-citizens, ii I could so direct that policy as to the Southern States as to convince its intelligent citizens of the desire of the Administration to aid them in working out the serious problems before them and of drawing them and their Northern fellow-citizens closer and closer in sympathy and point of view.' As the South under stands this it is, 'Nothing would give me greater pride if I can persuade the rabbit to come out of its hole and yield itself up to the hounds.'

Immediately following this the South heard the President pledge himself to remember with gratitude and favour those Southerners who 'from principle' clung to the Republican party in the face of 'social ostracism' in the South. Principle' screams the South. O, Mr. President, when did ever hangdog white man skulk from the white people and wallow with the blacks for aught but utter lack of principle and a Republican appointment to a salary from the Government? Withat the federal civil service commission, with its appointments awarded in competitive examinations, to this day positions in the civil service of the United States are not esteemed in the South as in the North and the West. A bad smell hangs about them yet.

Touching her most sensitive point, the qualifications for suffrage in the constitutions of the various Southern States, the South heard that all President Taft requires of her, for his continued approval of her, is an opportunity for his fellow-partisans, the blacks of the South, equal with that of the whites, to measure up to those qualifications—what his spectacular predecessor would have called, in his studied affectation of the vernacular of a dimenovel hero, 'a square deal.' The South smiles. Is it possible the President does not know that those qualifications were made, openly and deliberately, for the sole purpose of excluding the blacks? Will the men who framed those qualifications for a blacks? Will the negroes listen seriously now to a childle barrier against the negroes listen seriously now to a childle barrier? Again the South smiles.

Blandly the President commends to the South, for the masses tion of her negro problem, industrial education for the masses

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of the negroes, with higher education for their leaders. Sadly and hopelessly the South shakes her head. What would the President do with the negroes after he had given them industrial education? Does he imagine industrially educated negroes could compete with work-educated white men? Does he know that nearly all the skilled labour in the South is white, and that the white, skilled and unskilled, is steadily superseding the black, and that not because of jealous exclusion of black labour by white labour, as in the President's own country, but simply because the white man is the better labourer? 'You got to do they thinkin' fawah 'em,' said a keeper of a livery stable of the negro ostlers and drivers he had 'got shet of,' filling their places with white men at higher wages. There never was but one vocation the Southern people wholly abandoned to negroes—the barbers', and the negro barber has seen his day in the South. back as twenty-five years ago appeared the white barber, with a white man's intelligence, a white man's solid character, and a white man's cleanness, and the negro barber found his occupation gone. Ever the Southern farrier was as often a white man as a negro, and now the white farrier uses the black farrier only as a humble assistant. In the old days the plantation blacksmith was sometimes a slave, trained of a white man, but in nearly every neighbourhood now it is a white man who rings the anvil at the cross-roads blacksmith shop, and his 'strikah' is a white The negro shoe-repairer—no longer are there shoemakers-is almost gone before the advance of the white shoerepairer, with his superior intelligence, his quicker fingers, and his machines. Steam laundries are steadily taking the business by which negro washerwomen make a living for able-bodied husbands and paramours. The steam laundry costs more, but there is not the danger of contagion from a diseased washerwoman.

The South has seen negroes tried for cotton-mill operatives, and she saw the mills that persisted in the venture close down, eaten up of expenses at a time other Southern cotton mills were paying handsome dividends and working day shift and night shift to fill orders. The bankruptcy of the negro-operated mills was due generally to the negro's constitutional aversion for regular work, but in every case the specific cause was the helpless proneness of the negro operatives to go to sleep, lulled and overcome with the rhythmic crash and roar of the machinery, unavailing being all the frantic efforts of the white overseers to keep them awake and attentive.

That traditional character of the South, the negro with his whitewash bucket, is succeeded now by white 'house-decoratawahs,' and a young white man seems to have displaced even

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the negro the plumber used to take with him to do the dirties work. One by one merchants' delivery wagons are passing from work. One by one mercand boys, and a railway passenger negro drivers to white men and boys, and a railway passenger alighting at a point of any commercial importance in the South is as likely to travel on to his hotel in a hack or taxi-cab driven by a negro and beginning at a point of the solution of the by a white man as in a hack driven by a negro, and he is more likely to entrust the hauling of his baggage to the white agent of a 'transfer company' than to a negro drayman. Waiters at most cafés, restaurants, and lunch counters are white, and the advance guard of white waiters has driven negroes from the dining-rooms of a few of the hotels and boarding-houses. The big Northern tourist hotels of Florida bring their Continental European 'help' from the North at the beginning of every season, with a guarantee of transportation back to the North at the end of the season. In the building trades white men and negroes still work side by side, as nowhere else in the United States, but the white men are better paid, for they will work all day and every day, and the boys who are growing up in those trades are all white boys-what master mason or master carpenter will waste his time and temper with a negro boy so long as he can pick up a bright and willing white boy? Negro lowmotive firemen might not be tolerated in the North, but railway companies employ many negroes for locomotive firemen in the South—a concession, it seems, to the locomotive engine drivers, themselves white men. These engine drivers know an irresponsible negro can never be entrusted with the control of a locomotive, and, therefore, a negro fireman will never be more than a fireman, but a white fireman will become an engine driver in time, possibly crowding some old engine driver out of his cab. many-storeyed office buildings of reinforced concrete that have sprung up like mushrooms in all Southern cities of any size then are attentive young white men who carry passengers up and down in the swift electric elevators. In a Southern city no longer s young man, with a note or bunch of flowers he wants carried to a lady friend, accosts a hulking negro idling on the street and tries to wheedle him into earning ten cents or a quarter by walking with the note or flowers the short distance to the lady; home; by telephone he summons a white messenger boy, who quickly comes and quickly goes on the errand, usually on bicycle; and bicycle; and on the sidewalks in the business sections whenter sounds from many throats the plaintive call 'she-yine,' an occasional white focas sional white face may be seen even among the noisy shiner bost his own initiative polish even the heel and counter of a short bidden though the partly hidden though they are by the trouser bottoms; while the negro shiner will not a shiner will no the negro shiner will not do unless specifically directed and closely watched closely watched.

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At one time the South thought the negroes strangely talented in music, but it is curious to notice now that negro brass bands pant and sweat on the streets of Southern cities only on Emancipation Day and the Fourth of July, the two negro holidays, white musicians officiating on other occasions; and silent several years are those negro male quartets that nightly sang white man's imitation of negro music in the lobbies of hotels with banjo or guitar accompaniment, and passed a hat for nickels and dimes. Even negro house servants are becoming a thing of the past in the South, after a vogue of some two hundred years. (Southerners call servants 'servants'—or rather, 'suhvants.') There are no Germans or Swedes for house servants in the South, as in the North and West, but the lady of the house shrinks not from thrusting her own white hands into the dishpan, and more and more she is finding it easier to do her own housework than bother with negro servants. Nearly always now a ring at the door-bell of a Southern home brings, not a servant but one of the family. As likely as not a young lady five years old opens the door and greets the visitor with, 'Good-mauahning, suh-ah. Come into the pahloah, suh-ah. Mama is in the kitchen, but she will be with you in a moment.' (In the old families of the South—the old slave-holding stock, bred in plantation mansions—the antique English custom of teaching children to say 'sir' and 'ma'am' to adults lives yet, surviving more than forty years' aping of American manners by the 'new South.') For the very coarsest and simplest of unskilled labour, such as railroad grading and the lifting and hauling for the building of those big concrete dams which electric power companies are stretching across rocky shoals in Southern rivers and creeks, negro labour has failed; and engineers and agents of construction companies, considering large contracts in the South, include in their estimates now the cost of hiring in the North gangs of Italians, Poles, or Russians, the cost of hauling them South by the trainload, and the cost of carrying them back to the North after the contract is executed—no foreigners seem to want to stay in the South, except of late a few Englishmen and Scotchmen, and they are not distinguishable for foreigners, so readily they sink into the body of the Southern people.

It is only as a convict that the South finds the free-born negro a satisfactory labourer, and as a convict the South does find him a satisfactory labourer; superintendents of Southern penitentiaries and overseers of Southern chain-gangs have knocked the bottom out of that axiom loved of economists—that forced labour is the least efficient. A negro convict's health improves from the day he exchanges his rags for a suit of prison stripes, and with

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a white man to show him how to work and keep him at it the quantity and the quality of his labour improve with every day of his term. And sometimes a negro will escape from a chain gang stockade, spend a few days visiting his old haunts, and then return to the stockade and report for duty. About two centuries the South has known that a negro is not a white man in a black skin.

As for higher education for the leaders of the negroes, cannot the President see the South is uneasy of a highly educated negro? Public education is not a thing indigenous to the South. Southerner pays his school taxes with never a word of protest but deep down in her heart the South does not think overmuch of bookishness. All the Southern States have their exotic public school systems for both races and support them liberally, as a concession to the infatuation of the age, but the South, with that long period of prostration behind her, is too accustomed in this day to seeing occasional successful business men sign their names with a mark not to know how unessential for production of wealth and the making of a good citizen is an ability to enjoy good literature. All the Southern States refuse to enact a compulsory education law, ignoring the standing demand of the teaching profession, which views the matter from a professional standpoint, and certainly the South has found higher education an intoxicant positively dangerous for a negro. Invariably Southern public men speak of disfranchising the ignorant negroes, but by that word ignorant they mean all negroes, and that word is inserted, not for limitation, but for justification. Chicago and New York dread no anarchist more than the South dreads Booker T. Washington.

And at last President Taft, in his innocence, comes out openly, if unwittingly, with a view of the South's nightmare frankly and refreshingly old-fashioned and foreign, and rancorous and insidiously malevolent to the South; to a gathering in Washington of those interested in a certain school down in Alabama, and to the same effect, later, in his address to that meeting of Southern business men at Atalanta, the Southern Commercial Congress, he optimistically and even exultantly declares that the race question will be settled by education of whites and blacks in the South. Quietly the South laughs. When will President Taft learn that this doctrine which he rejoices in is as familiar to the South as chronic neuralgia to a sufferer thereof? Long ere Southerners heard of kind-hearted President Taft and his benevolent ambition, they heard all about that theory of the that theory of those morbid malignants of the North who preach to the South the holy beneficence and profitableness of public education, and of the interest of the North who profitableness of public education, and of the interest of the North who profitableness of public education, and of the interest of the North who profitableness of public education and of the North who profitableness of public education and of the North who profitableness of the North who profitableness of public education and of the North who profitableness of public education and of the North who profitableness of public education and of the North who profitableness of public education and of the North who profitableness of public education and of the North who profitableness of public education and of the North who profitableness of public education and of the North who profitableness of public education and of the North who profitableness of public education and public educatio education, and of their tariff-wrung riches endow schools and the

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colleges for negroes in the South; that the certain ultimate effect of continued general education in the South, even if at this time in separate schools for the two races, will be an abatement of the white race's antipathy for the black race and a consequent letting down of the rigid social bar against the negroes. To the loftily amused South what is the President's glaring admission but the fond hope and keen incentive of both negro teachers and negro pupils in the South; that education, and more education, will finally cover with polish and hide from sight the negro traits that are revolting to the white people, and bring about marriages of white women to negro men, which the negroes yearn for with unutterable yearnings, which the South dreads with supreme horror, and which all the concerted powers of the United States Government failed to force upon the conquered South?

But what shall the South do now? Since the election of 1908 the South has considered that question—for the first time in more than forty years. Shall the South cling to the Democratic machine, kicked out of the entire American people and given another opportunity only because of Republican treachery and bad faith? The South sighs. 'Will he never subside?' say jaded Southerners. Withal the elevation of the scholarly and Southern Wilson, a feeling of weariness comes over Southerners whenever they think of the recent Baltimore Convention and the mouthings and grimaces of the spiteful Bryan burning with the soreness and mortification of his many rebuffs. Shall the high-minded South never clear herself of the bag-kneed and bedraggled Popocrats

whom she lay down in the mud with in 1896?

Shall the South turn to the Republican party? How easy for the South to break down the bar that excludes her from the American people by simply accepting the Republican party, the party of the Solid North! Will she do it? The South shivers; then Southerners catch sight of a black shape lurking with lecherous grin in the shadow of the Republican party, and, shuddering, the South shrinks closer together. The South looks over her broad area and sees white men and boys eternally on guard, guarding their women even closer than their ancestors guarded their homes from the Indians; a farmer walking along a country road, with a shot-gun on his shoulder perhaps, convoying his little girls to the public school of the neighbourhood; a carpenter or mason, quitting work at sundown, going not to his home, but to the dry-goods store where his grown daughter is employed for a sales-girl, to attend her safely home; a man and his bachelor son, who lives with him, agreeing beforehand upon which shall stay at home with the women of the family after supper, that the other may be free to strend the session of the lodge of which they are both

communicants; a mother of two manly boys lending one of them to a neighbour who is called away for the night, to sleep at that to a neighbour who is contained that neighbour's home for the safety of his wife and babies; brother neighbour's home for the safety of his wife and babies; brother neighbour's home for the safety of his wife and babies; brother neighbour's home for the safety of his wife and babies; brother neighbour's home for the safety of his wife and babies; brother neighbour's home for the safety of his wife and babies; brother neighbour's home for the safety of his wife and babies; brother neighbour's home for the safety of his wife and babies; brother neighbour's home for the safety of his wife and babies; brother neighbour's home for the safety of his wife and babies; brother neighbour's home for the safety of his wife and babies is brother neighbour's home for the safety of his wife and babies is brother neighbour's home for the safety of his wife and babies is brother neighbour's home for the safety of his wife and babies is brother neighbour's home for the safety of his wife and babies is brother neighbour and his wife an less young women gathering Sunday evening before dusk at the home of a girl of their circle who is blessed with a sturdy brother, to attend with that girl and her brother the night service of their church and be distributed among their homes by that brother after the service. All this the South sees—not occasionally, but every day and every night for more than forty years—and then the South looks at the Republican party. Southerners wonder that the Northerners—themselves a white people, even if not of the old British blood of the South, but a typeless conglomeration of Irish and German, and Pole and Dago, and Hun and Turk and Sclav and Semite, and God knows what else that has contributed to the making of the mongrel American people—to this late day choose to give aid and comfort to a black people against a white people. They cannot see that it is for love of that black people (proverbial in the South is a Yankee's hate of a nigger). Is there a squirming Yankee who will acknowledge that it is for secret hope that the blood of the enfranchised negro will finally pollute the pure Caucasian strain of the South? Old Britain, old Rome, old Babylon-of all the proud conquering powers of this world, as far back as history lights up the bloody record, the United States of America is the only one that ever designedly exerted its might to force a fair and enlightened and clean-blooded people into the embraces of a black and besotted animal people.

But Southerners are told the 'Damnyankees' have some choice specimens of their malodorous allies on their own hands now—the coloured citizen who is frequently mobbed in the North, and sometimes burned at the stake. Ever the wealth that comes of unearned increment to the lord of agricultural land is an eyesore to the denizens of crowded cities and towns; therefore, it was inevitable that the ease and grace and dignity of the stately old South should engender in the trading and manufacturing population of the North the soreness and hate that is born of envy and conscious inferiority; but it is a matter of wonder now whether the smarting Yankees would have consummated their hot revenge upon the crushed and bleeding South as thoroughly as they did, if they could have foreseen that of the black savages whom they armed and equipped with full rights and savages whom they armed and equipped with full rights and savages whom they armed and equipped with full rights and savages whom they armed and equipped with full rights and savages whom they armed and equipped with full rights and savages whom they armed and equipped with full rights and savages whom they are savages who are savages whom they are savages who are savages whom they are sav civil rights and privileges and turned loose upon the war-work Southern people, some of them would migrate to the North Several of the populous Northern States have a small pego burden of their own now, the more irritating in that the North is wholly lacking in that profound knowledge of peculiar negotiar character which the South has absorbed from centuries of close TOY,

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association with the darkies, and in that noble patience and tolerance that all Southerners of slave-holding ancestry still feel for the weaker people on their hands. The South hears that consequently the astute Republican party is finding its favour of the blacks less attractive to the Northern electorate and is, therefore, tending gradually towards an informal dumping of the negroes, cheerfully casting them off now as no longer profitable. The Republican party still professes to stand for the equality of the negroes with the whites, but certainly it has shown less enthusiasm for it since the blacks began asserting that equality in the North.

The South bears the white man's burden with an easier mind of late years, partly because of less nagging from the North, but mainly because there is a sensible and increasing lessening of the pressure of that burden upon the South from the natural dying out of the negroes. It was the census of 1890 that brought to light the failing of the negroes, since their freedom, to increase with the whites of the South, and it was seen then only when the eminent author, Thomas Nelson Page, a Virginian, directed attention to it as shown in the tables of that census. But that was twenty years ago, and the negroes have had twenty years further progress downward since then. In the South now the waning of the black people is perceptible. The typical Southern negro of to-day is the weakest and sickliest of beings. With a constitution drained of strength by one of two unspeakable diseases, he readily succumbs to consumption, or more quickly to pneumonia, while the other unspeakable disease is lowering the birth rate of negroes with inexorable Of late, too, the negroes have taken up the cocaine habit, and their addiction to that vice is materially aiding cheap liquor, free love, vagrancy, squalor and disease, in the solution of the negro problem by the elimination of the negroes. Still, the South recoils from the Republican party. The very name of the Republican party is revolting to the decent people of the South, and it is not improved by the known fact that that party lays upon the South's back a load actually heavier than the Government favoured negroes. The South's heaviest burden now is tariff discrimination against her, the same burden that caused Very sore is this old burden of late.

It is only a poor people that never questions its hard lot, and the South is no longer poor. With all the triflingness of free negro agricultural labour and the burden of discriminating taxation upon him the Southern planter has prospered. The lifting by the untrammelled French people of that crushing indemnity imposed upon them was no more wonderful feat of sheer strength than the lifting by the trammelled and shackled

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Southern people of their country from ashes and degradation to wealth and a position of command in the world. The world must wealth and a position of command in the world must be South can supply it with cotte have cotton, and only the South can supply it with cotton in any considerable quantity. The price of cotton, lifting slowly from its nadir of about four and a half cents a pound in 1893-4, ascended in leaps, attaining its natural level of from twelve to fifteen cents a pound in the great bull movements of the 'New Orleans clique' of Hayne, Brown, and others, in 1904-5 and 1909-10 and futile were even the fell efforts of the Attorney-General of the United States to hammer it back down by framing a criminal prosecution against the members of that 'clique.' With the demonstration of the fact that the entire world pays tribute to the Southern ploughman and his mule the price of land in the South has all of it doubled, much of it trebled, and some of it quadrupled, and the top is not yet. Mortgages have been negotiated, lands and stock vastly improved, homes made comfortable and attractive, sons and daughters sent to college, Little the panic of 1907—the Roosevelt panic—disturbed the planter; 'a town man's panic' Southerners called it. With a stable left overloaded with fodder and cured pea-vines, a feedroom packed with cotton-seed meal and hulls, a crib stored with corn, and a pantry filled with pork, the planter laughed at the panic, stored his cotton to wait for the market to recover, and, with thumb to nose, twiddled his fingers at the nonplussed bears. They who serve the planter have shared his prosperity; the advance of the South has been general. Families of well-to-do Southerners think little more new of a summer tour of Europe than they used to think of a summer spent in the resorts of the lofty mountains of North Carolina and Tennessee (and they return with shrinking distaste for that word 'American').

The South, with her wonderful soil, her invigorating atmosphere, and her clear blue sky, will always be, first of all, an agricultural country, but not to agriculture alone is due her sudden attainment of wealth and self-respect after decades of poverty and seclusion. That terror to New England, the manufacture of cotton in the South, is an industry that sprang up within the last twenty-five years, and not only has it practically taken the domestic coarse goods trade of the United States, but it has driven Northern-made goods out of at least one foreign market, China, and is rapidly advancing in the Arabian and African trade since the Chinese boycott of American goods caused a search elsewhere for a market for where for a market for part of the goods that used to go to China; in the quantity of the in the quantity of the world's supply of raw cotton consumed the mills of the Sand the mills of the South rank second, next to those of Great Britain about of the Britain, ahead of those of all Yankeedom, and the building of new mills in the Santi new mills in the South goes on. That miserable class that was

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called the Crackers (the 'Poorwhites' despised of the negroes) is gone from the South; the erstwhile Crackers are among the respectable working people of the South. They are largely the operatives of Southern cotton mills—acquiring greater skill and dexterity with the passage of every year—and so far as their numbers go they have displaced negroes for agricultural tenants. (Cottonland is cultivated by the metayer system, though the word metayer is not known in the South.) Many a former Cracker now owns his hundred acres or more, and many a Cracker's son is superintendent or overseer in some cotton mill. In the face of adverse conditions the South is rapidly growing rich and confident.

The greatest commodity contributed by the United States to the commerce of the world is the South's cotton crop-greater some years than the world's output of gold and silver—the exports of raw cotton alone bringing into the United States more money than the exports respectively of all other agricultural products, all mineral products, and all manufactured articles; and for cattle-feed cotton-seed meal competes with grain even in the great grain-growing States of the West, and for the table cotton-seed oil is used instead of Italian olive oil and Western lard in millions of European and American homes, and disguised cotton-seed oil is said to make better olive oil than the oil that is pressed from olives and better lard than the lard that is melted from hog-fat. Now what does the paternal United States Government do for those who produce this great national wealth? It reduces the purchasing power of a pound of cotton more than one-half. Even those Southerners who were 'gold Democrats' in the year of Republican gold and Democratic silver, 1896, and that horde of disgusted Georgians who vomited Bryan in 1908, and those Southerners who are preaching the new doctrine of tariff protection for Southern products—all these—shy and balk at this stupendous fact. Southerners are told the tariff discrimination against the South is incidental, merely, it might be said, accidental. They would like to believe this, but the attendant circumstances disturb them. When the Ways and Means Committee of Congress undertook in 1909 to frame a measure that would mitigate some of the rigours of the Dingley tariff, did it consider the South? O yes; it proposed a twenty per cent. ad valorem tax on German potash salts, a thing that competes with nothing that can be produced in all America, and without which most of the Southern States cannot grow cotton. Agog with amazement Southern cotton manufacturers watched Congress 'revise' the tariff on cotton goods by raising the duty on fine goods, practically all of which are made in New England, and lowering the duty on coarse goods, practically all of which

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are made in the South; and the bewildered South saw her gracious friend, President Taft, stipulate with Congress for gracious iriend, i resident gracious gracio a corresponding lowering of the duties on the finished products of which the South buys. Ever the wheat-grower imports his binder-twine and bags, the twine free of duty and the bags with a drawback, but the cotton-grower is mulct of five million dollars a year in duty on the bagging for his cotton bales. cotton ties, none are imported, and the cotton-grower is consigned for the especial prey of the steel trust, for the Dingley tariff fixed a prohibitive duty on cotton ties and the tariff revisionists refused relief. Hope of relief came after fourteen years in the provisions for lower duties on bagging and ties for cotton bales in the tariff reform bills of 1911, but that hope came only to be dashed, for President Taft persisted in hard-headed antagonism to the extreme; after those bills had been ratified in both Houses of Congress he defeated them with the extraordinary check on legislation provided in the Constitution, the President's veto; and to the Congress of 1912 he blandly recommended a further raising of the duty on fine cotton goods, with a further lowering of the duty on coarse cotton goods. South embrace the Republican party! Oh, what a joke! When rabbits seek the society of hounds, then will the South espouse the Republican party.

The widely discussed proposition for a strictly Southern party, with Southerners or others for its candidates, came from no one man. All that has been argued against it is that it would be a party of mere protest, and the South knows the futility of an empty protest. But those favouring it point to the Populist party, which never embraced a membership of respectable numbers, yet the great parties vied with each other in adopting its principles and bidding for its scant following. Immediately after the tariff revision fiasco the South began to hear rumours of proposals for a third party, a coalition of insurgent Republicans with Southerners; but the rumours came out of the West, and the South sniffed suspiciously, and averted her nose when the demand for the new party crystallised into an emotional movement for the exaltation of the swashbuckler, Roosevelt, in the course of events squashed of the Republican convention. Now that the new party is actually formed for the comfort of the outraged swashbuckler, the South laughs at its shame-faced straddle of the negro question the negro vote is a factor raughs at its shame-faced surauch where the negro vote is a factor of the negroes in the North, where the negro vote is a factor, and the other to the white people in the South where the the South, where the negro vote is muzzled. Also the South laughed when later the south so laughed when, later, the swashbuckler, exalted and comforted softly pleaded with the softly pleaded with the people of New Orleans for a dissolution

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of the Solid South, that thing of wrought-iron consistency and ox-like stolidity that never trembled under generations of charges, storms and bombardments, and still stands, as firm and stolid as a hickory stump.

A writer in a Georgia newspaper proposes that Presidential electors from the Southern States be elected by the Legislatures without ties. He argues that the West and the North, being commercially natural enemies and both long trained of the Republican party, would soon be seen coming into the electoral college with fingers entangled in each other's hair, while the South, allied with neither, and having a balance of power, could dictate terms. A writer in a South Carolina newspaper suggests. for a further step, that Southern members of Congress abandon the Democratic organisation, balance between parties and factions thereof, and play for the South alone, as Parnell, at the head of the Irish membership in Parliament, balanced between British parties and played for Ireland alone. This plan, which is dubbed Parnellism, has been discussed enough in the South to bring down upon itself the indignation and righteous wrath of certain of the great daily newspapers of the large cities of the North. Scandalised, these authorities virtuously scold and berate the South for her heresy and treason in entertaining such a proposition. Long years the South has been placidly accustomed to that kind of talk from that direction.

The point in common with these plans and opinions, as will have been observed, is, they all assume a South as solidly united hereafter as heretofore.

So long as some negro is not lifted into a dangerous prominence the South cares nothing for office. Down South a man in the service of the federal government floats on the top of the population like a clergyman of the Church of Rome, the popular church of the United States. In a town where there is a federal courthouse the officers of that court walk the streets like tourists, never the intimate factor in the life of the community the officers of the State court are; and the people speak of the two buildings as 'the United States courthouse' and 'our courthouse.' But to individual Southerners a stipend from the Government may be not unacceptable. President Taft's inclusion of Southerners unstained of the Republican party in his distribution of Presidential patronage gave the South more uneasiness than gratification. 'We shall win if the Republicans do not buy us, anxiously predicted the wit of Congress, 'Private' John Allen, of Mississippi, of Democratic chances in 1896, and for the last four years loyal Southerners have silently thought, We will stand our ground if President Taft does not seduce us with offices.' The South bore in mind comfortingly, how-

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ever, that there are not enough offices to go around, and the ever, that there are not end of office. cautiously essayed the beremembered reassuringly holding remembered reassuringly for the beautiful south by tentatively holding south by the into the exasperatingly Solid South by tentatively holding open to the pie counter, and the plan in th to Southerners the way to the pie counter, and the plan did no The President was swamped with applications, but those who got appointments carried no votes with them but their own They were despised in the South, and after President McKinley's death they sank down into the ranks of the black Republicans beneath the South's notice. The South credited President Tate with the kindliest motives, however, and deplored his colossed ignorance and elephantine stupidity. Not till President Tatt accepted the revised tariff did the South begin to suspect him of insincerity and weakness of back; not till his veto of the tarif reform bills of 1911 did the South perceive unmistakably his

glaring yellow streak.

The South watched that part of President Taft's spectacular tour of the Union in 1909 that extended through the South with interest but without hope, for the South no longer hoped of President Taft. Southerners chuckled when the President, at the beginning of his entry of the South, went out of his way to protest that he had not come into the South as a Republican missionary; and they laughed good-naturedly when, near the end of the Southern tour, the President admitted with nervous merriment that Southerners would likely vote in the future as Railway companies made President they had always voted. Taft's stopping-points in the South the excuse for excursion trains with temptingly low rates, and Southerners thronged to gaze at President Taft just as they thronged to gaze at President Roosevelt, just as they might throng to gaze at the devil himself should he advertise a tour of the South in visible body. Thrity municipal bodies availed themselves of this popular curiosity turn a few honest dollars. At Columbia, the rebuilt Yanker burnt capital city of South Carolina, old mother of hot-headed secessionists, the Yankee President Taft was received with tear The Chamber of Commerce charged ten dollars a plate for the privilege of being a guest at the banquet it tendered the President, and the City Council realised eight hundred dollars by selling the President like a ball player to the agricultural society of the State of society of the State, then holding its annual fair just outside Columbia's limit. Columbia's limits. The contract was duly executed, the money paid and the goods delivered; the City Council got its eight hundred dollars, the D hundred dollars, the President made his speech at the fair grounds instead of in the instead of in the city, and the agricultural society collected fifty cents a head color. fifty cents a head admission fee of the multitude that came is

hear him. American patriotism! Not even in New England or Ohio is it more deeply implanted than in the 'new South.'

Not till after the election of 1908 did the South seem to give up her last hope of eventually sinking her nationality in the body of the American people; not till President Taft began his laughable wooing of the South did Southerners begin to appreciate the strength and importance of their unique position as a separate and entire nationality of the American people. Not yet is there a full appreciation of this strength and importance, but striking are the evidences of an awakening appreciation. When the Senate was haggling and bargaining over the tariff revision, strikingly significant was the action of those Southern Senators. notable among them Bailey of Texas and Tillman of South Carolina, who broke out of Democratic harness and stood openly for their own country alone, defying the wrath of the officious Bryan himself, even intriguing with the Republican chiefs for tariff concessions for the South. Is a breaking up of the Solid South near? Rather Southerners seem to be quietly accepting the sectionalism they protested against so long. The South seems to rejoice now in her consciousness of her separate nation-There is a nationalism of the Southern people in the United States as distinct as the nationalism of the Irish in the United Kingdom, and becoming as proud as the nationalism of the Magyars and Huns-the oldest people of Europe-in the Austrian Empire; and there is generating a wholly new force in American politics, one that both the great parties will have to reckon with, sooner or later.

DAVID LEWIS DORROH.

Greenville, South Carolina.

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RECENT BOOK SALES

AMID an ever-increasing number of centenaries, it is strange that one of the most interesting of all should almost have passed unnoticed—the centenary of great book sales. It is still more strange that the death of two men within thirteen months of one another should have had the result of involuntarily commemorating this event.

Just as the Duke of Roxburghe's sale in 1812 stands as the Genesis of modern book collecting, so the Hoe sale in New York and the Huth sale in London may be regarded as its Revelation. Nothing that preceded the Roxburghe sale could compare with it, and it is scarcely possible that two such sales as the Hoe and Huth can take place within the next twenty-five or fifty yearsfor the few remaining great private libraries can be counted on the fingers of one hand. The fashion—as have the opportunities-of forming such libraries has passed away from England to the United States. There are hundreds of choice collections of books being formed in England, but these are for the most part special in character and limited to groups of subjects or periods. Bibliomania was never more widespread than it is today, but it is a sane species of bibliomania. The spirit of accumulation such as that possessed by Richard Heber is not quite dead among us. Only during this past season we had an instance of this in the late Mr. C. Letts, a Holborn solicitor, who accumulated some 70,000 or 75,000 volumes, weighing about forty tons, and comprising books, ancient and modern, on almost every conceivable subject. He hired extensive basements in Gray's Inn Road and had them fitted up with bookshelves, and here in his leisure hours he enjoyed his extensive purchases. That this kind of book collecting, however much pleasure it may give to the collector, should result in heavy pecuniary loss goes without saying.

The Duke of Roxburghe, Mr. Huth, and Mr. Hoe were all three remarkable instances of wise collecting, and their sales examples of substantial profits. In most 'hobbies' the wealthy amateur comes out of the game possibly a wiser and not necessarily a sadder, but nearly always a poorer man. Unfortunately, neither of these three distinguished bibliophiles lived to see their

tastes vindicated; but they derived a vast amount of pleasure and intellectual profit out of their absorbing hobby, and each must have known that his estate was not being impoverished. Of each it might be said, as it was said of Gaignat nearly a century and a-half ago: 'Ce curieux si recherché qui se piquoit de n'avoir que des livres uniques.' It may be added that it is nearly always the 'uniques' and 'presque uniques' which in book collecting save the situation and place the balance on the right side of the ledger.

Probably no book-collector on a large scale has ever kept an exact or even an approximate record of his expenditure, and so it is never possible to be accurate in stating the cost of private libraries. In many instances, however, rough estimates have been formed, and in nearly every case the sale of such libraries has resulted in large profits. It will be interesting to give a few examples:

	Li	brary				Approxi- mate Cost	Realised
Duke of Roxburghe						5,000	23,397
W. Beckford .						30,000	73,551
R. S. Turner						20,000	30,000
Earl of Ashburnham	•		1 .			36,000	62,712
H. Huth R. Hoe	•				-	120,000	(2 parts) 80,990 <i>l</i> (3 parts) 338,826 <i>l</i>
N. 1106	•			-		100,000	(5 parts) 550,020

On the other hand, instances to the contrary are by no means unknown; for example, Richard Heber is said to have spent 80,000l. on a library which sold for less than 57,000l., but the period of his many sales was unfortunate: any time during the last ten or twenty years his books would have produced over a quarter of a million sterling.

Big totals have become so much the order of the day that we cease to be surprised at anything in this line. Yet it will probably surprise even those who follow such matters pretty closely to find how very few English libraries have during the last hundred years passed a 20,000l. limit. Without claiming to be infallible in such a wide survey, I can only find records of sixteen such sales, and these are set out in the following table:

Date	and S	ale				Number of Days	Total
1812, Roxburghe .				1		42	23,397
1829, G. Hibbert .				1		42	23,000
1833-4, P. A. Hanrott						47	22,409
1834-6, R. Heber .						208	56,774
1859-64, G. Libri .						41	28,159
1873, H. Perkins .				1		4	25,954
1878-88, R. S. Turner			•		•	31 (Paris and London)	30,000

Date and Sale				Number of Days	Tot
1881-3, Sunderland				51	T
1882-3, W. Beckford · · ·				39	56,5
1884, Sir J. Thorold	•	•		. 8	73,5
1887-9, Earl of Crawford				14	28,0
1891, W. H. Crawford . · ·				12	26,3
1897-8, Ashburnham (printed books)				20	21,2
1908-9, Amherst of Hackney			•	7	62,7
1911-2, H. Huth (Pts. I. and II.)				12	57,9
1911-2, R. Hoe (Pts. IIII.)	•			59 (sessions)	80,9 333,8

The Huth dispersal has so far only reached to the end of the letter D in the alphabetical arrangement, and to the total in the above table must be added the amount—as yet unannounced-paid for the Shakespeare folios, early quartos, and Poems, which, forming the whole of the eighth day's sale, were sold privately en bloc. It should also be pointed out that the fifty volumes bequeathed by Mr. A. H. Huth to the British Museum may be roughly estimated at 50,000l.; so that the probability is that the original outlay on the library has, theoretically at least, been reached.

There are many analogous features which invite comparison and comment in the first and last two libraries in the above table, but there is only space for just one point: out of the 10,121 lots in the Roxburghe sale only twenty sold for upwards of 1001. (the majority brought under 11. and a large number 6d. and 1s. each); whilst out of the 2596 Huth lots forty-seven exceeded 1001., and of the 10,571 lots in the Hoe sale 536 reached and passed that amount; the highest price in each case being, respectively, 22601. for the Valdarfer Boccaccio; 58001. for the paper copy of the Mazarine Bible, and 10,0001. for the vellum copy of the same. The last price is by far the highest ever paid at auction for a printed book in Europe or America.

Twenty, or even ten, years ago 100l. would have been a preposterously high limit at which, in any one season, to draw up a list of such books as reached that amount in the sale-room, and probably a good many of the earlier issues of Mr. J. H. Slaters hardy and indispensable annual, Book Prices Current, would have to be gone through before a list of 500 could be got. This season the number is so great that only a selection can be given here. This is all the more unfortunate because the great increase in values has been proportionately higher for books which have not yet reached the 100l. limit. The selections which follow have been made with a twofold regard to rarity and general interest. Among the unprecedented number of monuments of early print-

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of the n the ced-Dems. sold fifty seum lity is least,

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print-

ing on the Continent which appeared in the sale-rooms during 1911-12, the following rank first in the order of importance:

Early Printed Books (Continental)

Barry Trincea Books (Conti	mental)	
Title and Date.	Cost	Sale and Price
Aesopus, Vita et Fabulae, 130 leaves, no date .	621 1000	E E
	631., 1868	
do 114 loorson with 401:		Do. 220
1 Unitariode Venis 1700		
do Cavilla 1791	101. 108., 1857	Do. 410
Do. Gevine, 1521	521. 10s., 1864	Do. 202
St. Augustin, De Civitate Dei, Rome, 1468	631., 1873	Do. 125
Do. do. Venice, 1470 (vellum)	3001., 1873	Do. 162
Do. do. Venice, 1470 (vellum) Balbus, Catholicon, Mainz, 1460	175l., 1887	Hoe, 540
Balbus, Catholicon, Braniz, 1400	3401., 1891	Do. 325
Bambergische Halszgerichts ordentig, 1507.	71. 78., 1871	Huth, 135
Bible, 42-line, or Mazarine, 1453-55 (on vellum).	4500l., 1897	Hoe, 10,000
Do. do. (on paper).	3500%, 1878	Do. 5500
Do. do. do. (on paper).	2715l., 1874	Huth, 5800
Do. 48-line, 1462, first with a date (on vellum)	6601., 1864	Do. 3050
Do. do. do. (on paper)		Do. 1900
Block Book: Apocalypsis S. Johannis, 15th cent.,		
48 leaves	350l., 1870	Do. 1200
Do. Ars moriendi, 15th cent., 25 leaves	3201., 1869	Do. 1500
Boccaccio, De mulieribus claris, Ulm, 1473.		Do. 560
Do. De la Ruyne des nobles Hommes, &c.,		20. 000
Bruges, 1476	695l., 1897	Hoe, 1400
Bonifacius, VIII., Liber Sextus Decretalium,	55011, 1007	1100, 1400
Mainz, 1465	901., 1891	Do. 650
Bouchet, L'Amoureux, &c., Paris, 1503 (on	000, 1001	Do. 000
vellum)	2501., 1891	Do. 680
Breydenbach, Itinerarium terrae Sanctae, 1486.	211., 1876	Huth, 150
Caesar, Opera, Rome, 1469	231., 1891	
Cicero, Epistolae ad Familiares, Venice, 1468	121., 1855	Hoe, 360
Do. Officiorum, Mainz, 1465		Huth, 100 28 June 600
Do. Rhetorica, Venice, 1470, vellum	851., 1882	The state of the s
Cleriadus et Meliadice, Verard, 1495, vellum	7641., 1878	Hoe, 365
Colonna, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, Aldus, 1499		Do. 1720
Danse Macabre (La Grant), Troyes, 1528	841., 1868	Huth, 290
Dante, Divina Commedia Foliana 1470	841., 1868	Do. 220
Do. do. Venice, 1472	1471., 1868	Do. 475
D. Vemce, 1412	1801. —	Do. 680
Thorence, 1461	25l., 1874 ²	Do 1800
Homer Opera Grand III Brescia, 1487	591., 1868	Do. 130
Homer, Opera graece, Florence, 1488	861., 1891	Hoe, 760
	3051., 1901	Do. 860
	681., 1891	Do. 460
	1651., 1894	Do. 820
D. Maturans, Venice, 14/2, Venium .	2201., 1882	Do. 545
Quintilian Tracking Venice, 1476, vellum	801., 1898	Do. 280
	2901., 1882	Do. 620
Sabellicus, Rerum Venetarum, 1487, vellum. Suso, Lorlore de Serience Picture.	1501., 1884	Do. 270
Suso, Lorloge de Sapience, Paris, 1493, vellum	380 <i>l.</i> , 1879	Do. 540
¹ The		

The current issue of the official Bulletino of the Società Bibliografica Italiana, Il Libro e la Stampa, contains (pp.77-84) a long and most interesting list of the list of the contemporary prices of the books published by Aldus, and supplements the information of the line of the contemporary prices of the books published by Aldus, and supplements the information of the line of the li the information given by Renouard in his Annales de l'Imprimerie, 1834, p. 329. It should be explained that when Mr. Huth bought this copy of Dante in 1874 for 257, it had only two of Baccio Baldini's engravings after the design of Sandro Bott. Sandro Botticelli; since then he had obtained seventeen others.

The only two 'drops' registered in the foregoing table are The only two drops regard to the fact both unaccountable. The Balbi Catholicon, in spite of the fact both unaccountable. The Balbi Catholicon, in spite of the fact both unaccountable. both unaccountable. The savery large copy of the fourth book that it wanted a leaf, is a very large copy of the fourth book printed with a date; it has, moreover, an interesting provenance, for on the top margin of the first page is the inscription: 'Iste liber pertinet ad fratres Carthusienses in domo Rutilana S. Sirti unanimiter commorantes,' and was for long in the Sunderland library. Still more remarkable was the loss on Mr. Huth's copy of St. Augustin De Civitate Dei, for it has the arms of Cardinal de' Medici emblazoned on the first page of the text, and the initials throughout illuminated by a fifteenth-century artist.

A large number of Early English printed books formed part of both the Huth and the Hoe libraries. Mr. Huth's interest in these was literary, whilst that of Mr. Hoe was typographicalan interest which arose out of his business as the maker of the famous Hoe printing machines. Practically all our early presses were represented in his collection.

Early English Printed Books.

The state of the s		
Title, Printer, and Date	Cost	ale and Price
Alexis, Argument betwyxt Man and Woman, W. de Worde, n.d. (6 leaves). Arthur, Story of Kynge, W. Copland, 1557. Bernard, St., Meditations, W. de Worde, 1496. Berners, Dame J., Book of St. Albans, unknown printer, 1486 Do. do. W. de Worde, 1496 (3 leaves in facsimile) Do. do. W. de Worde, 1503 Boccus, History of Kyng, T. Godfray, 1530 Bonaventura, Life of Christ, W. Caxton, 1488 Carmelianus, P., De Sponsalibus, Pynson, 1514 (on vellum) Cessolis, Game and Play of Chess, W. Caxton, 1481 Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, W. Caxton, 1478 (16 leaves in facsimile) Do. do. do. (17 leaves in facsimile) Chastising of God's Children [? Gaxton, 1491] Chirche of the Euyll Men, W. de Worde, 1511, Parliament of Devils, W. de Worde, 1509 Christine de Pisan, W. Caxton, 1489 Cicero, Old Age and Friendship, W. Caxton, 1481 Contemplation of the Shedding of Blood, W. de Worde, 1511 Doctrinal of Sapience, W. Caxton, 1483 Helyas, Knight of the Swanne, W. de Worde, 1512 (unique copy, on vellum)	120 <i>L</i> , 1873 20 <i>L</i> , 1867 [? 735 <i>L</i> , 1888] 52 <i>L</i> . 10s., 1860 108 <i>L</i> , 1865 [?4 <i>L</i> . 18s., 1897] about 100 <i>L</i> . 160 <i>L</i> , 1905 300 <i>L</i> , 1869 315 <i>L</i> , 1861 1320 <i>L</i> , 1896 45 <i>L</i> , 1855 — 280 <i>L</i> , 1862 300 <i>L</i> , 1862 300 <i>L</i> , 1857 26 <i>L</i> , 1885 — 810 <i>L</i> , 1885	Huth, 300 Huth, 400 Do. 905 Hoe, 1000 Huth, 330 Hoe, 420 Do. 780 Huth, 400 Do. 1000 Hoe, 400 Huth, 310 Hoe, 2100

These two little pamphlets, the first consisting of thirty-eight leaves, the second of eight leaves, were bound together when at Osterley Park, and the sale in 1885 the volume together when at Osterley Park, and the sale in 1885 the volume together when at Osterley Park, and the sale in 1885 the volume together when at Osterley Park, and the sale in 1885 the volume together when at Osterley Park, and the sale in 1885 the volume together when at Osterley Park, and the sale in 1885 the volume together when at Osterley Park, and the sale in 1885 the volume together when at Osterley Park, and the sale in 1885 the volume together when at Osterley Park, and the sale in 1885 the volume together when at Osterley Park, and the sale in 1885 the volume together when at Osterley Park, and the sale in 1885 the volume together when at Osterley Park, and the sale in 1885 the volume together when at Osterley Park, and the sale in 1885 the volume together when at Osterley Park, and the volume together when the sale in 1885 the volume together when the park t the sale in 1885 the volume brought 1701. Of the first, only two other compare known, and of the second column are known, are known, and of the second column are known, are known, and of the second column are known, are known, and of the second column are known, are known, and of the second column are known, are known as the second column are known are known

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uth, 330 oe, 420 Do. 780

uth, 400 Do. 1000 (oe, 400) (uth, 310 (oe, 2100 Do. 4200

eaves and rk, and st her copies

Title, Printer, and Date	Cost	Sale and Price
Higden, Polycronicon, W. Caxton, 1482 Malory, Morte d'Arthur, W. Caxton, 1485 Sermo proEpiscopo puerorum, W. de Worde, 1496 Voragine, Golden Legend, W. Caxton, 1483 (44 leaves only)		Do. 8560 Do. 245

All these books are of the highest rarity; several are unique. One of the most interesting is the first edition of what is known as the Book of St. Albans, which is claimed to be the first printed English armorial (second European), the first printed book on field sports and heraldry, the first book with engravings printed in colours, and the first printed book containing English popular rhymes. The provenance of the Hoe copy, which is perfect, is not given. Lowndes refers to two perfect copies, Earl Spencer's and the Earl of Pembroke's. The latter may be the example which Mr. Quaritch described in his Monuments of the Early Printers, 1886-87, No. 37,919, and priced at 735l.; this may have passed into Mr. Hoe's library, for I have been unable to trace any other copy of its importance and quality. The depreciation in the Hoe Chaucer from Caxton's press is noteworthy, especially as it was 'reasonably' complete, and as the only two known perfect copies are in the British Museum and Merton College.

A very long article would not exhaust the varied features of what may be described as Early English literature in the Huth, Hoe, and other sales of this last year or so. In such matters the market in America is far wider than with us, for in the States there are many generously-endowed collegiate libraries, as well as a still larger number of private collectors on the look-out for rarities. Price being no object, the 'plums' usually fall into the pocket which is the most generously lined with banknotes. The following selection is representative rather than exhaustive:

Early English Literature.

Author and Title	Cost	Sale and Price
Armin, R., Foole upon Foole, 1605, unique Bacon, Lord, Essayes, 1597, first edit Do. do. 1598, second edit Do. do. do Do. do. 1612 Bodenham, J., England's Helicon, 1600 Brathwaite, R., The Shepheard's Tales, 1621 Do. do.	64l., 1864 13l., 5s., 1870 5l. 18s., 1870 4l. 4s., 1870 17l. 5s., 1885 { 84l., 1903 9l. 9s. —	Huth, 101 Do. 1950 Do. 200 Hoe, 355 Huth, 70 Hoe, 300 Hoe, 215 Huth, 95

These are the only two copies known of this little booklet of twenty-five leaves, and it is only one of the many curious coincidences which have occurred this year's book sales at home and abroad.

Author and Title	Cost	Sale
		Sale and Prior
Brooke, C., The Ghost of Richard III., 1614	841., 1864	Huth E
Chapman, G., Homer's Iliad, 1598	-	Hoe, 600
Churchyard, T., Generall Kendarsen	187 50 1000	
1979 . In Challenge 1593	18l. 5s., 1868 28l., 1894	Do. 140
Do. Churchyards Chantenge, 1993	961., 1864	10. 900
Chute, A., Beawtie Dishonoured, &c., 1593	23l. 10s., 1864	11uth. 350
Copley, A., A Fig for Fortune, 1596 Daniel, S., Delia, 1592	16l. 16s., 1870	DO. 11:
To do (first Issue)		Do. 105 Hoe, 760
Destinal Ransodie, 1011	421., 1870	Huth, 152
1 Defea D Robinson Crusoc, 1110 (2 Party)	Marin -	Do. 70
	107 10 10	Hoe, 245
Debort Duke of Normandy, 1990 .	12l. 12s., 1866	Fluth, 135
Drummond, W. (of Hawthornden), 10ths, 10th	35l. 10s., 1865	Do. 170
Do. do. Forth Forsting 1617	8l. 15s., 1869	Hoe, 250
Do. do. Forth Feasting, 1617	? 601., 1882	Huth, 100
	2101., 1895	Hoe, 240 Do. 400
Herbert, George, The Temple, 1631	? 611., 1903	Do. 190
Jonson, Ben, Every Man out of his Humour, 1600	_	Do. 350
Do. Workes, 1616-40 (large paper)		Do. 750
Lilly, J., Woman in the Moone, 1597	? 601., 1901	Do. 264
Marlow, C., Massacre at Paris, c. 1000	No. of Table 25	Do. 235
Middleton T. A Game at Chesse, 1625	381., 1902	Do. 250
Milton, J., Paradise Lost, 1667 (first title)	057 1000	Do. 302
Do. do. 1667 (second title)	85 <i>l.</i> , 1896	Do. 350 Do. 350
Do. Poems, 1645		28 June 520
Do. Comus, 1637		Do. 400
Do. Lycidas, 1638		31 Jan.,17
Shakespeare, W., Merchant of Venice, 1600		200
(J. Roberts ed.)	-	Hoe, 160
Do. Henry V, 1608	-	Do. 162 Do. 415
Do. King John, 1611	_	Do. 630
Do. Hamlet, 1611	- 14	Do. 500
Do. Henry IV, 1613		Do. 362
Do. Richard II, 1615		Do. 410
Do. Midsommer Night's Dream, 1600	Sales Established	Do. 14
Do. Love's Labour Lost, 1631 . Do. First Folio, 1623	5901., 1884	Do. 2600
Do. First Folio, 1623		Do. 270 Do. 64
Do. Third Folio, 1664	- 4	Do. 15
Do. Fourth Folio, 1685		Reaufoy,
Do. Set of the Four Folios		3500
The state of the s	1151., 1864	Hoe, 76
Do. Venus and Adonis, 1627	[?] 2501., 1901	Do. 54
Do. Poems, 1640	261., 1899	D- 62
Sidney, Sir P., Arcadia, 1590 Do. Defense of Poesie, 1595	1201., 1901	Do 40
Watson, T., Passionate Century of Love, 1582.	31l. 10s., 1864	E D
Wycherley, W., Miscellany Poems, 1704 (Pre-		Do. 40
sentation copy)		1
		-07

The season, which promised to be so sensational in early Shakespeares, was deprived of the greater portion of its interest

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by the sale en bloc of the Huth collection to Mr. A. S. Cochrane for the Elizabethan Club library at Yale University. The value of this collection cannot be much short of 40,000l., and it may be doubted if it cost Mr. Huth more than one-tenth that sum. The Hoe series, spread over three sales (he had four copies of the Third Folio), cannot be compared with that of the Huth, but it may be mentioned that the entirely uncut copy of the Venus and Adonis (1627) is one of the only two known, and was picked up for a trifle by a local bookseller less than forty years ago. The Beaufoy set of the first four Folios, one of the finest in existence, included the First Folio (with six leaves from a smaller copy) bound by Roger Payne, which cost only 141l. 10s. in 1851. Bishop Gott's set, for which 7000l. had been asked, brought only 2936l. when sold piecemeal in July 1910.

A few of the more important of what may be described as miscellaneous rarities which occurred in various sales are grouped together in the following table:

Author and Title	Cost	Sale and Price
Blake, W., Milton: a Poem, 1804 Do. Songs of Innocence, 1789 Burns, R., Poems, Kilmarnock, 1786, uncut Do. do. do. Do. do. Edinburgh, 1793, uncut Cervantes, M., Don Quixote, Madrid, 1605-15 Do. do. 1605 (Pt. I, second issue) Gray, T., Elegy, 1751 (first issue, first edit.). Lamb, C., King and Queen of Hearts, 1805 (coloured plates) Pope, Alex., Dunciad, 1728 5 (first issue, first ed.) Do. do. 1728 (second issue, first edit.) Saint-Pierre, J. H. B. de, Paul et Virginie, 1806 Thackeray, W. M., Flore et Zephyr, 1836 Do. Vanity Fair, 1847-8 (in parts) Villon, F., Les Œuvres, 1532 Voltaire, Romans et Contes, 1778	230 <i>l.</i> , 1882 4 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> — 36 <i>l.</i> , 1875 — 210 <i>l.</i> — 30 <i>l.</i> , 1854 [?] 150 <i>l.</i> — { 75 <i>l.</i> , 1900 50 <i>l.</i> , 1900 11 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> , 1871 — 580 <i>l.</i> , 1888 2 <i>l.</i> 17 <i>s.</i> , 1850	# Hoe, 1800 Do. 140 Do. 1160 Huth, 730 Hoe, 400 United Hoe, 400 Lo. 155 Hoe, 900 12 Nov., 340 Hoe, 360 Do. 122 20 Mar 390 28 June, 250 10 May, 170 Hoe, 760 20 Mar., 128
Walton, I., Compleat Angler, 1653		Hoe, 520 12 Nov.,750

In Americana the sales of the last season or two have been unusually rich, forming a very important feature in Mr. Hoe's library and a not inconsiderable one in Mr. Huth's. To English readers the subject is naturally less interesting than to those on the other side of the Atlantic. A few of the rarer or more noteworthy books are included in the following table:

⁵ Mr. Hoe had fourteen issues of The Dunciad, 1728-1735.

Americana	Cost	Sale and Price
Azores, The Fight about the Isles of Acores, 1591 Beschrijvinghe van Virginia, Niew Nederlandt, &c., 1651 (with first engraved map of New	41. 4s., 1866	Huth, 300
Do. Niew Nederlant, &c., 1655	15 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> , 1861	Do. 350 Hoe, 320
(with second engraved map of New York). Bulkeley, G., People's Right to Election, Phila-	_	Do. 163
delphia, 1689 and Discoveries, 1580.	21 <i>l.</i> , 1868 21 <i>l.</i> , 1861	Huth, 150 Do. 235
Catier, J., Navigations and Cato's Moral Distichs, 1735, printed by B. Franklin Columbus, C., Epistola (1493), 4 leaves, 33-line	_	Hoe, 260
hages.	30 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> , 1860	Huth, 210 Hoe, 280
Do. do. (1493), 3 leaves, 40-line pages Do. do. 1493, 4 leaves, 40-line pages	25l., 1865 170l., 1884	Huth 240
Do. De Insulis in mari Indico, &c., 1494,	1101., 1885	,
Denton, S., Brief Description of New York, 1670,	400%, 1900	
Drake, Sir F., Expeditio in Indias Occidentales, 1588 . Do. West Indian Voyage, 1589	12l. 12s., 1868 75l., 1876-7	The state of the s
Hakluyt, R., Principal Navigations, &c., 1599-	451., 1891	Hoe, 680
Smith, Capt. J., Historie of Virginia, 1624 Vespuggi America, Lettera, circa 1505	605 <i>l.</i> , 1883 524 <i>l.</i> , 1884	Do. 1600
Do. Mundus Novus, circa 1504 do. (in French), circa 1515.		Do. 600 Do. 700
Winthrop, J., Declaration of Former Passages, 6 &c. 1645	'\ _	Do. 2000

Unfortunately, it is only possible to deal here but very briefly with two of the most important features of the Huth and Hoe dispersals—the bindings and the illuminated manuscripts, which were remarkable for their beauty and advance in commercial value. Each finely bound book and MS. is unique—and 'uniquity' is an undeniably precious quality in the eyes of the true collector. Mr. Hoe's bindings had a world-wide fame, and comprised not only examples of every great binder, but volumes executed specially for Royal and other eminent collectors, men and women. Grolier's copy of the Heliodorus of 1552, with his name and motto, sold for 1100l.; the Thomas à Kempis Imitation de Jesu Christ, 1690, sumptuously bound by Monnier, realised 156l. in the Beckford sale in 1882, changed hands again a year or two later, Mr. Hoe giving about 720l. for it: it realised 1150l. at his sale. King Charles the First's copy of Fanshawe's translation.

⁶ The first book on an historical subject printed in English America, and of the greatest rarity, being one of only four copies known, two of which public institutions. The Brinley copy sold in New York in 1879 for 43!.

tion of Il Pastor Fido, in black morocco, with the King's arms stamped in gold and with his motto and signature, 'Dum spiro spero.—C.R.,' brought 160l., as compared with the fifty guineas paid for it in 1895.

Pretty much the same story concerns the manuscripts. of the most beautiful of these was the Pembroke Book of Hours, executed in England in the fifteenth century, with over three hundred miniatures. This cost Mr. Hoe 1180l. in 1891, and now returned 6600l.; the Hours of Anne de Beaujeu cost 1000l. in 1878 and sold for 4800l.; another beautiful MS., believed to have been executed for Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry the Sixth of England, sold for 231l. 10s. at the Addington sale in 1886, and now brought 650l. In 1867 Mr. Huth paid 100l. for a sixteenthcentury MS., Historie Naturelle des Indes, with two hundred water-colour drawings-it returned 10201.; and a fifteenth-century MS. of the Apocalypse, with many fine miniatures, cost him 174l. and realised 3550l. These instances—and equally striking examples could be quoted by the score-go to show that as a hobby book-collecting has its substantial compensations—at all events for the fortunate legatees.

W. ROBERTS.

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THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN CHINA

EUROPEANS usually consider that the position of women in China is greatly inferior to that assigned to their sisters in Western countries. We are apt to confuse similarity and equality, but the two are different. There is undoubtedly considerable difference in many ways between the life led by a Chinese lady and that of her European sister of the same class; but it does not follow that therefore the position of Chinese women is consequently inferior. In some respects, indeed, the Chinese lady has the advantage. Her power over her children is greater; in the event of her husband dying she becomes the acknowledged head of the family, A Chinese son would be shocked at the idea of turning his mother out of her house and relegating her to an insignificant 'dowerhouse,' while he and his wife took possession of what had been his mother's home probably for years: an experience that falls to the usual lot of widows in Europe. Such a proceeding would in the Celestial Empire be regarded as 'unfilial,' and to be called 'unfilial' is there dreaded as a term of infamy. Again, the wife of an official has a right to assume all the insignia of her husband's rank; her jacket is embroidered with the same token of distinction; she wears a necklace denoting like dignity, and at the great annual holiday of the New Year the official seal is confided to her keeping.

The power of Chinese parents over their children is supreme, and has the force of the law behind it. Should a son or daughter be even guilty of using abusive language to parents or paternal grandparents, and should the parents make complaint to a magistrate that they themselves heard such language, the delinquent is liable to death by strangulation; in all probability, however, Chinese relations would be as loath to put such a law in force as would be those of other countries.

In the matter of marriage, it is true, girls are not given much choice in the selection of the future husband, but neither has the man the choice of his bride. As is often the case in Ireland, marriages are made by match-makers, not by Heaven. Mercenary motives, however, are not the only considerations that determine the selection of a bridegroom on the part of the lady's parents. His surname, it is essential, should be different from hers, even though no blood-relationship exists

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Over four thousand six hundred surnames have between them. been recorded in China, and all of the same name are regarded in some measure as of one family. A 'Li' would acknowledge a claim made on him for assistance if an unknown 'Li' from a distant province were to ask it; a 'Kong' or a 'Ma' would not he justified in refusing a helping hand to those of the same name of whom he might never previously have heard in the event of their applying to him. Marriages between those of the same surname are not merely contrary to etiquette, but as the law of the land decrees that 'whenever any persons who have the same surname or family name intermarry, the parties and the contractor of the marriage shall each receive sixty blows and, the marriage being null and void, the man and the woman shall be separated, and the marriage presents forfeited to the Government'; the regulation is rarely infringed.

The whole responsibility of the marriage rests with the parents and the professional match-makers. The match-makers are women, and, oddly enough, are reckoned among the nine classes of professional women of evil renown with the people; the other eight are 'the three kinds of nuns (Buddhists, Taoists, and Sorceresses), mediums for ghosts, go-betweens, actresses, female

doctors, and midwives.'

It is true that so long as her parents-in-law live the son's wife is subordinate to them; even in England a mother-in-law is not always regarded with favour, and as Chinese women are as human in their feelings and tempers as are those of other races, even the rigidity of celestial etiquette does not invariably suffice to ensure agreeable relations between a mother-in-law and her son's wife. Habit, however, we all acknowledge is second nature; what would be impossible with us, custom has rendered possible in China, and in probably the majority of cases mother-in-law and daughter-in-law live on friendly, often on affectionate, terms. In this relationship, as in all others, it is the strongest character and will that carries the day. A sour or violent-tempered woman must prove undesirable as a mother-in-law, a selfish, sullen girl will on her side often cause her parents-in-law 'to eat bitterness.' The usually extreme youth of the bride in itself renders a residence with more experienced relatives expedient; in the middle classes the wife has often been brought up by the bridegroom's mother with the view to becoming her daughter-in-law, so must be accustomed to her position in the house. In some respects Chinese women of the working classes have a better time of it than English women of a similar social status. To strike or kick a Woman would be regarded as a proceeding of the utmost impropriety by any self-respecting Chinaman. The costermonger who would 'jump upon his mother,' in England regarded as a comical character, would excite too great horror in China for such a performance to be associated with amusement in the slightest degree formance to be associated with a re-hedged round with etiquette in It is true that Chinese women are hedged round with etiquette in the intelerable to us; but even English It is true that Chinese wonderable to us; but even English people a way that would be intolerable to us; but even English people a way that would be intolerable to us; but even English people in the comparements of which from force the comparements of the comparements of which from force the comparements of the comparements of which from force the comparements of the compar have rules and social arrangements, of which from force of habit have rules and social arrangement of which is appeared a shock that brings home the fe to give the insular mind a shock, that brings home the fact that certain barriers are not only expedient but necessary.

There is only one legal wife in China; she is the Kit-fat, and she alone is carried to the bridegroom's house in the red sedan chair. The necessities of ancestral worship, however, have led to the habit—usual but not universal—of the existence of one or more secondary wives or concubines, whose presence does not always increase the harmony of the household. In some cases these ladies occupy different houses; where the means of the husband do not admit of this arrangement, one mansion has to be portioned among them. The children of all these secondary wives count as those of the Kit-fat, whom they address as their mother, their actual mother, and the other secondary wives (should there be such) they call 'aunt.' When a son marries, he and the bride 'Kow-tow' only to the father and the 'Kit-fat,' and after death perform the ancestral ceremonies at their tombs, even though the Kit-fat is not actually the mother. It is as necessary for the Kit-fat to have a son to perform this ancestral reverence as it is for her husband, and when the first wife has no children, instances occur of her insisting on her husband providing himself with a secondary partner in hopes of obtaining the desired son.

The Trimetrical Classic, the universal book of instruction for the youth of China, states that the three main bonds of society are 'the obligation between sovereign and subject, the love between father and child, harmony between husband and wife. Secondary wives are no doubt disturbing to the latter state of things, as is acknowledged in the Chinese proverb 'One key makes no noise, but two keys create a jingling.' To the Kit-ial belongs whatever of dignity and importance attaches to the family, but as she has been selected to fill the position without the husband having had much voice in the matter, should she not meet with his approval, he generally consoles himself by takings secondary wife chosen by himself. The Kit-fat may be legally divorced on seven accounts: if she has no children; if she prore immoral; disobedient to her husband's parents; over-talkative; given to thieving; if she is jealous; or afflicted with leprosy. sounds a very comprehensive series of reasons; yet in point of the none of them can be urged if the wife has observed mourning three years for the wife has observed mounting three years during three years for her husband's parents; if the family become wealthy bearing become wealthy, having been poor when she married; or if he parents are dead so that parents are dead, so that she cannot return to them, so it is easier

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or if her is easier and pleasanter to take a secondary wife than to get rid of a first one, and divorces are consequently more rare than elsewhere, for should the husband try to discard his wife, and she could prove any of the above reasons against a divorce, he would not only be obliged to take her back, but would have rendered himself liable to punishment.

In Southern China a secondary wife is installed with very little ceremony. The damsel pours out a cup of tea for her admirer. who acknowledges the attention by placing on the tray a certain sum of money wrapped up in red paper; her acceptance of it ratifies the contract. As they have no legal status, secondary wives may be discarded at the husband's pleasure, but such would

be rarely done without provision being made for them.

If a family has only one daughter it may be continued in the following manner. On a specified 'lucky' day the bridegroomelect repairs to the girl's house and knocks at the door, which has been carefully closed. The young lady inquires who is there. In reply the man states his name and all necessary particulars about himself, on hearing which the bride-elect asks if he is willing to come to her home and remain with her. On receiving the assurance that he will come and live in good partnership with her, the door is thrown open, the bridegroom enters, and the usual wedding festivities take place. The woman who marries in this fashion agrees to support her husband, and supply him with whatever is necessary, but undertakes no other obligations towards The house is hers, and she may do as she likes with it. The children take their mother's surname and belong to her family, consequently being bound to reverence the tombs of their maternal ancestors and not those of the paternal grandparents. The husband need not work or contribute towards the establishment. This form of matrimony is called 'the woman marrying the man.'

The Chinese are most affectionate parents, and children often designate their mother 'Chia-tz'u,' i.e. 'the family gentle one.' A child's education is supposed to be pre-natal in its influence. Before the birth of a child the expectant mother, if possible, should neither witness any disagreeable sights nor hear any unpleasant sounds. She must not use any bad language, or partake of any unwonted dishes. She ought to encourage in her mind feelings of loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, and all upright principles, with the view of imprinting these sentiments on her After its birth the first lessons to be impressed on the infant mind is to eat with the right hand, to speak in a subdued voice, to be deferential in manner, and unselfish in conduct. Not till the child has reached its eighth year does the school education begin.

During the first month after a child's birth the mother ought During the first month area with everything she eats, as the to take ginger and vinegar with everything she eats, as the to take ginger and vinegation to take ginger and vinegation. The ideas of tonics in China ingredients are considered tonics. The ideas of tonics in China are occasionally gruesome. In parts of the empire human flesh is regarded as one of the most powerful of tonics. It is an act of extreme filial piety for a child to cut off a piece of his or her flesh to make broth of it for the benefit of a sick parent. girl who does so is entitled to the erection of a memorial archin her honour after death.

When an infant is a month old its head is shaved, a ceremony of domestic importance, observed with more or less display accord.

ing to the means of the parents.

Little girls are brought up to look forward to marriage as their goal in life; but when the desired end is about to be attained. etiquette prescribes that the bride-elect must weep or pretend to do so for three days previous to the wedding, so as to display fitting regret at leaving the paternal roof. A broom is the emblem of her new duties as a wife; the day after the wedding the bride takes a broom-in wealthy families symbolically, in poor ones

actually-and sweeps the house.

Chinese ladies do not care for exercise, and rarely leave the house except in a closed sedan chair. They occupy themselves somewhat similarly to European ladies in other respects. They pay and receive visits, see after their households, choose jewels and toilettes, play cards, dominoes, or chess, smoke water-pipes, and sometimes a whiff of opium, make the pretty little miniature gardens, of which several are usually seen in Chinese houses, occupy themselves in various kinds of work, in painting, and so on. The life is varied by the recurrence of festivals, and a wealthy woman sometimes passes several months in pilgrimages. As a general rule the ladies are Buddhists, but their Confucian husbands escort them on these expeditions, in which they are accompanied by a numerous retinue of servants. The huge Buddhist monasteries are picturesquely perched on some high mountain, surrounded by forests and crags, with streams trickling here and there over the rocks, and every now and then is seen a little shrine on some large stone, and in the shrine the figure of a smiling 'Goddess of Mercy' holding an infant in her arms, or a solemn stone Buddha, before whom a few incense-sticks give out their lives in sweet perfume. When a great lady arrives at one of these sylvan retreats a suite of apartments in one of the numerous courts of guest chambers is assigned to her, and her attendants spread out the gorgeous hangings and rich silks belonging to their mistress, and deck the bare rooms, provided by the kind monks, with mirrors and hard with mirrors and brilliant scrolls, so that the simple chambers become a fitting setting become a fitting setting for the dainty occupant, who will there

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spend several days passed in worshipping at the various shrines, in attending services chanted by the monks, expending large sums in charity, and in providing feasts of fruit and rice, cakes and vegetables for the poor. The Chinese are large-hearted in their charities, and the women are not behind the men in this respect. An awful famine devasted the empire between 1877-79, in which two years no less than some ten or eleven millions of people are said to have died. Some time afterwards an English lady travelling in that region frequently met poor widows, who would relate how their lives had been saved by the wife of a small official who, during that fearful visitation, had daily provided them with a good meal. When the English traveller congratulated this Chinese lady on her kindness, the latter answered, ' How could I enjoy my own meals if these poor neighbours were starving? Sometimes a Chinese lady will relate to a visitor with tears of sympathy the struggles and sufferings of her friends less well off than herself in goods of this world. Many of these ladies regard it as a duty to make suits of wadded clothing to distribute in winter to the poor.

The great Eastern religions may differ in minor details of dogma, but the fundamental virtues, which it is the design of dogmas to enforce, remain the same truths, not to be shaken by any superstructure of differing creeds. Chinese women have a high standard of morals, but in their education etiquette is so rigidly laid down as in some cases, to our way of thinking, to degenerate into prudishness. It is not etiquette for a woman's garments to be hung on the same peg as those of a man; a husband, if absent, when writing to his wife, ought not to address a letter to her, but to his parents; or, in case they are no longer living, to his son or daughter.

A mien severe and eyes that freeze Become the future bride;

No whispering beneath the trees, Ere yet the knot be tied,

writes a Chinese poet describing the ideal bride. Such extreme primness, however, is apt to occasion a rebound to something very much the reverse, so it is not altogether surprising that the men of the nation are said to be too fond of seeking relaxation amid the gayer manners of singing girls and less rigid etiquette of damsels of the flower-boats.

Human nature, however cramped by convention or restrained by custom, is 'au fond' the same all the world over. It has

been written with truth:

Notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which women labour in China, they at times rise superior to them, and, pushing past all obstacles in their path, take a forward place, not only in the State, but in the in their path, take a forward place, but in the humbler sphere of the family, as well as in the more difficult one of letters and literature.

It is strange to us that these retiring, apparently timid Chinese It is strange to us that the women have not only so distinguished themselves, but have free women have not only so distinguished themselves, but have free women have not only so distinguished themselves, but have free women have not only so distinguished themselves, but have free women have not only so distinguished themselves, but have free women have not only so distinguished themselves, but have free women have not only so distinguished themselves, but have free women have not only so distinguished themselves and the women have not only so distinguished themselves. quently displayed great military prowess. As early as the sixth century we read of a patriotic widow who, after the death of her husband, equipped a force among her retainers to assist the Emperor then engaged in a war with the aborigines. She accom. panied the troops into action, and so inflamed them with her valour that they carried all before them. In recognition of her services the Emperor bestowed on her the title of Duchess of Tz'iao Kwo Fu-jen, and conferred on her late husband the posthumous title of duke. To come to more modern days, in the Taiping rebellion not merely two regiments of women, but two women generals, fought fiercely in the struggle, and recently we have read of a regiment of young Chinese ladies, armed and equipped like men, who went to the front and took an active

part in the trend of affairs.

The women have great tenacity of purpose, and do not fline from death when a sense of duty makes them resolve on committing suicide. It is regarded as meritorious in a widow to die with her husband, and the custom of widows so immolating themselves still exists. Such a ceremony took place in 1861 at Amoy with much pomp. The widow, who was only twentyfive years of age, had no children or parents, so resolved on following her husband to the spirit land. A few days before the one on which she had appointed to die, she was carried round the town in a wedding chair, not closed as at an actual wedding, but open so that all might see her as she passed. She invited the people to come to see her make her exit from this life. She was accompanied by a procession such as is seen at weddings On the day fixed for her death, attired in richly embroidered wedding garments of red silk, with a gilt coronet such as is work by brides, and seated in the same chair, the young woman was carried to the scaffold. There she got out of the chair, and without displaying any emotion calmly sat down and partook of refreshment prepared on a lower platform of the scaffold. When the meal was finished she addressed the surrounding crowd, and, taking some handfuls of uncooked rice from a boxle which stood on the s which stood on the table, she scattered it amongst the people, who eagerly some land to the scattered it amongst the people who eagerly some land to the scattered it amongst the people who eagerly some land to the scattered it amongst the people who eagerly some land to the scattered it amongst the people who eagerly some land to the scattered it amongst the people who eagerly some land to the scattered it amongst the people who eagerly some land to the scattered it amongst the people who eagerly some land to the scattered it amongst the people who eagerly some land to the scattered it amongst the people who eagerly some land to the scattered it amongst the people who eagerly some land to the scattered it amongst the people who eagerly some land to the scattered it amongst the people who eagerly some land to the scattered it amongst the people who eagerly some land to the scattered it amongst the people who eagerly some land to the scattered it amongst the people who eagerly some land to the scattered it amongst the people who eagerly some land to the scattered it amongst the scattered it is scattered in the scattered it is scattered in the scattered in the scattered it is scattered in the scat who eagerly scrambled to secure a few grains sanctified by her blessing. She then blessing. She then ascended to the upper scaffold, with her of hands passed the received to the upper scaffold, with her of hands passed the received the received the received to the upper scaffold, with her of the hands passed the received the receive hands passed the noose around her neck, and in a few moments all was over. A michael and in a few moments are a michael and a few moments are a michael and a few moments are a michael and a few moments. all was over. A violent struggle then ensued to obtain possession of the fatal rope. of the fatal rope. It was cut into small pieces to distribute in the letters

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ssession stribute among the widow's friends. The corpse was next placed in the chair and carried to a temple. A magnificent funeral at the public expense was accorded to the remains of the departed lady, and later on an arch was erected to celebrate her virtuous deed.

In 1873 a less spectacular, but equally determined, suicide of a young widow is recorded in the Pekin Gazette. On the death of her husband this young lady attempted to poison herself, but was saved from dying by the exertions of her late husband's parents, who did their best to comfort her. Touched by their kindness, the widow devoted herself to her parents-in-law till at length they sent to have their son's body removed for final interment at his birthplace, when the widow insisted on going to the funeral, after which she deliberately starved herself to death, saying 'Death to me is a reunion with him, and do not then restrain me.' Betrothed girls, whose affianced husbands die before the marriage takes place, not infrequently commit suicide, and are then buried with the bridegroom-elect. The complete faith in a future existence enables the Chinese to face the passage to that existence with courage.

One duty that has to be undertaken by the mistress of a Chinese household is that of finding husbands for her slave girls. It is a more onerous one than might be expected. A slave girl must have the option of marrying when she attains the age of sixteen, and, alone of all Chinese women, must be consulted as to her wishes in the matter of a husband. 'I can marry my relations to whom I like,' observed a lady, 'but I must ask my slave girls if they are satisfied with the husbands I propose for

them.

Kidnapping little girls to sell as slaves is a regular trade in China, where domestic slavery exists, though those who steal the children are liable to severe punishment if detected. Once the children are smuggled away from the neighbourhood of their homes it is difficult to bring the crime home to its perpetrators. The lot of many of the unfortunate little girls so carried off is frequently as sad as that of the victims of the 'white slave' traffic of Europe. If the child fall into the hands of cruel or very poor persons her lot is usually a very hard one, but the girls taken into families of the better class are usually kindly treated and well cared for. Such children often share whatever education is considered necessary for the daughters of the house, join in their pursuits and amusements, and, when a young lady is married, one or two of the slave girls usually accompany their young mistress to her new home, and, if good-looking and pleasing, not infrequently the quondam slave is elevated to the position of a secondary wife in the establishment. Little girls are often dressed as boys to obviate the danger of their being abducted by kidnappers; whereas small boys are sometimes clothed in by kidnappers; whereas shall be distributed in feminine garments with the object of preventing interference with feminine garments with the object of preventing interference with feminine garments with the object. The Chinese believe that the child's soul by malignant spirits. The Chinese believe that the child's soul by manginance. If a child falls sick, often the soul is tripartite in its nature. If a child falls sick, often the the soul is tripartite in its and to a portion of its soul having been enticed away by evil spirits and to having gone astray. The best hope of the child's recovery is to induce the missing portion of the soul to return to its body. There is a saying in China, 'A mother's voice reaches thousands and thousands of li'; and so the mother of the little sufferer takes one of her little boy's garments, or some favourite dainty of his, and with a lantern in her hand goes to the place where it is thought the missing soul may be wandering. She waves the lantern all around, and calls to the soul 'Come home! Come home!' Sometimes another woman in the distance will respond for the errant soul, and the mother goes home content, believing that the missing soul is following her.

A favourite festival of the women of China of all classes is that of the Weaver, or Spinning Lady, and the Herdsman also called the Star Festival. It is celebrated on the seventh night of the seventh moon. The Weaver girl was the daughter of the sun, and sat so continuously working at her loom that her father grew tired of seeing his daughter for ever bending over her work. and determined to marry her to the handsome herdsman who tended his cattle on the banks of the Silver River of Heaven, i.e. the Milky Way, hoping that thenceforward his daughter might be induced to take to a brighter, less monotonous mode of life. After the marriage, however, the girl became not only more lively and merry, but actually forsook loom and spinning wheel completely, and spent her time solely in amusement. Then the Sun King grew wrath and blamed the herdsman for the levity now shown by the young lady, and the sun banished the husband to the far side of the River of Stars and decreed that henceforth the couple should meet no more save once every year on the seventh night of the seventh moon. At the sun's command myriads of magpies flew up, and made a bridge with their wings across the Silver River, and, sadly bidding his weeping wife farewell, the disconsolate herdsman crossed the bridge of wings and returned to herd his cattle beside the river that streams through Heaven. The lonely wife again returned to her loom, and the sun once more rejoiced at his daughter's industry. year rolled on, and at last came the seventh night of the seventh moon, the magpies flew up in myriads and formed themselves into a bridge, and the heart of the forlorn weaver rejoiced again as she crossed the Silver River and met her husband once more. Had a drop of rain fallen on that evening the River of Heaven ed in with that in the aving

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eventh aselves again more. Ieaven would have overflowed and swept away the bridge, and the couple would not have seen each other for yet another year; so every year the people pray for fine weather on that festival and supplicate the Weaver to give them skill in using their needles and shuttles. Every house is brightly lighted, and water-melons, fruits, flowers, cakes, incense and candles offered in honour of the star divinities. The ladies visit their various friends, and send others pretty little souvenirs of work made by themselves.

Unlucky or unpropitious words are greatly feared in China, and it seems as though they created especial dread when uttered by women or children. Scrolls are often hung up, especially at the season of the New Year, on which is the inscription ' Women and children's words without dread,' which would seem to show that some occult power attaches to such utterances, of which the evil effect is counteracted by the words on the scroll. Attempts to communicate with the unseen world by means analogous to our 'mediums,' 'planchettes,' and so forth have long been resorted to in China, though a certain suspicion and discredit attaches to some of the practices appertaining to such arts, and, as has been mentioned, 'sorceresses' are considered as practising one of the nine disreputable professions followed by females. Closer investigation would probably show that in the Middle Kingdom, as in Western countries, a distinction is made between the arts of black and white magic. The equivalent used for a 'planchette' is a forked stick, two or three feet in length, made of mulberry, peach, or willow wood. held on sand, placed in a wooden platter three or four feet long, laid on a table before an altar in a temple. Inquiries are made as with the 'planchette,' and answered by the stick forming characters on the sand, on which rests its point, the two ends of the stick being held by the medium. A favourite method with women mediums of communicating with the unseen is by means of a small figure made of willow wood. To ensure the little image becoming endued with miraculous powers, it must have been exposed to the dews of Heaven for no less than fortynine nights. The medium holds the figure against the pit of her stomach, and it is supposed to become endowed with powers of speech and to answer inquiries addressed to the spirits of the dead, whose souls it is believed enter the figure, by means of which they are enabled to converse with their relatives on Occasionally the inspired figure may be held to the ear of one who questions it, so that the answer may be heard more plainly. Another method in which intercourse with spirits is carried on is by means of a table on which are placed two lighted candles and three incense sticks burning in a censer. The woman who acts as the medium bows her head

and rests it on the table, and after a time she becomes animated with the departed spirits with whom communication is desired, and they answer whatever questions may be put to them, speak, and they answer whatever questions. At the close of a séance the medium is often seized by a violent fit of retching and sickness, but on drinking a cup of tea soon recovers from it.

The custom of exposing or destroying infant girls is often quoted as proving the indifference to female life in China. It is true the practice is common among the very poor, who cannot afford to furnish the necessary dowry should their daughters grow up and marry. The law that married daughters are not called upon to contribute to the support of their own parents, but must do so for their parents-in-law, is largely accountable for the custom of girl infanticide, which is seldom resorted to by those who are better off. It is usually the baby's father who decides whether or not the little girl is to be 'passed under the bridge,' as the process of drowning the child is euphoniously termed. A large wooden pail for carrying water, spanned by a handle, is brought. If the parent considers it not advisable to rear the girl, directly she is born she is dipped into the bucket and drawn under its handle, a process which effectually disposes of an unwelcome addition to the family. It is a custom to which apparently the people's 'poverty and not their will consents'; it is not considered a crime, but is discouraged by the authorities, and proclamations are issued against it. Foundling asylums exist in most of the large cities, whither the numerous infants exposed in lanes and byways are taken, and there they are brought up to live till old enough to marry, when, if possible, husbands are provided for them. No girl is allowed to be taken for a slave, or even as a secondary wife, and when she leaves, one of the local officials must satisfy himself that she is not being taken away for any immoral purpose.

Charitable societies of many kinds are common all over the empire, and though not usually run on lines deemed essential in Europe, serve their purpose fairly well. There are numerous societies for the support of indigent widows. One such institution in Company tion in Canton has 240 cottages, affording accommodation for 340 women. There are societies for supplying money towards the wedding expenses of widows' sons in poor circumstances, burial societies, and charitable institutions of many kinds.

There is nothing in the status of women in China to prevent ir taking an action their taking an active share in public affairs should they so desire. The seclusion in which the ladies live is a matter of custom and dignity, sort of moral chierati The very idea of 'purdah' is unknown in China. sort of moral obligation attaches to it as is the case with Mohammedans. Chinese ladi medans. Chinese ladies appear in law courts to give evidence

in case it should be required, and can be seen sitting in the balconies reserved for them in the theatres. So little do they consider veiling desirable for women that should an Englishwoman wear a veil on her hat when visiting Chinese friends, the ladies will sometimes inquire if she wears the veil on account of having something the matter with her skin. The women of the working classes in China live no more in seclusion than do the men, whose work they share in the fields, streets, and boats even more continuously than do women in European countries. Up to the present, however, iron custom has restricted the domain of usefulness of the women of China; but when the day comes that the great and wonderful people of the Celestial Empire fling off ancient shackles while still adhering to the gold that underlies the accumulated dust of ages, it is to be hoped that the women of the country will be accorded their proper place among the honoured pillars that support the State.

EDITH BLAKE.

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RURAL AND AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

In this Review for January 1907 1 it was suggested that upon the answers to certain inquiries the future of agricultural education would largely depend. The points there raised were exhaustively dealt with in the Report 2 of Lord Reay's Depart. mental Committee, which furnished ample data whereon a national policy might be based. As a first step towards effective organisation, the Committee unanimously recommended that the duty of promoting and controlling agricultural education should remain vested in the Board of Agriculture-in other words, that all agricultural instruction provided by universities, university colleges, agricultural colleges, farm institutes, winter schools, and special classes or courses of lectures should be under the direction of that Board. This is in accordance with the practice of other countries, and with the wishes of the entire agricultural community. From causes as to which speculation is no longer necessary, the Board of Education declined to adopt this view, and endeavoured to deprive the Board of Agriculture of almost all the educational functions with which it was entrusted on its establishment in 1889, with the result that matters have remained practically at a standstill for the past three years, to the prejudice of the farmer and the annoyance of every local authority. The whole episode reflects little credit upon the ways of English administration. Wiser counsels have happily now prevailed, upon which both Mr. Runciman and Mr. Pease are to be congratulated. The responsibility for farm institutes is transferred to the Board of Agriculture, and the Circular 778 issued by the Board of Education with respect to aid from the Development Fund for those institutes is cancelled. It is not vet quite clear by yet quite clear how much the expression 'farm institutes' comprises. In the absence of any precise definition, it may be hoped that it is the man in the prises are in the prises. hoped that it is temporarily intended as a sort of generic term to include all grades of technical instruction in agriculture and kindred subjects halo kindred subjects below that of the advanced colleges, and distinct

¹ 'Agricultural Education in the United Kingdom.' ² Cd. 4206, 1908.

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from anything taught in primary and secondary schools, or such evening schools as are in direct continuation of the education

given in primary schools.

Two fundamentally different problems await solution. first, which is purely educational, concerns elementary and secondary schools, and the training of teachers; the second is technical, and relates to the provision of appropriate institutions and classes for those intending to farm, or already engaged in farming. It is a common tendency, from which the Board of Education has not been altogether exempt, to confuse the two problems and to imagine that some drastic modification in an agricultural direction of the curricula in ordinary schools is essential to the satisfaction of the needs of the future labourer. farmer, or small-holder. Such is emphatically not the case, and most of the proposed changes could only prove detrimental to the proper function of the schools, and are worthless from an agricultural standpoint. The constant use of the words 'agricultural bias' is mischievous, and calculated to convey a wrong impression. A well-balanced curriculum has no bias of any kind. It would be just as reasonable to say that each urban school should have an urban bias, every school in a seaport town a nautical bias, and so on ad infinitum. One principle, and one only, holds good in all elementary schools. The instruction must be suitable to the circumstances of the children and the neighbourhood. The children should be familiarised with the facts of the life about them, and with the natural and physical phenomena of their environment. The cardinal fact to be remembered is that the school has to educate irrespective of the subsequent careers of the pupils, not to prepare for any specific industry. That elementary schools do not as a rule turn out lads endowed with intelligence, adaptability, resourcefulness, and self-reliance is undeniable, but reform will not come from tinkering with the programme of studies in the supposed interest of any particular class. Improvement must be looked for from the adoption of more enlightened methods of teaching, and from more regard for the practical side of education. failure of the old methods is beyond dispute. The Poor Law Commissioners advocated 'a thorough reconstruction of the timetable and curriculum, as well as of the aims and ideals of elementary education'; and they reported further that 'it is not in the interest of our country to produce by our system of education a dislike for manual work, and a taste for clerical and intermittent work when the vast majority of those so educated must maintain themselves by manual labour.' What little information and knowledge the children may have acquired at school are rapidly forgotten, and it is asserted with apparent truth

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that the number of uneducated persons in the villages is actually men and women being we had that the number of uncuted the th write their own names. This startling statement received some E. D. Acland, who, when The startling statement received some D. Acland, who, when The startling statement received some D. Acland, who, when The startling statement received some startling startl write their own names.

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altogether illiterate. The lines upon which the village school might be reformed were indicated in the NINETEENTH CENTURY of November 1907 and it would be superfluous to repeat the suggestions then made A few additions only are necessary. Afforestation is to-day so universally recognised as a national necessity that it would be desirable in schools near to woodlands to incorporate lessons on the various kinds of trees and their value as timber, the fung that are harmful to forest growth, injurious insects, the diseases to which trees are liable, and how to prevent or remedy them. the children being, of course, taken to the woods for instruction. During his recent visit to England, Dr. J. W. Robertson. formerly Commissioner of Agriculture for the Dominion of Canada, explained how greatly agriculture had been benefited there by encouraging children to collect the largest heads from the sturdiest wheat and oats from their fathers' farms for the school gardens. Commencing in this modest way, he had demonstrated to every Canadian farmer the advantage of sowing selected seed. A similar course might be adopted here. While Dr. Robertson acknowledged the excellence of many isolated village schools here, he lamented that he could only discover them 'in spots.' It is this absence of any uniform progress which is so disquieting a feature of the existing situation, and it cannot be remedied without more systematic efforts to secure an adequate supply of properly qualified teachers. At the same time, he expressed his disappointment at the comparative stagnation in English rural education, especially since ten years ago he had used certain of our schools as models when inaugurating the Macdonald scheme, and he frankly stated that he had observed signs of actual deterioration. This is unfortunately the case with Nature-study and school gardens. Few people have advocated the great value of both these instruments of education more strongly than the present writer, but their extreme popularity is a source of larity is a source of danger. Nature-study is tending to become a set subject, taught from text-books, and to be thus deprived of all its significance.

However gratifying, moreover, it may be to note the remark able increase in a number of school gardens, the fact cannot

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be disguised that very many of them have no connexion with the rest of the curriculum. They afford healthy exercise and inculcate habits of order and neatness, but they are not serving the purpose for which they were originally designed. instruction in them should form an integral part of the whole school course, and be definitely co-ordinated with it. Nor should gardening be forced on an unwilling teacher. Reaction will inevitably follow, and many a rural teacher to-day, who has no taste for gardening, is utilising Nature as a vehicle for education without suffering in the least from the want of a garden. The wisest plan is to allow the teacher to devise his own methods in accordance with his inclinations and capacity. He should be encouraged to display originality, but local education authorities have some ground for complaining that the Board discourage and thwart any new departure. From what Mr. Pease has already said, it may be inferred that this unreasonable and vexatious attitude will no longer characterise the Board.

The immediate need is for more practical instruction to accustom a boy to the use of tools and to impart some skill in handicraft. Concrete examples of how this may be done are worth reams of 'suggestions,' no matter from what quarter they may emanate; and it would be an obvious advantage to have detailed accounts of the methods adopted in schools of different sizes under varying conditions. An interesting experiment was made at the Brimscombe School, near Stroud, in 1906. Half the time was given to some form of manual training, and pupils from the neighbouring schools attended from the age of twelve to fourteen. The various wood industries of the locality were grouped together, including carpentry, joinery, cabinet work, wood-carving, inlaying and marquetry, wood-staining and imitaton marquetry. A boy on leaving school was thus able to enter any of these industries with a fair knowledge of what to expect and what would be expected of him. Similar methods were adopted for the metal industries. The manufacturers of the district at once appreciated the value of such a school. They gladly selected lads as apprentices, and afforded facilities for them afterwards to combine technical instruction with work in the factories. Central schools of this type ought to be organised in each county for groups of villages. The advantages are mani-The attitude of pupils towards their lessons quickly changes, and the natural instincts of every boy to be doing or making something are guided into useful channels. Parents are anxious for their children to remain longer at school because they know that their wage-earning capacity is being increased. indifference or hostility of the employer is overcome, for he regards the school as a place of true education, where lads are

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trained in such a way as not to unfit them for industrial occupations.

Much also may be learnt from the school at Ednam, a small willage in Roxburghshire of about five hundred inhabitants. All pupils over twelve years of age receive two hours' practical in struction daily in either woodwork, gardening, dairying, cookery, or dressmaking; both boys and girls take gardening, cookery, and dairying. That boys should learn how to cook a plain med is decidedly beneficial. Most men have no idea of domestic duties, and are helpless when their wives are incapacitated from providing for them. All the instruction is given by the ordinary staff. Pupils who have been for not less than six months in regular attendance in the highest class and are certified by their class-master and the headmaster to be efficient in their work may be enrolled in a supplementary course subject to the approval The school possesses its own cow and semof the inspector. rator, and except in winter there is no difficulty in getting an abundant supply of cream from neighbouring farmers, as ther find the butter made at the school better than they can make it at home. It is, in fact, so good that it commonly sells for threepence or fourpence a pound more than the butter of the district. At the Edinburgh and Midlothian Butter-making Competition in 1908 the pupils carried off the first, second and third prizes, as well as the silver cup.

Schools similar to the above are precisely what is required. But local authorities literally have not the funds for the necessary rooms and equipment owing to the continuous imposition of new burdens upon them. The time has arrived when there should be some fixed ratio between national and local expenditure on education. Both Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George have admitted that national and local taxation must be put upon a solid foundation, and have promised that the Government will make a serious attempt to grapple with the whole problem. But we cannot afford to wait until the Government have completed a very complicated task, which may be relegated to the Greek Kalends. Financial aid should be at once forthcoming, either as proposed in the Bill annually presented to Parliament by Mr. Jesse Collings, or by additional grants from the Board for supplementary courses and higher elementary schools. At property the Code courses and higher elementary schools. sent the Code contains no special provision for supplementary courses, and the grants for higher elementary schools are totally inadequate. inadequate, although the syllabus for such schools is infinitely more suitable for the more suitable for the average country boy or girl than that of a struggling secondary a struggling secondary school, where they rarely take the full course. In this recovery course. In this respect England is placed at a great disadvantage compared with Scotland compared with Scotland. Here the grants offered are only 7.

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for the first year, 45s. for the second year, and 60s. for the third and fourth for each unit of average attendance. These are supplemented by the Fee Grant of 10s. for scholars under fifteen, and the Aid Grant of 4s. per child, which in poor districts may amount to a penny or two more, under Section 10 of the Education Act, 1902. The corresponding grants in Scotland are: 21. 10s., 31. 10s., and 41. 10s. per child, with an extra 10s. in the Highlands. Each of these grants may be increased by onetenth in cases of exceptional efficiency. Further grants may be earned at the rate of 12s. 6d. per hundred hours in experimental science, and 8s. 4d. per hundred hours in a variety of practical The schools are, moreover, eligible for the grant in relief of fees, and, if voluntary schools, to an Aid Grant of 3s. per scholar, exclusive of special grants. A Scotch pupil, for instance, in his second year, taking science and one practical subject, will produce a minimum income of 4l. 10s. 10d., whereas an English child similarly situated cannot earn more than 21. 19s. By the Scotch Code it is also wisely provided that when a scheme in agriculture or horticulture has been prepared by the authorities of a recognised agricultural college for the elementary schools of the district, the instruction must be in general conformity with that scheme and subject to such supervision by the college staff as the Department may direct. This furnishes an effective starting-point for the proper co-ordination of all agricultural education.

It is important, too, that the vexed question of 'partial exemption ' and the age at which children may be wholly exempt from attendance at the day school should be finally settled. Nothing can be said in favour of the half-time system, nor is there any appreciable demand for half-timers in rural districts. According to the last available statistics, the number of partial exemptions for agriculture amounted in 1906-7 to 3800 only, out of a total of 427,300 half-timers in England and Wales; and of these 3800, Cambridgeshire supplied 978, and the East Riding of Yorkshire 386. A Bill to abolish half-time, and to raise the age for total exemption generally to fourteen, was presented to the House of Commons last year by Colonel Bathurst, and was introduced by Lord Willoughby de Broke in the House of Lords, where it was read a second time without any amendment. Bill provides that subject to certain conditions country lads, who have beneficial agricultural employment, may be wholly exempt at the age of thirteen. To this differentiation between rural and urban children some opposition is not improbable, but all experience shows that if a boy is to be useful on a farm he must go there at an early age. The strong but intellectually dull lads, who are most fitted for work on the land, find the

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The idea of attaching 'agricultural sides' to secondary schools still receives some support, notwithstanding the failure of the experiment in the past. The evidence before Lord Reay's Committee conclusively proved that farmers have no faith in such arrangements for their sons. If they send them to a secondary school at all, they prefer one which does not profess to teach what they know to be an impossibility. The scheme of instruction of the agricultural side may be, and usually is, perfectly sound, but it should be incorporated in the curriculum for the whole school, and not be distinctively labelled. Mutatis mutandis the methods suggested for the elementary school are equally applicable to the secondary school. The schools at Shepton Mallet, Blackford (Somerset), and Knaresborough afford good illustrations of the right kind of syllabus. Agriculture, which is the art of farming, can no more be taught at any secondary school than the art of medicine, advocacy or navigation. When the People's High Schools were first established in Denmark, an attempt was made to combine agricultural instruction with them, but it failed. Independent agricultural schools were then organised, and the Danes attribute their agricultural prosperity largely to the 'highly developed common-sense' of the farmers, which the High Schools impart. Throughout all Danish agricultural education emphasis is laid upon sound and wide general knowledge as the indispensable foundation for technical instruction.

Turning to agricultural education proper, the first thing that the attention is a girent the street of the street strikes the attention is the extraordinary disparity in aid given to it by different G to it by different County Councils. From tables compiled by Mr. Middleton it Mr. Middleton it appears that in 1908 in four counties, in which more than 40 per more than 40 per cent. of the male population over ten years of age are engaged. of age are engaged in agriculture, on the average less that 5 per cent, of the 'which 5 per cent. of the 'whisky money' was expended upon agricultural h

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education, which works out at less than 11l. per 1000 agriculturists. In contrast to this, four other counties, where the agricultural population is under 7 per cent. of the total number of males, gave on an average 15 per cent. of their whisky money, or about 147l. per 1000 agriculturists. The removal of these anomalies, which still exist, is indispensable to the establishment of any national system.

No increase in the number of colleges of an advanced type In fact, we possess more institutions of this grade in proportion to the agricultural population than any country. On the whole, they fulfil their function, and the instruction at them is satisfactory, although from the reports of the examiners for the National Diploma in Agriculture it seems that too much attention is still occasionally devoted to theory and too little to practice, markedly in agriculture, botany and land surveying. It has been stated also that the candidates are not, as a rule, sufficiently prepared on the chemical advantages of rotation cropping, for instance; and the examiners have pointed out that 'while it is desirable that the teaching institutions should keep pace with the progress of science, it is essential for sound training that the fundamental principles of economic management should not be neglected.' The number of students taking a full course may often be thought disproportionate to the cost of maintaining the institution, but the value of an advanced college should be judged less by the number of students than by its external work in providing lectures for County Councils, conducting field experiments, and disseminating information. This external work has steadily grown, and to it is chiefly due the change of attitude on the part of farmers. A generation ago they did not believe that a man of science could teach them anything, and this distrust was intensified by the pernicious habit of sending as lecturers men whose knowledge was confined to text-books, and who constantly made mistakes in matters of practice. The advice they receive to-day is accurate and of greater practical utility, and the old prejudice is fast disappearing. They have grasped the fact that a scientific instructor can in a few minutes teach them what it would take years of costly experience to learn for themselves. Improved methods of cultivation are being gradually introduced, and more care is exercised in the purchase of artificial manures and feeding-stuffs. That confidence has been won is evidenced by the large and increasing number of inquiries addressed to the staffs of the different colleges by neighbouring farmers.

It has been frequently asserted that these colleges do not attract the sons of farmers or men likely to become farmers afterwards. Particulars, however, which were obtained last year

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from twelve institutions show that out of 1248 students, 748 from twelve institutions and 167 of landowners, and that list were the sons of farmers and 167 landowners. These for were the sons of farmers and about 180 landowners. These figures are became farmers and about 180 landowners. became farmers and about the doubt which has hitherto encouraging, and should dispel the doubt which has hitherto encouraging, and should are encouraging, and should be existed, especially when it is remembered that the advanced existed, especially when it is remembered that the advanced college is beyond the means of the ordinary small farmer, and does not really provide what his son requires. At the same time, and Mr. Middleton points out in his General Report on the Distribution in 1910 11 (1) tion of Grants for Agricultural Education in 1910-11 that there are indications that in certain cases the type of student resorting to these institutions 'leaves something to be desired.' Financial reasons have hitherto compelled the colleges to admit all applicants, irrespective of their qualifications. It may be hoped that in future some discrimination will be exercised in this respect now that the financial position has so greatly improved. Apart from the education of the farmer, we have to rely upon the advanced colleges for the supply of agricultural teachers. There is still a deficiency of men who combine scientific and practical qualifications. If these institutions are able to satisfy the demand for them, they will attain one of their principal objects. In this connexion it may be mentioned that the salaries offered to really capable men are often quite inadequate, and it is inevitable that they should seek for posts abroad, where the remuneration is so much higher. However meritorious it may be to train experts for the Colonies, we require the best material equally at home; but we cannot expect a man to sacrifice his prospects elsewhere. This persistent drain upon our resources can only be checked by a more just and liberal treatment of the teacher.

For the rank and file of young farmers and small-holders, institutions and schools of a different character are needed. Facilities for the systematic training of those intending to farm upon a moderate scale, or for enabling small-holders to acquire practical knowledge likely to help them with their land and to market their produce to the best advantage, can hardly be said to exist at present, except in Cumberland, Lancashire, Bedford shire, Essex and Hampshire. Most of those who become farmers in England and Wales leave school between the ages of thirteen and fourteen, and it is not easy to determine the precise kind of school and instruction that will attract and benefit them; but the problem has been satisfactorily solved in other countries. No system can be considered complete which does not provide opportunities for the continuous instruction of those whose parents can afford to prolong their education for a year or two after they leave the elementary leave the elementary school. For such lads, schools of the type of the écoles proting their education for a year or two alternatives of the type of the écoles proting their education for a year or two alternatives of the type of the ecoles proting their education for a year or two alternatives of the type of the ecoles proting their education for a year or two alternatives of the type of the ecoles proting their education for a year or two alternatives of the type of the ecoles proting their education for a year or two alternatives of the type of the ecoles proting their education for a year or two alternatives of the type of the ecoles proting the ecoles proton proting the ecoles proting the ecoles proting the ecoles proton proting the ecoles proting the ecoles proting the ecoles proton proting the ecoles proting the ecoles proting the ecoles proton proting the ecoles proting the ecoles proting the ecoles proto of the écoles pratiques d'agriculture in France, to which

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pupils usually go at the age of fourteen or fifteen direct from the primary or higher primary school for a course of two or three years, would be eminently suitable. As Professor Wallace has observed:

What the young farmer should learn is not ordinary farm work—viz. to plough and harrow a given area in a day. He can become an expert in that at home without cost for instruction, and at the same time be a valuable aid to his father. He requires to be taught just those things which are not to be learned on an ordinary farm, to have explained to him the meaning of processes which are founded on scientific principles, and to become familiar with the common facts of those sciences which bear upon agricultural practice.

With this object the French schools were founded. There is no reason to suppose that English and Welsh farmers would be less likely than those in France to avail themselves of similar facilities if they were open to them. Nor is it any answer to say that the demand for such schools does not exist. Supply often creates a demand. That a lad can be more systematically trained in all the processes of agriculture upon a well-equipped farm where he learns the scientific principles upon which those processes are based than at home, and will to that extent be a better farmer, cannot be questioned, although knowledge of the actual practice of farming itself can only be acquired on a farm conducted solely with a view to profit. This should be clearly understood. attempt to combine a farm as a commercial undertaking with a place for instruction is certain to fail. If the object is to make the farm pay, the education will suffer; on the other hand, if educational interests are supreme, the balance is bound to be on the wrong side. A lad does not go to school to learn how to farm, but how to farm scientifically, and, therefore, with a greater prospect of success. Whether it would be wise to embark at once upon the large expenditure involved in the establishment of such schools may be doubtful, but two or three of the more enterprising counties might try the experiment. A few years ago want of funds alone prevented Flintshire and Glamorganshire from converting one or two secondary schools into practical agricultural schools.

Possibly a school of the above description may in time be organised in connexion with some of the farm institutes, one of which should be established in every county. The exact constitution of the farm institute must depend upon the agricultural conditions of each locality, and experience alone can determine the most fitting type of institute. It would be a mistake to start one before it has become quite clear how the varying requirements of different districts can be most effectually met, and local authorities, when submitting their schemes and

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applying for a grant from the Development Fund, would be well applying for a grant from the money allocated to them need but advised to stipulate that the money allocated to them need but advised to stipulate that the money allocated to them need but advised to stipulate that the money allocated to them need but advised to stipulate that the money allocated to them need but advised to stipulate that the money allocated to them need but advised to stipulate that the money allocated to them need but advised to stipulate that the money allocated to them need but advised to stipulate that the money allocated to them need but advised to stipulate that the money allocated to them need but advised to stipulate that the money allocated to them need but advised to stipulate that the money allocated to them need but advised to stipulate that the money allocated to them need but advised to stipulate that the money allocated to stipulate the money allocated be at once expended. Endless waste was occasioned by conpelling local authorities annually to expend the whole of their share of the 'whisky money' under the Technical Instruction Acts, without their having any settled policy or knowing precisely what to do with the money. The success of the Irish Depart. ment of Agriculture is largely attributable to the fact that it was not obliged to appropriate all the moneys entrusted to it until experience had shown how they might be utilised to the greatest advantage. The institute is primarily to serve as the head. quarters for the itinerant staff in each county. Upon the Con. tinent the Wanderlehrer has proved the most effective in. strument for reaching and influencing adult farmers. In his evidence before Lord Reay's Committee, Mr. A. D. Hall mentioned how much more successful the French are than the English in 'getting at a small man and giving him information' from having in each department two professors, whose principal duty it is to conduct experimental plots and advise the cultivator personally. The mere distribution of literature is of little value compared with personal visits. Every county in Ireland has its itinerant instructor in agriculture, and in 1910-11 776 lectures were delivered by them at 369 centres, at which 35,500 persons attended. They paid 13,531 visits to farms, an average of 368 visits for each instructor, and conducted upwards of 662 field experiments and 2124 demonstrations. Associated with the institute there ought to be a bureau where farmers might immediately obtain information with reference to whatever may concern their industry from a farming or a business point of view. A farm typical of the district should be attached to it to illustrate the most profitable methods of manuring local soils; the best varieties of farm and garden crops; the best methods of rearing and feeding live-stock, keeping poultry and bees; the most approved methods of pruning fruit trees; the remedies for common pests, and the diseases of farm crops; and, where practicable, the management of shelter belts and hedgerow timber. Within the limits of a single county, the soil, the geological formation, and the character of the husbandry vary so widely that in many cases it would be difficult for one institute to got if institute to satisfy every need, and counties should combine to maintain an institute for the adjacent portions of their respective areas where the arminal transfer of the adjacent portions of their respective areas where the arminal transfer of the adjacent portions of their respective areas where the arminal transfer of the adjacent portions of their respective areas where the arminal transfer of the adjacent portions of their respective areas where the adjacent portions are also are adjacent portions of their respective areas where the adjacent portions are adjacent portions of their respective areas where the adjacent portions are adjacent portions. areas where the agricultural conditions are similar. Gloucester shire may be toleral shire may be taken as an example of this. The fruit-growing district in the North district in the North might be served by an institute in the cestershire for the cestershire for the corresponding district round Evesham; the Vale of the Country Vale of the County might be joined to Somerset; the Forest of eil

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Dean to Monmouthshire, while an institute near Cirencester would provide for the wants of the great colite plateau of the Cotswolds together with a section of Wiltshire. The division of the country into twelve clearly defined areas with a joint provincial council for each area should enable local authorities to make adequate provision for the requirements of their respective districts, irrespective of accidental county boundaries. remains the question of expense. On every ground it is desirable that this should be to some extent defrayed by the county to be benefited, and a grant from the Development Fund of 75 per cent. of the capital expenditure, and of from 50 to 75 per cent. of the cost of maintenance, seems sufficiently generous.

At the institute and other suitable centres winter schools should be regularly held. The courses now provided at universities and collegiate centres are too short, lasting as a rule from six to nine weeks only. The centres, moreover, are too few and too far apart. The instruction should be brought to Even in winter it is not easy for a the doors of the people. lad to be spared from work on the farm or in the garden for attendance at a distance, especially if his absence from home involve the engagement of extra paid labour. The winter schools in either Ireland, Denmark or Holland may be taken as models. How largely market-gardening in Holland has been developed owing to the excellence of the teaching given at the winter horticultural schools was shown in a recent Report of the Dutch Department of Agriculture. It is expedient that the pupils should have had some previous practical experience in agriculture, be not less than sixteen years old, and pass a simple entrance examination. Since 1902 the growth of winter schools or classes in Ireland has been remarkable; in that year there were two with forty-four students; in 1910-11 there were seventyeight with 1339 students. The course includes instruction in soils, tillage, manures, seeds, grasses, the treatment of pastures, cropping, the management of live-stock, winter dairying, the valuation of manures and feeding-stuffs, simple farm accounts, mensuration, elementary chain surveying and elementary science. The classes are held from October to March for five hours on two or three days a week. They are only open to pupils above sixteen years of age who are actively engaged in farm work, and each candidate for admission must satisfy the Department that he has received general education to benefit by the in-It is no exaggeration to say that the whole future of the small-holding movement will be determined by the extent to which opportunities are provided for enabling a man to acquire the necessary knowledge and skill for the profitable cultivation of his land.

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In conclusion, to reap the full advantage of the facilities by In conclusion, to reap the technical instruction which may be afforded, there must be some technical instruction which may be afforded, there must be some technical instruction which are the some radical change in the business methods of the farmer. As & radical change in the business methods of the farmer. radical change in the business. As Sir Horace Plunkett has observed: 'By whatever means this is to combine with his paid is to Horace Plunkett has observed to combine with his neighbours be attained, he must be taught to combine with his neighbours whenever and wherever some branch of the industry by which whenever and wherever so the profitably conducted in combination than the lives can be more profitably conducted in combination than through isolated action.' Thanks to the activity of the Agricultural Organisation Society, co-operation in both the pur. chase of requirements and the sale of produce is now making good progress throughout England and Wales, and the grant of 50,000l. by the Development Commissioners for purposes of propaganda should stimulate the movement in every direction Co-operation is the indispensable condition of success, and should be accompanied by the general establishment of credit banks on the Raiffeisen principle, and credit societies. Self-help is as essential as State-aid to the effective organisation of agriculture and agricultural education.

JOHN C. MEDD.

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THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK AS SEEN BY A BRITISH CANADIAN

THE writer of the following paragraphs is not under the illusion that they are apt to be of any great moment to the Empire of which he is a mere individual unit. He is, however, one of those (and their number is perhaps considerable) who, for love of the old land and of the land of their adoption, cannot altogether be silent in respect of some of the conditions and the issues that confront the British elector of to-day.

Arriving in London from Canada a few days after Mr. Borden and the members of the Canadian Cabinet, he was at least as eager as any of his fellow Canadian citizens to see and to hear (and to contribute if possible) anything and everything with any sort of bearing upon the common possession and the common cause—the Empire.

In the August number of the National Review the editor speaks of the whole Canadian visit and episode as the 'bright spot' in the political and social horizon of the otherwise lagging and depressing late summer-season. Believing, as the writer does, that the social question (and one puts it first, both as a patriot and as an observer) in these islands is incapable of a permanent solution apart from the Empire question, he cannot but subscribe to the enthusiasm and the wisdom revealed in this description.

Many years ago, on revisiting this country from the United States, the writer used to feel most of the things that our American cousins still feel after a few days or weeks on our shores; beginning, shall we say, with the 'spell' of London and the personal and aesthetic charm of our English life, and ending with the well-known sad signs of the degeneration and the social distress that for ever mar the glories and the marvels of the England of to-day and yesterday. They make one unhappy, as it were, in London, in Oxford, in the country, in Liverpool and Glasgow, in the Highlands, and on the very seashore.

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Now, after a decade of Canadian citizenship (punctuated by Now, after a decade of the sees, even at the moment of landing trips to Europe), he sees, even at the moment of landing the trips to Europe). trips to Europe), he sees, then, but with the fortiful same things that he used to see then, but with the fortiful same things that he used to see then, but with the fortiful same things that he used to see then, but with the fortiful same things that he used to see then, but with the fortiful same things that he used to see then, but with the fortiful same things that he used to see then, but with the seed to see then, but with the fortiful same things that he used to see then, but with the seed to see then the seed to see the see the see t same things that he used same things that he does are the Liobby and the great precipit of an Empire hope and the Lobby and the great precincts, into Westminster, into the East End to Surrey to Westminster, into the East End, to Surrey and Esser and the country, to the universities, to the provinces, to Scotland with the one eager feeling to see whether Britons here have any real idea of the magnitude of the problems with which they are dealing at the heart of the Empire.

There are still, to be sure, everywhere the same depressing social symptoms—the unemployment, the poverty, the idleness and the amateurishness of so many of the rich and of the educated, the widespread lack of energy and inventiveness that characterises our British people in comparison, for example, with Americans. And one never seems to get out of one's head the figures of the Booths and the Rowntrees about our cities-about the 'twelve millions' who, according to the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, are always on the verge of hunger and starvation. Then there is the widespread physical degeneration of so many of our people, both in town and country, on which both Englishmen and foreigners have commented for years. And there is the depleted country-side, and the general backward state of agriculture in England and in Scotland. And in face of it all the veritable babel of voices on the part of our reformers, the 'sixes and sevens' of our politicians, and the 'political anarchy' which is prophesied for the winter, the Radicalism that knows no bounds, and the unfortunate struggle that seems to have been set up between the 'have-nots' and the 'haves.' And there is the apparent alarm as to the very continuation of our national existence in view of the newer Powers of Europe. And, lastly, there is the Suffragist movement; surely one of the most convincing of all signs that behind the political question of the hour in this country there is the great social question, the question of what we are going to do with the displaced and the unemployed, with those who are apparently left behind in our modern social system.

Before attempting to indulge in any reflexions upon the issues between the New Liberalism and the New Unionism—for to this we desire to convert in the New Unionism. we desire to come—it may be well to clear the ground of a fer considerations that considerations that must be presupposed by anyone who puts both the British social the British social question and the Empire question above all mere party and all

One must deplore, to begin with, the still surviving disadvantes of our party and mere party and all mere class politics. tages of our party and parliamentary systems in view of

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permanent solution of the great issues of which we are here attempting to speak. This, however, is now such a hackneved topic with all our reviewers and all our reformers that it requires almost no comment and no illustration. The worst of it all is that people are losing a good deal of their faith in politics and in politicians, and in 'reform,' being willing, as it were, to let things 'drift' until we have the federal parliament or the Council of Empire, the reformed Second Chamber, the settlement of the land question, the proper kind of Home Rule, the

right arrangements with Germany, and so on.

One of the difficulties, for example, about the present Home Rule Bill is the fact of the following complications: (1) The undoubted Liberal-Radical-Irish pact that cannot, as such, be said to have any definite relation either to a constructive policy for Ireland, or to the recent universally admitted progress in Ireland, due to things like the Land Purchase Act, the work of the Congested Districts Board, the work of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, the grand Agricultural Co-operative Movement of Sir Horace Plunkett; (2) a worn-out, erroneous, hypothetical laissez-faire philosophy in respect of the integration of the Empire, that is, of course, quite inconsistent with Liberal Socialism; (3) a certain indifference and scepticism on the part of knowing people everywhere (even among the Irish Nationalists), who clearly see the dependence of the Home Rule proposals on the fortunes of the Government, and on the turn of the hour; (4) the relative ignorance of almost everyone as to whether Ireland would be really content with the dependence which it will still manifestly have upon British party and British Imperial politics.

That the people in this country, in fact, care 'next to nothing' about Home Rule or Welsh Disestablishment in comparison with Lloyd-Georgism and the social question was the caln assertion made to the writer a short time ago by a prominent professional authority in the West of Scotland. This fact of itself, as it were, would be a sufficient reason against regarding the present Home Rule Bill as anything like a permanent solution of the Irish difficulty. Not, to be sure, that the Unionists as a body can really pretend to anything like unanimity of conviction about it. If, on the one hand, they could only accept the Rill and 'get rid of Ireland,' as I have heard the matter put, they might make some headway with Tariff Reform and with other things. And yet, on the other hand, according to a recent important article in the Quarterly Review, the Unionists still talk against the present Home Rule Bill in the light of a

broader, or more truly devolutional, or federalistic, scheme.

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Another thing that one must pre-suppose is the inadequage Another thing that on machinery reform, with regard either of all mere external or machinery reform, with regard either of our relation. of all mere external of the matter of our relations to the to the social question or to the matter of our relations to the Empire, without a corresponding change in the character of Empire, without a 'new spirit' in short. It is hard to make our people, without a 'new spirit' in short. the average man see beyond his trade and his amusements and his taxes and his little Zion to things like 'progress' and the newer education, the love of mankind, the love of the Empire.

What all this means, in the concrete, to the writer is the complete playing out of things like the mere Radical-Labour spirit, with its short-sighted materialism, and its indifference to moral and to national issues. It means the playing out too, of all the old, 'up-lifting,' 'social-settlement,' 'charity' philanthropy, even of ideally organised philanthropic effort. It means the playing out of all the partial and piecemeal and 'tinkering' ways of approaching our widespread social evils. A really new and far-reaching educational spirit would of course, mean much, especially if associated with such things as the care of health, the development of public spirit, of patriotism, courage and sense of justice; the power to 'do things' instead of the education of an inferior book-keeper, a good all-round civic and semi-military training on the part of boys, the formation of good physical habits on the part of boys and girls, the training of girls in domestic science and in the care of children, and so on. Many of these and other necessary elements in a truly national ideal are set forth by the way in a most convincing manner in the recent striking booklet of Dr. Harry Roberts, of Stepney, entitled Towards a National Policy. I doubt, indeed, whether it is anywhere possible to come across a book that makes one feel so thoroughly the need of a complete overhauling and regeneration of our entire social economy as does this short, interesting production.

The one thing, however, that the present writer would to emphasise in this very matter of the spirit that will be require to regenerate England is the part that would be played in s development by the new consciousness of national power the would come about in consequence of the much misunders thing that it was a superior than the consequence of the much misunders that the consequence of the co thing that is called Tariff Reform. That Tariff Reform, part of it 'will part of it, 'will come inevitably when there is no more change of securing a revenue by any other means, is a thing that is recognised, in its August number, by such a free-thinking of Barrier of Barri as the Review of Reviews. And when Tariff Reform does come, and perhaps long before that time, people will see that, so that from being merely one of the many imperfect panaceas exist for the cure of Parity exist for the cure of British evils, it is really the only effective er

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way of getting many of our people back again at work along lines both new and old. It would certainly tend to give us that consciousness of national efficiency and of a vigorous national life for which the whole country and the whole Empire are waiting. And it is by no means inconsistent with things like Workmen's Insurance, the taxation of unearned increment, an enlightened land policy, credit associations and co-operative schemes for farmers and market-gardeners, and (best of all) an improved education and true moral and social reforms, with 'ideals' of the highest kind. But we shall return to this.

A third thing that must be presupposed by any impartial student of England and the Empire is that any future Government of this country must obviously continue the work of social construction, or at least the true spirit and substance of the constructive work, that is being carried on by the present Government. And this not merely because the work has been begun, although that indeed is something; this, too, in spite of any excesses or miscalculations in the policy of Lloyd-Georgism. Mr. Lloyd George is one of the men who could probably give very imperfect reasons for some of the big things he is trying to do, and he is also undoubtedly grappling with bigger things than either he or his party alone can negotiate. But he is nevertheless one of the men whose actions and whose efforts will give, to men of another stamp than his own, facts and points of view to reason about, and to explain, for many a day to come.

The writer is only too glad in this very connexion to have found in the report of a recent speech by Mr. Steel Maitland an explicit declaration to the effect that the Unionist party intend to tackle the 'industry and the land' together—a pronouncement quite in line with what anyone who has read anything about

Tariff Reform already knows.

One of the most curious things in our present situation, one of those interesting fatalities in our see-saw and hand-to-mouth politics, is that people in general have only a most imperfect apprehension of the extent to which Lloyd-Georgism and Liberal-Socialism really play into the hands of those (and their numbers could doubtless be recruited from all the important political groups in this country) who would use the initiative and the organised intelligence of the State, not only to protect working-men and women in various important ways, but to redirect the lagging industry of the country, to protect it also, in short, and to reintegrate and develop it along fruitful and constructive lines.

Of course, the undermining of the supposed fortresses and outworks of Cobdenism, of 'laissez-faire,' and of 'Manchesterism' by the entire factory and social legislation of the last century, and by things like the Patent Act of the present Government,

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the Merchant Shipping Act, the Trades' Disputes Act, the Minimum Wage Act, the continued on the the Merchant Snipping Tro, Coal Mines Act, the Minimum Wage Act, the continued embarge Coal Mines Act, the Tindia Excise duty on cotton leaves Coal Mines Act, the Entitle Excise duty on cotton leaving upon Canadian cattle, the India Excise duty on cotton leaving upon Canadian cattle, the India Excise duty on cotton leaving upon Canadian cattle, the last students of economic and social India, etc., is familiar to all students of economic and social students of economic and econom India, etc., is rainfiar to the fact that the roots of the history. They are aware also of the fact that the roots of the history. mid-Victorian industrial, trade and shipping development are in be found in the extremely careful protective policy of the England of preceding centuries. But it is as yet only a critic here and there who seems to see how easily Mr. Lloyd George might well go in for a so-called preferential and protective policy for the Empire. Had circumstances rendered it possible, he and Mr. Chamberlain might quite well have worked together in this direction. And in that case they would simply have been before the public as two strong, enlightened, American like, progressive men in British politics, protecting and directing the conduct of our national resources in view of the future.

Only a single day after writing these words the writer came accidentally upon the following citation from a statement made by Mr. Lloyd George before the Colonial Conference of 1907.

This Empire would be a great gainer if much of the products now purchased from foreign countries could be produced and purchased within the Empire, and any reasonable and workable plan [in this direction] must necessarily enhance the resources of the Empire as a whole. . . . We agree with our Colonial comrades that all this is worth concerted effort, even if that effort at the outset cost us something.

Such words are, of course, confirmatory of the idea that not only Mr. Lloyd George, but many of our Liberal-Socialists or Socialist Liberals, might well co-operate with our Unionists and our Liberal-Imperialists in the matter of that fiscal reform which would effect a real regeneration in our industry, in our agriculture, in the matter of our unemployment, and in the matter of the losses we continually sustain through the emigration of so many of our more prudent and more resourceful young men and young women. These capable and energetic workers and homemakers beyond the seas will not be lost to us if the great re-birth of the Empire, which is possible through our working with them for a common goal, can be effected in time. The only 'cost at the outset' would, as we shall seein in the cost at the outset' would, as we shall see in the cost at the outset' would, as we shall see in the cost at the outset's would. shall again insist, be simply the parting with a vast mass of the prejudice and the insular conceit and the ignorance that still prevent us from making a beginning in the matter of the safe guarding of our national and our imperial interests. So much indeed, we might infer from the protective policy of many of the leading modern and so leading modern nations. They cannot all be as blind, and as ignorant and as many ignorant, and as merely selfish, as our Free Traders would like to

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make them out to be. The working classes will, however, before long, like their brethren in America, be thoroughly converted to the idea of safeguarding the national industry upon which their whole future insurance and safety so obviously depend.

The greater number of the ordinary, superficial objections that are generally made against Tariff Reform and Preference have really been answered again and again; for example, the supposed increased price of the food of the people, or the objection that the 'whole thing' is a mercenary and a mechanical sort of way of getting at national and Empire development; that it would bring all the evils of the American Trusts; that recent trade returns show an increased amount of general trade, that it is simply idle to hope to attack and to overcome the Free-Trade convictions of so many of our prominent public men and of the entire middle class and of Scotland and of Manchester, and so on. The writer is quite content to refer the reader who still cares about those and other hackneyed points to many of the ordinary books and

pamphlets upon the subject.

There are, however, some more or less general considerations of which we must think in the matter of the prejudices that still exist in many quarters in regard to Tariff Reform. The chief of these are: (1) the fact that many of the broader and more constructive aspects of Tariff Reform are consciously and unconsciously kept out of view by the tendency to brand the whole movement as but a bare-faced or a sinister attempt at an all-round protectionism; (2) the ignorance of many people that Tariff Reform rests not upon the arbitrary wishes of a few modern mischiefmakers, but upon a broad and well-grounded philosophy of economic and social development; (3) the unconscious egotism and dogmatism of the average Free-Trade Britisher in still thinking that he is simply right, and all other people simply wrong, in respect of the unrestricted development of trade and industry, with the inference that it is they, and not he and his elect country, who should change their views; (4) the fact that Preference and Tariff Reform are still thought of by many interested people simply along the lines of the possible consequences to particular industries and to particular districts (Manchester, say) of a wholesale protection; and (5) the fact that people generally think it impossible to introduce the thin wedge of a preferential protection without effecting what they regard as a wholesale and irremediable change In our entire national economy, and in our general philosophy of personal and industrial liberty.

As for the first point there is little doubt that many people use the 'No Protection' cry to kill the broader proposals of the Tariff Reformers. They would be justified in this procedure if they

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could prove that Tariff Reform really means this, or that it would be this. But Tariff Reformers do not contain could prove that Tarin Reformers do not contemplate necessarily lead to this. But Tariff Reformers do not contemplate necessarily lead to this. necessarily lead to this. Dut the broader attempt to guide an insular protection without the broader attempt to guide and an Empire ideal an insular protection without and an Empire ideal. A simple direct it in the light of a national and an Empire ideal. A simple beginning indeed in this wider preferential protection might be a simple of the protection of the p made at any time by giving to our Government, through its trade and fiscal committees, the power to institute a small protective duty upon foreign goods necessary to Britain which are in the meantime imported from both Empire and non-Empire sources In its essence in fact the tariff of the reformers is, as Mr. L. S. Amery, M.P., puts it in his important pamphlet upon the Fallacies of Free Trade, a

tariff designed to change the character of our imports and our exports in order to include the volume of our home production. The object of our tariff is selection, not exclusion. It will be framed to check the împort of those manufactured goods which displace home industry, in order to stimulate and increase the import of those raw materials which are the life and sustenance of our home industry.

As for the second point, Tariff Reformers (going back as ther do in their thought to List and to the German Historical School of political economy) see as a rule that mankind has made its main advances in groups and in federations and in nations, and that people who lose their cohesiveness and their 'social consciousness' invariably begin to retrograde. And, of course, in the group mere economic activity is generally subordinated to political and social considerations of one kind or another, to 'ideals' in fact, as in the case, say, of China or Russia or Germany. Our third point may perhaps be left to speak for itself as it stands.

As for the fourth point, Tariff Reform, as has been partly indicated, does not mean a blind, selfish, fifty-or-eighty-per-cent. tax upon everything entering into our country, including ran materials. It would not tax raw material at all, and it would lower the taxes that at present exist upon tea, sugar, cocoa, tobacco

-quite important things to the average man. And as for the fifth point, that of the supposed total change in our traditional nineteenth-century business policy (at bottom really only the economic aspect of the famous revolutional attempt to get back to nature in everything), Tariff Reform does not mean anything like the quixotic attempt it is said to be to reform the very nature of things, to arrest the stars in their courses and with them the and with them the general march of mankind. It is rather simply a very wholesome a very wholesome and its rather simply and rather simply and its rather simply and rather simply and its rather simply and rather simply and its rather simply and rather simply and rather simply and rather simply and rather sim a very wholesome and liberating change in the conceptions and dogmas of political dogmas of political and economic theory, akin to that which has now at last taken plants. now at last taken place in the concepts and dogmas that obtained old

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in other sciences like theology and medicine and education. Economic dogmas like 'Free Trade,' or the 'mobility of labour,' or the free 'territorial distribution of industry,' are in no sense legislative prescripts or adamantine laws of nature. They are only postulates or conceptions, like 'Evolution' and the various supposed 'laws' of physics and chemistry that help us to unravel the complex world in which we find ourselves. An expert economist is as such no more capable of 'running' a country's business or of freeing England from its social evils than is an expert physiologist of curing people from the thousand complex diseases that beset our human life.

And, again, speaking from the standpoint of the self-governing dominions, Tariff Reform does not mean such an impossible revision of their fiscal arrangements as to allow of, say, the free import of British manufactures (the thing, however, that the Cobdenites expected to see everywhere as a mere matter of course). Equally little does it mean an endless bargaining and wrangling within the Empire about mutual concessions and mutual business favours, but rather simply the possibility of Great Britain being able to make here and there such trading arrangements as the component parts of the Empire have now for some time been making on their own initiative.

Another strange thing about our present political and social atmosphere is the contradiction that seems to exist between our half-fearful imitation of Germany in the matter of our naval policy, and our failure either to imitate or to try somehow to get at the real reasons of Germany's remarkable industrial and social development since 1870. The things of which one naturally thinks in this connexion are the thoroughly efficient character of German education from many different points of view, the profound belief of the German Government in expert information of all kinds (particularly in information bearing upon trade and industrial development), Germany's scientific treatment of social and municipal problems, and its ability to use the scientific information that it possesses about most of its industries on account of its national and protective policy. You can certainly afford to endow science and research with a view to their economic application when you are sure that your industry will not be swept out of existence by unregulated foreign competition.

Enough has perhaps now been said to suggest that some at least of the chief difficulties that beset the path of the Tariff Reformers are to be found in a prejudice against looking into the various facts and considerations that bear upon the point. As in the case of the splendid educational work done some fourteen years ago in the United States by way of combating

the folly of the 'Free Silver' agitation, so we English people the folly of the Bree Short an educative campaign in regard to may soon have on foot an educative campaign in regard to may soon have on root and the mistakes that have arisen out of our Free foolishly construed as a piece of Trade philosophy when foolishly construed as a piece of practical Trade philosophy when to practical politics. It is, to be sure, already 'educative' to reflect that the Liberalism of to-day is itself so far along the path of State Supervision of the conduct of Labour. It is surely but another supervision of the condition step along that same path to adopt the policy of State supervision step along that same path to adopt the policy of State supervision of the development of industry and of business, to make these things also subservient, as far as possible, to our national life in the Empire. It is also educative to remember that it is in the main the Tory or the Unionist party that has been progressive enough to suggest the adoption of a system which has been by their critics impertinently and ignorantly set aside as mere American methods. Years ago the writer used to hear Mr. Chamberlain talked of in the United States-so well do some Americans know this country as well as their own—as obvious 'the American' in English politics. Well, we certainly require in our own country a healthy infusion of American practicality. and of American efficiency and American wisdom in safeguarding national resources and national productive power.

And, of course, as we all know, the one name that arouses enthusiasm in all our dominions as that of an Englishman who was unprejudiced enough to see and to adopt the Colonial point of view about the upbuilding of a community, and possibly of the Empire itself, is that of Mr. Chamberlain. Where would Canada have been to-day without Protection? And did she not recently show both courage and idealism in putting aside temporary economic advantage for the sake of the sincerity of her belief in the Empire, and in trade within the Empire? And it was not, by the way, merely the matter, as it is sometimes said, of her own 'interests' that determined her in her recent decision against 'Reciprocity' with the United States. For the Empire is from her point of view still very largely 'in the making,' and so in her decision she chose to walk by 'faith' rather than by 'sight'

Of those who prefer to blunder along in the old patch-work method, attempting to improve our social condition here and there, who refuse to look upon our national conditions in the light of the successful policy of other peoples and of our own dominions, would simply and it would simply ask the question: What reform can you think of some penetrating and of our own dominated the penetrating and other penetrating and o penetrating and as thorough-going as Tariff Reform with Internal Preferences To perial Preference? How otherwise can we help ourselves of the helped by the Col. helped by the Colonial Empire that is our heritage from the eighteenth century eighteenth century, and from the days of the famous Elizabethan voyages of discovery voyages of discovery. All other reforms, the present attack upon lov

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'privilege' for example, are necessarily self-limiting. What will you do when people will not—we are told that this is the case in Scotland at present—go on buying land or investing money in business in this country? And what will you do in the policy of insuring working men out of the proceeds of their work, when their work and employment go from them through conditions over which they, poor fellows, have almost no control.

Another self-limiting remedy to which people in Great Britain may still despairingly cling is increased emigration. course, anyone who has lived in the great West, either of America or of Canada, has again and again the feeling, on walking through the streets and lanes of England, that the best thing that could happen to thousands of her people would be an immediate transportation to Chicago or to Winnipeg or to British Columbia. And even with Tariff Reform there would still be a place for a moderate and a wisely supervised emigration—possibly of more benefit to the Empire and to England than at present. But what, for example, is to become of Scotland if the present grave exodus of her sons is to continue—an exodus that brings every emigrant to Montreal with the words upon his lips, that the old country is a 'done We who live there know all this, and think that we see what is behind it, for we meet those people daily. How, too, does such an exodus square with the assertion that British trade and industry [which ought, by the way, to include agriculture were never better off than they have recently been.

It is really time, perhaps, for both political parties in England to see that the day is not far distant when they may be obliged to form a sort of coalition against the extreme demands of Socialist labour. Carried far enough, these demands will certainly pull down the house of Great Britain about the ears of the labourers, as well as about the ears of those who seek meantime to be their friends for to-day, regardless of the future. if such a coalition could some day tell working-men that the whole country is really facing the future through the question of the future of their work and the conditions of their permanent employment, would not this look like the true way of enlisting

their interest in England and in the Empire?

A closing reflexion may be added in respect of a question that is often upon the lips of many-Why make things at home at protection prices if we can get them more cheaply ('dumped down') from abroad? On the Free-Trade assumption those people would be right-if we had endless other industries at home, producing things that we exchanged for those imported goods. But the point is, that, owing to the fact of the warfare that seems (whether we like it or not) to characterise all life,

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other nations are attacking all the economic sinews of our country. other nations are attacking and the visitor and to the visitor and to the doing on, this country will in the sound to the sound of the And if things go on as they of the foreign merchant to be going on, this country will in the future a place of residence for the privile foreign merchant to be going or, become more and more a place of residence for the privileged, for become more and more a place of residence for the privileged, for become more and more a place of residence for the privileged, for become become more and more a place rentiers, for retired investors, with the submerged tenth as their rentiers, for retired investors, with the submerged tenth as their servants and labourers and agents of one kind or another.

Even on the Liberal side in politics a 'career' is to-day largely a thing for the privileged and the fortunate, for brains and money perhaps, or for these things in some sort of working association with the great and the powerful, with 'interests,' with the beat possidentes.

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ENGLAND, INDIA, AND THE BALKAN WAR

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State and Religion are twins.—ARAB PROVERB.

Last week, on the anniversary of Trafalgar, King George issued a Proclamation that in the Balkan War England will be a neutral Power. Every lover of peace will congratulate the Emperor of India on this decision, which no doubt was largely guided by the keen interest which his Majesty takes in the tranquillity of India. Is it not the first duty of a Sovereign to maintain peace inside his Empire, and then to use his influence for the cause of peace outside it?

It was in this very month of November, thirty-seven years ago, that through the action of the Porte Imperialism dawned on the British mind, when Disraeli made his great speech at the Lord Mayor's Banquet on the 9th of November 1875, following the Sultan's iradeh, dated the 2nd of October, in which Turkey promised fair treatment of her Christian subjects. Later in the same month Disraeli's purchase of the Suez Canal shares from the Khedive again instilled Imperialism into the thoughtful in this country. The growth of the plant sprung from the seed thus sown by Disraeli was then entrusted by him to Royal hands, and during the next four months King Edward, as Prince of Wales, travelled through India, erecting the banner of true Imperialism even at centres where only eighteen years before the bloody battles of the Indian Mutiny were raging.

Very few in this country seem to realise that the King of England rules over a much larger number of Moslems in India than the total number of Moslems under the Sultan of Turkey, the Sultans of Morocco and Zanzibar, the Shah of Persia, and the Amir of Afghanistan, five Moslem monarchs put together. Now, from the point of view of the orthodox Moslem, this war in the Balkans is a war between the Cross and the Crescent; and yet, if Christian Powers were attacking the Sultanates of Morocco or Zanzibar, or the Moslem kingdoms of Persia or

¹ Development of European Nations, by J. Holland Rose, 1905, p. 165. 1077

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Afghanistan, instead of the Moslem country of Turkey, though Afghanistan, instead of the Christian and Moslem, they those would be wars between the Christian and Moslem, they they they they they want the Sunni Moslem point of view would not be, from the Sunni Moslem point of view, wan would not be, from the better that is it, then, that makes the position against the Crescent. What is it, then, that makes the position of Turkey as a Moslem State unique in the religious sentiment of Turkey as a Moslem Subjects in India; of over fifty millions of King George's Moslem subjects in India;

After the death of the Prophet, Abu Bakr became his Vice. gerent or Khalifa (Caliph), and was followed as Khalifa by others. I shall here deal solely with the view which the Suni sect of Mahomedans hold regarding the Khalifa, both because the premier Moslem Prince of India, his Highness the Nizan of Hyderabad, who rules over fifteen million subjects and over eighty thousand square miles of territory, is a Sunni, and also because the vast majority of the Moslem subjects of England in India, numbering over fifty millions, are Sunnis. To the Sunnis the Sultan of Turkey is the Khalifa, or Vicegerent of the Prophet on earth. On him has fallen the mantle of Mahomed. The Sultan is their spiritual and temporal head. Other Moslem rulers. like the Sultan of Morocco or the Sultan of Zanzibar, may be termed Sultan, but they are not accorded the privileges of the Khalifa. According to the Sunnis, the Sultan of Turkey is the only personage who is entitled to introduce reforms in Islam, by causing the Qanun, or the Sultan's commands, to be substituted for Hanafi Law; for Hanafi Law did not precede, but followed, the 'great Khalifs,' the direct successors of the Prophet. The Sultan of Turkey is the 'Khalifa Khalifai Rasul Allah,' Successor to the Successors of the Prophet; he is the 'Sautal Hai,' the Living Voice of Islam.

In 1871 no less an authority than Sir William Hunter raisel the question: 'Are they [the Indian Moslem subjects of Great Britain] bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen? '2 His questioning of their loyalty to England, in view of their acknow. ledgment of the Sultan of Turkey as their religious and temporal head, was met by rejoinders from three distinguished Mosley leaders, one of Northern India, the well-known Sir Syed Ahmadi, the second from Bengal, Nawab Abdul Latif, and the thin Maulavi Cheragh Ali, of Hyderabad. The whole matter in a nutribell matter in a single matter in a single matter in a nutribell matte nutshell was this: According to Moslem law, a country is either (1) Dar ul harb, a 'country of warfare,' or (2) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (2) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (2) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (2) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (2) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (2) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (2) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (2) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (2) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (3) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (4) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (5) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (6) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (7) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (8) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (8) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (9) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (9) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (9) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (9) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (9) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (9) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (9) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (9) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (9) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (9) Dar ul Islam, a 'country of warfare,' or (9) Dar ul Islam, a 'country or 'country of peace.' Now what is British India? Sir William Hunter and him Hunter and his party thought that British India could not properly be locked. properly be looked upon as Dar ul Islam; the three Rritish leaders on the attention leaders, on the other hand, were anxious to prove that British

³ Review on Dr. Hunter's Indian Musalmans, by Syed Ahmad Khinares, 1872. Benares, 1872.

1912 ENGLAND, INDIA, AND THE BALKAN WAR 1079

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India was not Dar ul harb. The Hyderabad Mahomedans decided that British India was neither Dar ul harb nor Dar ul Islam,4 an enunciation which was made to the world by Maulavi Cheragh Ali, afterwards known as Nawab Azam Yar Jang. None of these three Moslem leaders could prove to their European critic that British India was Dar ul Islam. The Hyderabad decision was however highly important, because the real centre of Indian Moslem feeling is in that State. Even to-day capital punishment is there inflicted under the laws of the Koran by decapitation by the sword, and not by hanging, a practice which appeals to the Moslem masses throughout the world more than British readers can realise. Another fact not generally known here which raises Hyderabad in Moslem estimation is that hundreds of Moslems from all parts of Asia congregate there annually and start for Mecca on pilgrimage to become Haji, his Highness the Nizam, as Defender of the Faith, paying all their expenses. Hyderabad is unquestionably Dar ul Islam. The Moslems of Hyderabad are in more direct touch with, and command greater sympathy among, the rest of the Moslem world than even the Moslems of Lahore, Delhi, or Lucknow.

In the 'seventies the Musalman attracted a considerable amount of attention, in India by the dagger of the Moslem and in London by the pen of the Christian. The Moslem rebellion against the British Government known as the Wahabi conspiracy drew the eyes of the world to the Indian Mahomedan, and about the same time the Turkish question caused an agitation in the London Press. Two articles in this Review on the subject of Turkey, one by the Rev. Malcolm McColl in December 1877,5 and the other by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe in January 1879,6 were potent to stir the great Moslem centre of Hyderabad. Refutations were published at Hyderabad, both in English and in Hindustani, by Maulavi Cheragh Ali, and dedicated to the Sultan of Turkey in the words: 'Khalifa and Sultan Abdul Hamid Khan.' Such is the power of the Porte to rouse to instant action the greatest Moslem stronghold in India. I was at Hyderabad in the 'eighties and 'nineties, and was personally acquainted with Maulavi Cheragh Ali.

Now let us enter a little into the daily life of the Indian Moslem, and see how the Sultan of Turkey exercises influence there. The Indian Moslem's most important prayer of the week is said on a Friday, when there is an oration called Khutba, in which he begs Allah to bless the Sultan of Turkey. Whether or not the Khutba read every Friday in the Indian mosques is

Political Reforms in the Ottoman Empire, by Cheragh Ali, Bombay, p. 25.

Current Fallacies about Turks, Bulgarians, and Russians.'
Passing Events in Turkey.'

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a weekly reminder to the Faithful that India is Dar ul harb (a weekly reminder to the fact remains that every Friday in the British territories, as well as hundreds of mosques in the British territories, as well as in the hundreds of mosques in the Protected Moslem States in India, the allegiance that the millions of Sunni Mahomedans owe to the Sultan of Turkey is brought vividly to their memory. The importance of the Friday prayer is thus emphasised by the Koran, Surah lxii. 9: 'Oh ye who believe! when the call to prayer is made on the day of congrega. tion (yaumu 'l-jum'ah) hasten to the remembrance of Gol (Khutba) and leave off traffic.' It is no easy matter even for a Moslem ruler to alter the wording of a Khutba, for we have it on the authority of Muntakhab-ul-lubab what difficulties arose at Lahore when a Moslem sovereign of India wished to insert one word in the Khutba. I am quite aware of the argument that the Sultan of Turkey cannot be the Khalifa because he is not of the Quraish tribe, and I am also conversant with Maulavi Cheragh Ali's book and the pamphlets by Sir Syed Ahmad and Nawab Abdul Latif, so I know all sides of the question as discussed by Sir William Hunter and his three critics; but for obvious reasons I am dealing only with Moslem practices as they are in India, not as they should be according to this or that authority.

Roughly speaking, there are three Hindus to one Moslem in India. For a whole generation after the Wahabi insurrection of the 'seventies, the Government of India did everything possible to check Moslem fanaticism by balancing the Hindus against the Moslems, including in their policy of counterpoise the Ruling Princes. It is the careful adjustment of the Hindu and Mahomedan elements of the Indian population which makes it possible to maintain tranquillity in India with only 75,000 British troops. Of course, in this system of equipoise the careful student of politics has to take into consideration the Hindus who form the vast majority of the subjects of the premier Moslem Prince, the Nizam, and the Moslems who form the vast majority of the subjects of the Hindu ruler of Kashmir, as well as various other factors. But it is one thing to manage India when the Britannica is in full force, and quite another thing to do so when the pax Britannica is suspended, as it was in the dark days of the Indian Mutiny, or when, according to the belief of the mobile the Indian barrens in the arrival. the Indian bazaars, the prestige of the Union Jack is waning, as during the Boer War. Then the problem assumes a more difficult aspect. difficult aspect. Why, only a couple of years ago the religions fervour of the Hindu and the Hindu a fervour of the Hindu and the Moslem over the killing of a combrought. Maximum in the Moslem over the killing of a combrought. brought Maxim guns into the streets of Calcutta!

History of India, by Sir H. M. Elliot, 1877. Vol. vii., p. 427.

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After thirty years of balancing the Hindu and the Mahomedan, the Government of India found relief in the thought that they had built up a fairly substantial edifice for all practical purposes. But during the present century this balance has been considerably modified according to the conception of the importance of the two communities held by the modern rulers of India. For instance, when granting representation under the Morley-Minto scheme, a preference was shown to the Moslems, though in the premier Moslem State of Hyderabad itself the Moslem enjoys no such preference from the rulers of his own religion. In the Morley-Minto scheme, however, the British authorities had at least the satisfaction of acting with their eyes wide open. But recently they have again upset the Hindu-Moslem balance in India by an action which perhaps they never imagined capable of such religious significance-I mean the transfer of the capital Neither Lord Crewe's despatches nor the Curzon-Crewe debate in the House of Lords gave the British reader any idea how England, by removing the capital to Delhi, has placed herself more within the sway of Moslem influence than the authorities would care to admit. Delhi has been a Moslem stronghold and occasionally a fanatical centre for several centuries, and in the great Masjid there is a strong Indian focus of the power of the Crescent second only to Hyderabad. In peace times, no doubt, rupees, titles, and decorations play an important part in balancing the Moslem and the Hindu, but when the pax Britannica is under suspension, or when the prestige of the Union Jack seems to the Indian Mahomedan to be waning, greater force is exercised by the mosque and the temple than by money or by titles. Anyone who properly understands the vitality and inner working of Hinduism is aware that a dozen modern temples, though worth perhaps a million pounds, have not a hundredth part of the real power over the Hindus that is wielded by an ancient shrine which may be merely hewn out of the rock among Himalayan glaciers. Now Delhi has no Hindu shrine whose power might be set over against the influence of its great Moslem mosque. That is how the transfer of the capital to Delhi, a city associated with the world's greatest massacres by Nadir Shah and others, gives a fresh impetus to Moslem activity.

The Roman motto divide et impera is doubtless a great maxim for foreign rulers, but it should be remembered that it is as dangerous to divide unequally as it is profitable to divide equally, for in the former case one party gets into a position from which it can dictate terms to the rulers themselves. This is what has happened with regard to the Mahomedans, and this is one reason why just now an attitude of neutrality in the Balkan struggle is the only prudent position for England to adopt. The Moslem preferential

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tariff in the Morley-Minto scheme of representation made some setually believe that they were in of the Indian Moslems actually believe that they were in a position foreign policy, but the cool recent of the Indian Mosiems actually but the cool reception the tion to dominate British foreign policy, but the cool reception they met with when they tried a year or two ago to interfere in matter met with when they tried a year met with when they tried a year matter.

Persian, and recently with reference to the Balkan War, should disabusing their minds of the idea. go a great way towards disabusing their minds of the idea of their go a great way towards own importance, and convince them that as long as Britannia rules the waves she is not to be dictated to by the Moslem or anyone else, though just at present it may suit her best to be neutral. Without any reference to European politics, the Indian aspect of the question in itself justifies the King's proclamation of neutrality. Any other attitude would have been misunderstool by the Indian Moslems, who all over India are now busily engaged in raising subscriptions for the wounded Turks and offering prayers in hundreds of mosques for the victory of the Sultan's arms.

My argument is by no means the permanent incapacity of the British to move without consulting the Moslem in India. Far The unpreparedness of England to interfere in the Balkans is only temporary, and is due more than anything else to her two short-sighted bids for popularity—the Moslem prefer ence in the Morley-Minto scheme, and the transfer of the Indian capital to a Moslem centre. The British now have to restore the equilibrium as it was in the closing years of last century. Once they have done this, they will be able to move which way they please as far as Turkey is concerned. But what British diplomatists should aim at is to be prepared; to have the Hindu ready on their side, and not to have to conciliate him when the Turks

have forced a critical situation upon England.

Far-sighted British statesmen always kept in view the following three important facts, which make the position of the Hindu peculiar: (1) Though many Englishmen have fallen victims to Moslem fanaticism, a murder of an Englishman by a Hindu from 'religious' motives is absolutely unknown. (2) In their ender vours to save the souls of African negroes and Indian Bhils there will always be friction between the Cross and the Crescent, for both are proselytising faiths, whereas Hinduism would refuse to take a convert even if anyone like Mrs. Besant, who has spent twenty years in holy Benares and actually preached Hinduish wished to enter it a transite of the content of the wished to enter its fold. (3) No Hindu is a permanent resident in any foreign country, so England's difficulties with foreign Powers over the Hindu are reduced to a minimum. With regard to the Moslom 41 to the Moslem, these three great causes of friction are always existent. Hindu Hindu unrest is a lesser evil than Moslem unrest, former as a lesser evil than Moslem unrest. because the former cannot become so complicated as the latter.

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cation of a remedy which might later prove worse than the disease. There are many thousands of Mahomedans in the Native Army, and there are the fanatic Moslem tribes of the North-Western Frontier, where occasionally a few mullahs preach jihad, the 'holy war' of Islam, and give no end of trouble to the Government. With the Persian revolution almost touching the Indian frontiers and putting a strain on the Indian Army resources, any additional burden placed on the Indian executive to suppress Moslem rebellions in all parts of India would perhaps be more of a responsibility than the Viceroy at this juncture would care to add to his already existing burden.

The power of religion in politics is evident from history. During the pre-Christian era Hindu Imperialists made use of their religion for purposes of political assimilation. political life was influenced by religion through the Oracles, and the Apollo at Delphi often regulated the balance of power by mysterious prophecies. 'Alexander Severus wished to erect a temple to Christ on the Capitol of Rome, and Hadrian scattered places of worship to unknown gods broadcast through his wide dominions.' 8 The Jews recognised little difference between the Church and the State. Similarly the dominion of the Popes was both spiritual and temporal. Sir Alfred Lyall speaks of how both Christianity and Mahomedanism made religion a vital element in politics.9 The Moslems, therefore, are not the only people with whom religion is an important factor in the political life of the State. But in the case of the Indian Moslem matters are more complicated than usual, owing to his allegiance to a foreign ruler, the Sultan of Turkey, the head of Considerations of space make it impossible here to discuss how the Khalifa regulates Moslem patriotism, unlike the Christian Church which blends itself with geographical To the Moslem mind the intense emotional force in the word Khalifa embraces both personal and dynastic loyalty. In that word lies buried the subconscious influence of centuries. I have lived in Hyderabad for years and have argued cases civil, criminal, and revenue, under the laws of the Koran, in courts in which not a single word of English was spoken, and which were presided over by learned Moslem judges; and though myself a Hindu I have had the honour of representing the Moslem Government of the Nizam in his Highness's own courts. I was also for years the editor of a newspaper at Hyderabad in which Moslem politics and Moslem religion were often discussed by distinguished followers of Islam. I therefore know that to the millions of Indian Moslems the word Khalifa acts as a charm

Ancient and Modern Imperialism, by the Earl of Cromer, p. 92.

Race and Religion, by Sir Alfred Lyall, p. 14.

which carries with it an immediate stimulus of affection for which carries with it an income which cause, and a corresponding disaffection towards Turkish cause, and a corresponding disaffection towards Turkish cause, and a correspondent of the word or phrase can conjure infidels which perhaps no other word or phrase can conjure to the bas greater psychological effect on the Manual Conference of The word Khalifa has greater psychological effect on the Mosley The word Khanta has greater properties any phrase like Bismarck's 'political egoism' or Mazzini, apple have on Western nations 'pact of humanity' could have on Western nations.

It must not be forgotten that within the last twelve month the Indian Moslems have received from the British two rather than the same time before the rather than the rat hard knocks, and that it will be some time before their heart. burning on that account will cease. The Re-partition of Bengal after Lord Morley's repeated assurance that the Partition by Lord Curzon was a 'settled fact,' has shaken the faith of the Indian Moslem in the British word, and the recent decision the Government of India against granting powers to the proposel Moslem University in regard to the affiliation of colleges is much resented by them. Hence an open attack on their Khalifa in now would have created trouble.

The future policy of British statesmen should therefore be to devise checks, balances, and counterpoises against Pan-Islamin India, by proper adjustment of the Hindu element to Imperial requirements, so that in an emergency suddenly created by political situation in Europe, England could cease to be neutral, and thus prevent a European conflagration. For, as Kossuth said, neutrality as a lasting principle is an evidence of weakness

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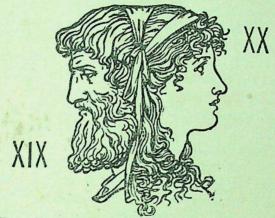
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NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



No. CCCCXXX—December 1912

THE PROBLEM OF MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

(I)

THE CHURCH AND THE REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION

THE Report of the Royal Commission on Divorce and Matrimonial Causes is the latest, but in all possibility not the last, of many attempts to deal with the most difficult and delicate subject of modern social ethics. It marks a stage, if no more than a stage, in the secular antagonism between the Christian ideal of Holy Matrimony and the passions or frailties of human hature. It cannot be rightly understood without some reference to the historical treatment of marriage and divorce among the nations of Europe generally, and especially in England, during the nineteen centuries of Christianity.

That the State is entitled and compelled to concern itself with marriage as a social problem is an axiom admitted by all modern publicists. It cannot leave citizens free to contract and dissolve their marriages at will; it must in the interests of public morals, and, indeed, of public order, appoint some limits to the infettered possibility of contracting or dissolving marriages.

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Where no matrimonial laws exist, the State degenerates in Where no matrimoniar it... in fact, be called a State at all sheer barbarism; it cannot, in fact, be called a State at all sheer barbarism; it admitted by all believers in sheer barbarism; it cannot, sheer barbarism; it admitted by all believers in such No less, however, is it admitted by all believers in such a No less, however, is to the Christian, or by persons who, without the calmowledge the just claim of a such that the calmowledge that the calmowl Divine revelation as the being believers, yet acknowledge the just claim of a religion that the contract the contract the contract that the cont faith which professes to be a revelation, that the Church is or necessarily regards herself as being, the custodian of certain moral and ecclesiastical principles which affect the personal and domestic lives, and pre-eminently the matrimonial relations, of her members. If, then, the Church upon the authority of her Founder, or upon such authority as she derives from Him, chooses to define certain laws of marriage, her will is binding upon by members, and the State cannot, or can only in extreme instances, fight against it.

The matrimonial law, then, lies within the province of the Church as well as of the State. Nowhere, perhaps, was Jess Christ more conspicuously a Reformer than in the sphere of the domestic life; nowhere has He conferred a more signal and lasting benefit on human society than in His teaching of the sanctity which attaches to Holy Matrimony. The student of ancient and recent history, who knows what were the conditions of society as regards domestic life in the Roman world when Christianity was born, or what are its conditions to-day in the lands which do not yet acknowledge the spiritual sovereignty of Jesus Christ, can hardly fail to acknowledge that it is the sanctity of marriage which is the chief discriminating feature between Christian and non-Christian communities.

It may be worth while to quote a few sentences from the chapter in which the historian of the Romans under the Empire describes how marriage had come to be degraded and polluted among the Romans in the first century before the Christian En After relating the practical abandonment of marriage amounts Roman citizens in favour of a life which was nominally a state of colliberate land of celibacy, but practically a state of unrestrained and unabasha licentiousness, he adds:

The results of this vicious indulgence were more depraying than the eitself. The unmarried D vice itself. The unmarried Roman, thus cohabiting with a freedwoman slave, became the father of slave, became the father of a bastard brood, against whom the gates of the city were shut. His pride city were shut. His pride was wounded in the tenderest part; his lovely to the commonwealth was also as a superior of the week. to the commonwealth was shaken. He chose rather to abandon the wretten offspring of his amount of the himself offspring of his amours, than to breed them up as a reproach to himself and see them sink below the and see them sink below the rank in which their father was born was born absence of all true religious factors. absence of all true religious feeling, the possession of children by the surest pledge to the State of the surest pledge to the State of the public morality of her citizens. and best renunciation of marriage, which it became the fashion to avow and became the fashion to hand the most public confidence was shaken to its centre. On the other hand, the west themselves, insulted by the realist themselves, insulted by the neglect of the other sex, and exasperated at inferiority of their position, revenged the inferiority of their position, revenged themselves by holding the institution

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of legitimate marriage with almost equal aversion. They were indignant at the servitude to which it bound them, the state of dependence and legal incapacity in which it kept them; for it left them without rights, and without the enjoyment of their own property; it reduced them to the status of mere children, or rather transferred them from the power of their parent to that of their husband. They continued through life, in spite of the mockery of respect with which the laws surrounded them, things rather than persons; things that could be sold, transferred backwards and forwards, from one master to another, for the sake of their dowry or even their powers of child-bearing. For the smallest fault the wife might be placed on trial before her husband, or if he were more than usually considerate in judging upon his own case, before a council of her relations. She might be beaten with rods, even to death itself, for adultery or any other heinous crime; while she might suffer divorce from the merest caprice, and simply for the loss of her youth or beauty.1

It was Jesus Christ who, by His authoritative teaching upon Holy Matrimony, healed the festering sore of pagan domestic Not only did He redress the permanent evil which had vitiated human relations, but He placed womanhood for the first time upon a level of equal dignity with manhood, and He established a new social system on the basis of permanency and indissolubility in the life of the family. If there is any lesson which history teaches, it is that marriage under the shelter of Christianity is one thing, and, where that shelter is wanting, it is another. All Christian expositors, however they may interpret Our Lord's words in the Gospels, agree in holding that He set before men's eyes the indissolubility of marriage as the goal to which they were unceasingly to aspire.

It is true, indeed, that the Church did not at once enunciate an absolute unvarying law of Christian marriage. The fathers of the Church did not always use the same language; they exhibited more or less diversity of views as to the obligations necessarily imposed upon all Christians in respect of marriage, and especially upon those Christians who had suddenly passed from the darkness of heathenism into the light of Christianity. But the points of uncertainty were few, the general principle was clear; and Christian marriage, as it is painted in all early Christian writings, is vividly contrasted in its dignity and purity with the fragile and often polluted matrimonial alliances of the heathen world. Tertullian, for example, in one of his writings, draws the picture of a Christian home-such a picture as is fully applicable to a Christian home to-day—where husband and wife are bound together by intimate ties of spiritual sympathy, where they possess all their thoughts and interests in common, where they pray together, worship together, and receive Holy Communion side by side at the Table of the Lord, where they look upon their children as immortal beings entrusted to them by

¹ Merivale, History of the Romans under the Empire, ch. xxxiii.

God for constant training in view of a better and higher future life.2

History shows that one factor, if not the chief, in the History shows that the Roman Empire was the prevalence of Christianity within the Roman Empire was the superiority of Christian over pagan morals. Gibbon in his enumeration of the causes tending to the growth of Christianity specifies, as the fourth cause, 'the virtues of the first Christians'; and although he treats these virtues in the sceptical and scoffing manner which is characteristic of his general attitude towards Christianity, he does not practically deny or dispute them. The Church appealed to the nobler instincts of humanity, yearning for a higher than the pagan ideal of life. She promised, and the world believed that she was able to effect, an amelioration in the domestic life of the people.

But it was only natural that, as the Church spread over the Empire, and still more as the Empire came to be Christian, the Church should impose her law of marriage directly or indirectly upon society. Nor was this all; for as her law became more effective, it became more rigid and more narrow. There arose in the Church the spirit of asceticism; the state of celibacy or virginity was regarded as higher and more sacred than marriage: various restrictions were enforced upon men and women who desired to marry, as upon the clergy and upon widowers and widows among the laity; but, above all, the indissolubility of marriage, except where it was dissolved by the death of one of the parties, came to be an accepted principle of the Church.

Thus the Church not only assumed complete authority in matters of marriage and divorce, but refused to allow any dissolution of a marriage when once it had been rightly consummated. It is not necessary to trace the influence of the Church and of the Christian law of marriage upon legislation in the countries of Europe generally. What was true of England was true of other Christian countries as well; and in England, as the report of the Royal Commission justly states, 'Ecclesiastical Courts at an early date acquired complete jurisdiction over questions of marriage and divorce, there being an ultimate appeal from their decisions to Rome.' 4

But the Church, like the State, when once the law of indistriction solubility in marriage was recognised as absolute, came into conflict with the exigencies of human nature. Whatever system in marriage or elsewhere opposes human nature, is bound to fall in the end in the end. It was open to the Church to proclaim the indissolubility of all marriages, but there were always a number of married people who could not or would not live together.

[·] P. 10. ² Ad Uxorem, ii. 9. 3 History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ch. XV.

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Church, then, was driven into the admission that, if marriages once consummated could not be dissolved, they might yet be declared null and void. Ecclesiastical casuists invented a large number of grounds as justifying the nullification of marriage. If there was what was known as a pre-contract made by one of the parties to a marriage, if there was a certain spiritual affinity within liberal degrees between the two parties, if there was an absence of some formality held to be essential, then it was always possible to get a marriage annulled in an Ecclesiastical Court. Sir Lewis Dibdin, whose words are quoted in the Report of the Royal Commission, says:

These elaborate and highly artificial rules produced a system under which marriages theoretically indissoluble, if originally valid, could practically be got rid of by being declared null ab initio on account of the impediment of relationship. This relationship might consist in some remote or fanciful connection between the parties or their god-parents, unknown to either of them until the desire to find the way out of an irksome union suggested minute search into pedigrees for obstacles—a search which somehow seems to have been generally successful.⁵

It is evident that, if marriages could be nullified upon a large variety of more or less ambiguous grounds, few marriages, however they might be contracted, would be absolutely secure. Monsignor Moyes, who gave evidence before the Royal Commission on behalf of the Roman Catholic Church, stated that that Church still recognised no fewer than fifteen different grounds for declaring a marriage to be null. So wide a liberty in the nullification of marriages may be justified or condemned; but, at all events, it is a resource to which the Church was practically driven in the Middle Ages, as being in her eyes the only possible means of remedying cases of extreme hardship, where marriage was held to be indissoluble.

The Reformation in England brought a great change in the practice, and probably also in the spirit, of the Church. The law of the State no longer recognised the old grounds of nullity. But it maintained the ecclesiastical principle of indissolubility in marriage. The result was that the law of marriage became or would have become more stringent after than it ever had been before the Reformation. It must be borne in mind that, where the Church abandons the exercise of a dispensing power in matrimonial causes, or, in other words, where marriages when once duly contracted are subject neither to dissolution nor to nullification, married persons necessarily find themselves in a position which did not exist under the ecclesiastical law of the Church before the Reformation. The evils or the hardships remain the same, but the opportunity of escape from them is lost.

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The reformers, therefore, were called to face the same The reformers, therefore, difficulty as had practically, if not avowedly, led the undivided difficulty as had practically, the circumstances not indeed the Church to sanction in certain circumstances not indeed the dissolution but the nullification of marriage. dissolution but the number one. Some of them held marriage difficulty in more ways than one. Some of them held marriage to be dissoluble, and even to be dissoluble upon several grounds as well as upon the ground of adultery. It is well known that Luther was prepared to adopt a rather lax view of the sanctity attaching to marriage. But in England a rough-and-ready solution was gradually adopted. indeed reason to think that English statesmen at the Reforma. tion contemplated the possibility of setting up an Ecclesiastical Court to grant divorces and sanction re-marriages. But no such Court came into being; and while divorce a mensa et thorn -or, as it is now called, judicial separation-remained as it had been before the Reformation a recognised part of ecclesias. tical law, the only legal escape from the bond of marriage, the only divorce a vinculo, which carried with it the power of remarriage, lay in an Act of Parliament. Such an Act of Parliament, however, was at once exceptional and extravagant; it was altogether beyond the resources of the poor, it was comparatively seldom promoted even by the rich. Figures cited by the Royal Commissioners show that the number of Acts of Parliament dissolving marriages between the years 1715 and 1775 was only sixty—i.e. one Act a year. The method of effect. ing judicial relief from matrimonial embarrassments by private Acts of Parliament could not and did not cure the admitted evil of unhappy marriages; it only drove the evil beneath the surface.

There are some Churchmen who have advocated the prohibition of divorce in all circumstances, as though it were their opinion that the legal indissolubility of marriage would prove a sufficient guarantee of national morality. No doubt it would be as easy, as it would be welcome, to proclaim the absolute indissolubility of marriage, if all persons who now seek divorce would then agree to treat their marriages as indissoluble. But the idea that the prohibition of divorce or its practical in possibility is a safeguard to public morals seems to display a certain ignorance of human nature and human history. Mr. Bishop, the author of a well-known treatise on 'Marriage, Divorce, and Separation, gives the following description of English social life during the time when a private Act of Parlie ment was the only ment was the only possible means of obtaining divorce:

It is well known that in England, where divorces from the bond of trimony have till lately because of the partial trimony triple trimony triple trimony triple trimony triple tripl matrimony have till lately been attainable only on application to Parlia Dec.

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ment, in rare instances, and at an enormous expense, rendering them a luxury quite beyond the reach of the mass of the people, second marriages without divorce, and adulteries, and the birth of illegitimate children are of every day occurrence; while polygamy is in these circumstances winked at, though a felony on the statute book.8

It was in these circumstances that in 1850 a Royal Commission was appointed 'to inquire into the present state of the law of divorce in this country, and more particularly into the mode of obtaining a divorce a vinculo matrimonii in this country.' The wonder is not that such a Commission was appointed in 1850, but that it had not been appointed long before. During three centuries the country had tolerated the evils arising from the legal impossibility of either nullifying or dissolving marriages, except by Act of Parliament.

It is important to notice that the Royal Commission of 1850 was strictly limited in its scope. It was not empowered to consider the practicability or the desirability of divorce generally. By the terms of its appointment it was confined to the question, What would be the best procedure for granting a divorce a vinculo, where one of the parties to a marriage was legally entitled to seek such a divorce? Lord Campbell, who had been the Chairman of the Commission, speaking in the House of Lords on the 19th of May 1857, declared expressly that 'the object of the Commissioners was not to alter the law, but the procedure by which the law was carried into effect.'

The Royal Commission appointed in 1850 issued its report in 1853. The outcome of that report was the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Bill of 1857. The Lord Chancellor, Lord Cranworth, in moving the second reading of the Bill in the House of Lords, was as clear as Lord Campbell in describing what he held to be its proper scope or nature. He refused, as the Government of which he was a member refused in both Houses, to enter upon a general consideration of marriage and divorce:

The main object of this Bill was [he said] to constitute a Court which should be competent to decree as a matter of right that relief in favour of persons who had just matter of complaint which could now only be obtained by an Act of Parliament.¹⁰

He assured the House that:

nothing would induce him to submit a Bill which he believed would have the slightest tendency to shake the confidence of the country in the permanency, if not the absolute indissolubility, of the marriage tie. 11

It is not necessary to discuss the interesting debates in both Houses of Parliament upon Lord Cranworth's Bill. Mr. Glad-

Vol. i. sec. 51.
 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. exlv. p. 512.
 Ibid. p. 488.
 Ibid. p. 483.

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stone's emphatic opposition to it is even better known that the last stone's emphatic opposition. At the last moment Lord Palmerston's strenuous support of it. At the last moment Lord Palmerston's strendons the House of Lords by an accident was almost wrecked in the House of Lords by an accident it was almost wrecked in the which would now be described as a 'snap division.' When the which would now be described as a 'snap division.' When the which would now be described when the amendments of the House of Commons to the Bill were referred amendments of the House on the 21st of August 1857. amendments of the House of Lords on the 21st of August 1857, so many peers had already left London that the Government could not rely upon getting a majority in favour of the Bill. Redesdale saw his opportunity of throwing the Bill out. It was with great difficulty that the Government procured an adjourn. ment of the House for three days. Within that time a certain number of peers who were favourable to the Bill were brought back to town, and on the 24th of August the motion for considering the amendments of the House of Commons was carried by a majority of only two votes, 46 to 44.12 Six Bishops took part in the division, one only—the Bishop of London voting Content, and five others—the Bishops of Chichester. Lincoln, Oxford, Rochester, and Salisbury-Non-Content.

The Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857 remains the law of the country to the present day. In estimating the effect of the Act upon social morals, it is necessary to remember that the Act has not so much created as revealed the evils of divorce By establishing a single Court of Divorce and Matrimonial Causes, it largely increased the number of suits for divorce. Persons who would or might have taken the law into their own hands, when divorce was a practical impossibility, began to disclose their matrimonial troubles before the eyes of the public. Scandals thus unhappily brought to light in a court of law have been still more unhappily popularised through the agency of the Press. It is by no means so certain that the existence of a Divorce Court has within the last fifty years increased the number of cases tending to divorce, especially if the comparative population is taken into account, as that it has increased the notoriety of these cases.

At all events, there is one fact which cannot be got over The Royal Commissioners appointed in 1909 have traversed the whole field of marriage and divorce; and no one of them has suggested that Lord Cranworth's Act of 1857 should be repealed.

The Royal Commission of 1909, which has lately issued its Report, was empowered to conduct a far more ample inquiry than the Royal Commission of 1850. It has been concerned It was directed not so much with procedure as with principle.

to inquire into the present state of the law of England, and the administration thereof in divorce and and the administration thereof in divorce and and the separate of the law of England, and the administration thereof in divorce and an england the separate of the law of England, and the administration thereof in divorce and an england the separate of the law of England, and the administration that the separate of the law of England, and the administration thereof in divorce and an england the separate of the law of England, and the separate of the law of England, and the separate of the law of England, and the separate of the law of England the law of England the separate of the law of England the separate of the law of England the law tion thereof in divorce and matrimonial causes and applications for separations for separation

¹² Molesworth, History of England from the Year 1830, vol. iii. p. 99.

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tion orders, especially with regard to the position of the poorer classes in relation thereto, and the subject of the publication of reports of such causes and applications, and to report whether any and what amendments should be made in such law, or the administration thereof, or with regard to the publication of such reports.

The Commissioners themselves say: 'A full inquiry, such as has been taken before us, does not appear to have been held at any time previously in this country, nor, so far as we are aware, in any other.' 13

Whatever may be the virtues and failings of the Report, or rather of the two Reports, issued by the Royal Commission, at least they are not wanting in completeness. It is my object in this paper to consider, however briefly, the Reports of the Majority and the Minority among the Royal Commissioners, and especially the letter of the Characteristic Royal Commissioners.

ally the relation of the Church to these Reports.

There is at least this ground of satisfaction, that the Majority and the Minority agree in certain important recommendations. It can hardly be doubtful that these recommendations will approve themselves to the public conscience. Apart from such recommendations as affect jurisdiction, which, if they excite difference of opinion, will probably excite it as much among lawyers as among Churchmen, all or nearly all good citizens will admit that in matrimonial as in other causes the rich and the poor should be equalised as to their position before the law and their opportunity of availing themselves of the law; also, that if there is any matrimonial offence which entitles a man to apply to a Court for the remedy of divorce, the same offence should afford the same title to a woman. It will be admitted, too, on all hands, that the Commissioners have consulted the true interest of public morality in seeking to prohibit or diminish the evils arising from the publication of disgusting and degrading episodes in the evidence produced before the Divorce Court. Familiarity with gross or subtle forms of sensual sin through the newspapers is a grave and growing peril to the young of both sexes, and it is high time that the plague should be stayed.

From the standpoint of the Church, however, it is impossible to escape the feeling that the Majority of the Commissioners have entered upon their serious task with an apparently singular absence of settled conviction. They deliberately put aside the law of the Christian Church even where it had been most clearly and with

and widely recognised.

Our conclusion is [they say] that we must proceed to recommend the Legislature to act upon an unfettered consideration of what is best for the interest of the State, society, and morality, and for that of parties to suits and their families.¹⁴

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Again, they show the same frank opportunism in the follow ing passage of their Report:

mutual consent.—Some persons consider this as the only solution of the Mutual consent.—Some persons of modern solution of the difficulties of married life under the conditions of modern civilisation, and difficulties of married life under the conditions of modern civilisation, and difficulties of married life under the conditions of modern civilisation, and difficulties of married life under the conditions of modern civilisation, and difficulties of married life under the conditions of modern civilisation, and difficulties of married life under the conditions of modern civilisation, and difficulties of married life under the conditions of modern civilisation, and difficulties of married life under the conditions of modern civilisation, and difficulties of married life under the conditions of modern civilisation, and difficulties of married life under the conditions of modern civilisation and difficulties of married life under the conditions of modern civilisation and difficulties of married life under the conditions of th difficulties of married life under the difficulties of the di divorce at the will of one party, been advocated by others. These suggestions have met with little support been advocated by others. These support at the numerous witnesses who have been called before us, and are support at the precedent at the prece from any of the numerous with any substantial support at the present day in England. 15

The inference from such language seems to be, as indeed the Minority in their Report assume it to be, that, if pressure in favour of further relaxations did exist, the Majority of the Com. missioners would not feel willing or able to withstand it. The Majority of the Commissioners do not apparently entertain an invincible prejudice in favour even of monogamy; for all that they say is:

If we start with the fact that the Western world has recognised that the union between man and woman in marriage should, in the best interests of all concerned, be monogamous, and that a monogamous union ought to le continuous until the death of one of the parties. . . .

It is not unnatural that the Commissioners, starting with minds so strangely open, should arrive at certain novel conclusions in the course of their Report.

They do, in fact, propose that marriage should be dissoluble, and that the parties to a marriage after divorce should be remarriageable, in cases not only of adultery, to which they give a somewhat extended signification, but of wilful desertion for three years and upwards, of cruelty, of incurable insanity after five years' confinement, of habitual drunkenness found incumble after three years from the first order, and of imprisonment under commuted death sentence.

But the results or recommendations at which the Majority of the Royal Commissioners have arrived are probably less striking than their reasons. For, in their consideration of divorce they pay little or no regard to the long-established law and proceedings of the constitution of the consti practice of the Christian Church; they acknowledge no alleging ance to the teaching of Jesus Christ Himself; they make a wild breach in the history and experience of Christendom. For good or for evil, their policy is based simply and solely upon their own estimate of own estimate of human happiness or welfare as determined by the evidence laid before them in regard to the law of marriage and divorce.

It can scarcely be a just matter of surprise that the Church should look upon a Report so conceived and so expressed will some degree of initial some degree of initial anxiety. If it were to be embodied in legislation, it might legislation, it might easily compromise the relation of the

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to the State. Even as it is, it represents a moral position which the Church will not and probably cannot assume. Yet it is well that Churchmen should consider not what it is that they would have wished the Royal Commission to do, if, indeed, they wished anything in the matter of marriage and divorce to be done at all, but what it is that the Royal Commission has actually and perhaps unavoidably set itself to do.

The Royal Commission, then, was appointed to consider the matrimonial law, not of the Church but of the State. But the State is an institution wider than the Church. It is not composed of Churchmen alone, nor is it composed exclusively, although it is predominantly, of Christians. It embraces a number of persons who are not Churchmen or Christians, such as Jews, Theists, Agnostics, and Secularists, and a much larger number who are more or less nominal Churchmen or Christians. To impose the Christian law of marriage altogether upon non-Christians would be or might be as real a grievance as to impose a non-Christian law of marriage upon Christians. It was natural, therefore, that the Commissioners should regard not so much the moral or ecclesia stical principles of the Church or of any Christian denomination as the interest of the State; and the Minority no less than the Majority of the Commissioners must be held to aim in their Report at promoting legislation not for the Church but for the State. The Commissioners, or the Majority of them, may have made, and I think have made, a mistake in paying so little attention to the experience of the Church as embodied in her law and practice, and even to the direct command of Jesus Christ; for these are vital elements in the estimate of human good; but it remains true that, as they were forming recommendations not for the Church but for the State, they were bound to take account of all the citizens who constitute the State, Churchmen and non-Churchmen, Christians and non-Christians alike.

If the Report of the Royal Commission, then, is treated—and I think it ought to be treated—as affecting, and being designed to affect, at least directly and immediately, not the Church but the State, there can be no sufficient reason why Churchmen should fly into a panic over its contents. The laity, and even the clergy of the Church, however much they may regret any departure from Christian principles in the matrimonial law of the State, need not and cannot feel conscientiously aggrieved by it, so long as they are not required or expected to perform themselves any action which is in their eyes morally wrong. The Majority of the Royal Commissioners propose, if an alteration in the Act of 1857 takes place, to guard the consciences of the

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clergy against injustice. 16 The duty of the Church, then, then, in Report of the Royal Commission is clergy against injustice.

The Report of the Royal Commission is not the pretty clear. The Report of the Royal Commission is not the pretty clear. pretty clear. The Report of the law of the land. It is as yet far from becoming the law of the law law of the land. It is as you law of the land. At the worst there must be a considerable interval between land. At the worst the Report and the legislation which land. At the worst there may the legislation which may the presentation of the Report and the legislation which may the church will enjoy the control of the legislation which may be the control of the legislation which may be the control of the legislation which may be the legislation which will be the legislation will be the legislation which will be the legislation which will be the legislation will be the legislation which will be the legislation which the presentation of the Larry and the presentation of the Church will enjoy the opportunity ultimately issue from it. The Church will enjoy the opportunity ultimately issue from it. during a good many years of forming or guiding public opinion upon Christian lines before any Bill for modifying the present into Parliament law of marriage can be brought into Parliament, and still me before it can be passed into law. It is a matter, then, of his moment that the Church should make a wise and active used those years to crystallise public opinion in support of the Christian conception of Holy Matrimony.

It becomes necessary, then, to consider Our Lord's docting respecting the tie of Holy Matrimony. His language upon the relation of man and wife is well known. St. Matthew relates

there came unto him Pharisees tempting him, and saying, Is it lawful to a man to put away his wife for every cause? And he answered and said Have ye not read, that he which made them from the beginning made then male and female, and said, For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and the twain shall become on flesh? So that they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.17

But His language here as elsewhere must be interpreted in the light of His general teaching. It was His aim to enunciate ideals rather than to enact positive laws. He set before His Church sovereign principles; but for the most part He allowed the Church a wide liberty in the practical realisation of His principles. Thus the command 'Resist not evil' is an ideal; cannot be literally obeyed in the present state of human nature and human society, or it would bar the way to all punishment of crime. The command 'Swear not at all' is an ideal; the near men can approach to it the better will it be for the world; but it has not been regarded in the Church generally as forbidding the taking of an oath in courts of law. Again, the indissolubility of marriage is an ideal; but where men do not and apparent cannot attain the ideal, not only the State but the Church need to decide what to decide what is to be done if they notoriously fall below it. Our Lord Himself seems to have recognised the distinction between the higher or theoretical and the lower or practice morality in recognised. morality in respect of marriage. For if in St. Mark's and St. Luke's Gospela Halling and the lower of property of the land of the land of the lower of property of the land of t Luke's Gospels He laid down the absolute rule 'Whosoevership put away his wife and put away his wife and marry another committeth adultery against her,' or 'Everyone 11 her,' or 'Everyone that putteth away his wife and married

17 St. Matthew xix. 3.6, R.V.

another committeth adultery,' yet in two passages of St. Matthew's Gospel—passages which rest upon the same external testimony as the texts in St. Mark's and St. Luke's Gospels— He added the qualifying phrase 'saving for the cause of fornication' or 'except for fornication,' and He added it in one of them immediately after the words already quoted, 'What God hath joined together let not man put asunder.' Some living divines of high repute, such as the Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Inge, and the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford, Dr. Sanday, argued before the Royal Commission that not only did Our Lord's words constitute an exception to the law of the indissolubility of marriage, but they would justify the Christian State in allowing other exceptions than fornication or adultery, if and where men and women, because of the hardness of their hearts, were found to be incapable of coming nearer to the ideal of Christian marriage. At all events, there is this one exception. which rests, or has generally been held to rest, upon the authority of Our Lord Himself.

It is sometimes, indeed, contended that the absolute indissolubility of marriage is, and has ever been, the law of the But what is the law of the Church? It can only be the law of the Universal Church. No doubt a National Church, as the 34th Article declares, possesses the power, within certain limits, of making laws for itself. But the law of the Church can only be the universally accepted law. Where the Eastern Church differs from the Western, or where the Western Church is divided within itself, there is no law of the Church properly so called. But the absolute indissolubility of marriage is not the law of the Eastern Church. It is not the law of the Church accepted by the Reformers, as the well-known Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum sufficiently shows. It is not the law of the Church which the Nonconformists generally recognise to-day. Nor is it practically, although it may be theoretically, the law of the Church of Rome; for the facility which that Church admits in the nullification of marriages is in fact a surrender of the position which the Church theoretically maintains.

The Prayer Book, indeed, in the Form of the Solemnisation of Matrimony, regards the permanency of marriage as being alone accordant to the will of God. But it must not be forgotten that the solemn declaration, 'Those whom God hath joined together, let not man put asunder,' is a repetition of Our Lord's own words, and it must be interpreted in accordance with the interpretation put upon them. It follows, too, upon the promises made each to the other by the two parties in the marriage. But the violation of those promises, on the strength of which the Church has given her blessing, is just what consti-

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tutes the difficulty with which the Church, as well as the state and what in the opinion of such high and tutes the difficulty with the opinion of such high authority is called to deal, and what in the opinion of such high authority is called to deal, and Bishop Creighton does not be to be a such as the state of the such authority is called to deal, and bishop Creighton does not be to be a such as the such as as Archbishop Temple and Bishop Creighton does practical dissolve the bond of marriage.

The authority attaching to the Canons of 1603-4 is, of come The authority accounts and 107th Canons without for the prayer Book. But it is impossible, 107th Canons without for the prayer Book. think, to read the 106th and 107th Canons without feeling, is

indeed Sir Lewis Dibdin has lately argued, that

the law of the Church of England as to the indissolubility of marriage at the law of the Church Courts remained unchanged the corresponding practice of the Church Courts remained unchanged the corresponding practice until after the present Canons of 1600 from before the Reformation until after the present Canons of 16034 as into operation.

It seems, however, to be implied in the 107th Canon that p. marriages of persons who had been ecclesiastically divorced, w a vinculo but a mensa et thoro, were not uncommon, and the the Church felt bound to take rather strong action against the

Whatever may be the duty of the Church in the sphere of Holy Matrimony, I cannot help thinking that the policy of inflicting one and the same lifelong penalty on the guilty and the innocent parties, where one is altogether guilty and the other altogether innocent, will never command the moral asser of the nation at large. It will be felt, as it has been felt, it conflict with the Divine original principles of reason and justice The Lambeth Conference of 1888 made a clear distinction between the treatment of innocent and guilty persons. The Lambeth Conference of 1908 somewhat mitigated, unhappily, I think, although only by a small majority, that distinction, s it expressed the judgment that innocent no less than guilt persons, if they desired to enter into another contract of marriage should be debarred from receiving the blessing of the Church But whether the remarriage of an innocent divorced person is or is not ecclesiastically desirable, it is evident that the personal resident that the personal resid whose marriage has been dissolved through no fault of his hers is a natural subject for the pity rather than for the center of the Church.

The duty of the Church, then, may be clearly stated. legislating for her own sons and daughters, she must take to stand definitely. stand definitely and finally upon the authority of her Direction Founder. His was a superior to the superior of the superior that the superior of the superior His voice is her law. From His will there can be from His no dissent; from His command there can be no appeal. impossible that the Church should treat marriage otherwise as a sacred and some as a sacred and sacramental union, not a mere contract revolution so rich at the choice of the martin at the choice of the parties who make it, but a union so solemn, and so now so solemn, and so permanent as to be the divinely chosen symbol the mystical union between the chosen symbol to the mystical union between the chosen symbol to the control to the chosen symbol. of the mystical union between Christ as the Head of the Church hereals

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Nor is it doubtful that the Church is entitled and may be bound to call upon Christians, as being disciples of Jesus Christ, to 'suffer hardship,' if need be, for the good of the State and of the Church. They cannot claim to dissolve what is in her eyes a sacramental union because it has brought upon them a certain amount of pain or sorrow or ignominy. In Christian matrimony the husband takes the wife, and the wife the husband, 'for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health.' The discipline of suffering, hard as it may be to bear, is often a necessary element in the process by which God prepares the souls of His children for eternity. Never, perhaps, is the true Christian character more powerfully or more beautifully revealed than in the patient and prolonged endurance of an unmerited, yet inevitable, burden.

But if the Church must be absolutely true to the will of Jesus Christ, she must be careful not to go beyond His will. She must not bind where He has loosed. She must not be stricter or less sympathetic than He was. She must not prohibit divorce where adultery or fornication has taken place; nor must she prohibit, even if she cannot unreservedly approve, the religious remarriage of an innocent divorced man or woman. In permitting such remarriage she is true to the moral instinct of humanity; she is true also to the permission of Jesus Christ Himself.

But while the Church thus treats an innocent divorced person in the spirit of Christian leniency, she can hold no terms with a person whose divorce is the consequence of his or her own guilty action. The remarriage of a guilty divorced person is a proceeding with which neither the Church nor any minister of the Church can take part. Such a person, so long as his or her lawful partner survives, is naturally and necessarily debarred from Christian marriage and, except under ecclesiastical absolution, from the sacraments of the Christian Church.

If the Church, however, in obedience as she believes to the authority of Jesus Christ, recognises now, as she has always recognised, one exception to the indissolubility of marriage, it is not, I think, in her power to recognise any other. It is here that I agree with the Minority rather than with the Majority of the Royal Commissioners in their Report. The passions of humanity burst so violently upon the rock of the Divine law that any lowering of the breakwater created against divorce is only too likely to end in the sweeping away of restraint altogether. It is surprising that the Majority of the Royal Commissioners should make so light of the evidence adduced as to the perilous effects of facilitating divorce in such countries as France or the United States of America. Whatever criticism may be passed

en symbol ne Churc upon the statistics of divorce in these countries, it remains the that the number of divorces has grant the beyond dispute that the number of divorces has gravely and the statistics of divorces has gravely and beyond dispute that the number of divorces has gravely and beyond dispute that the number of divorces has gravely and beyond dispute that the number of divorces has gravely and beyond dispute that the number of divorces has gravely and beyond dispute that the number of divorces has gravely and beyond dispute that the number of divorces has gravely and beyond dispute that the number of divorces has gravely and beyond dispute that the number of divorces has gravely and divorces has gr progressively increased until it has become a cause of sering anxiety to the most patriotic citizens of both countries. Experiments of the property of the p ence, in fact, shows that, when once the Divine law of marriage ence, in fact, shows that, when once the Divine law of marriage impossible to discover a safe and secure resting-place. It Roosevelt has spoken of 'the loosening of the marriage tie amount of the most upple old American families' as 'one of the most unpleasant and dangerous features of our American life.' But the evil is no only that so many marriages are dissolved; it is that the dissoly tion of marriage is so lightly regarded by public opinion. When matters reach such a pass that one marriage in every twelve or fifteen or even twenty is subject to dissolution, it is clear that the State is in sore danger of forfeiting the stability and the sanctity which are rooted in domestic life.

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The Minority of the Royal Commissioners in their Report have criticised the grounds other than adultery which are approved by the Majority as justifying divorce. These grounds have all been tried in foreign countries; sometimes the trial has been admitted to be a failure, sometimes it has led to the trial of other grounds as well. All alike may be said to exemplify the difficulty which Mr. Gladstone urged so strongly in the debates upon the Bill of 1857—that unless marriage is held to rest upon the Divine law, there is no possibility of staying the demand for divorce. Wilful desertion for three years and upwards, if it were a ground of divorce, might be, and often would be, only a form of collusion. Mr. Barnard, K.C., speaking from his experience of the Divorce Court, told the Commissioners, 'I think if you have divorce for desertion, it is practically coming to divorce by consent.' Cruelty, again, is a matter of opinion, and a charge of cruelty may easily lend itself to collusion. Incurable insanity after five years' confinement is another suggested ground of divorce. But such insanity is not easily separable from other life-long maladies; it is definitely omitted from the grounds of divorce in the model Divorce Law suggested by the National Congress on Uniform Divorce Law in the United States: it is rather a ground for the prohibition than for the dissolution of marriage. Habitual drunkenness is also approved by Majority of the Royal Commissioners as a ground of divorce. But drunkenness is, and will probably be still more, susceptible to treatment. to treatment; and to allow divorce for drunkenness, indeed for incoming indeed, for insanity, is to lower the conception of marriage a union for better a a union 'for better for worse.' The commutation of a sentent of death into page 1 of death into penal servitude for life presents a problem problem problem of distinguished. easily distinguishable from any prolonged sentence of imprison

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ment. It must be added that the Majority of the Royal Commissioners would appear to have strangely ignored the ambiguous position of children whose parents are divorced. The multiplication of children in such a position would be a loss and even a peril to the welfare of the State.

There are indeed, it must be admitted, cases of grievous hard-The only question is whether the proposed relief of these cases does not involve more loss than gain to the community. For it is unreasonable to sacrifice the morality of the nation out of regard to a limited number of hard cases. But divorce a mensa et thoro, or judicial separation, sets a married person free from the danger of physical suffering in cases of cruelty or insanity. It is not, indeed, free from serious objection; but it does not shut the door against the possibility of the separated parties coming together again—as, indeed, frequently occurs—in happier circumstances.

The true path of relief lies, it seems, not in multiplying the causes of divorce; it lies rather in the proposal, to which both the Majority and the Minority of the Royal Commissioners have given their assent, for making the declaration of nullity of marriage a little easier than it has been. The Church has historically claimed a certain dispensing or reviewing authority in matrimonial causes. She has recognised the duty of treating cases of hardship in an equitable spirit. Episcopal dispensation was originally meant to be a process of mercy where an insistence on the rigour of the law would involve an extreme amount of suffering. Unfortunately it was turned into a source of gain; it forfeited, and perhaps it can never now regain, at least in England, the confidence of the nation. But it is not more than equitable to suggest, as the Minority of the Royal Commissioners admit, that, where one of the parties to a marriage at the time when it took place was suffering from an aggravated infectious disease, or where the seeds of insanity or incurable drunkenness were already sown in him or her, the marriage should be judicially and ecclesiastically declared to be null. Nor is it more than equitable to suggest that after desertion without communication or the possibility of communication for a long time it should be permissible to presume the death of the deserting party to the marriage, and so to offer the other party the chance of remarriage. If these recommendations are adopted, the Church will have gone as far as it seems possible to go in the relief of matrimonial grievances without the sacrifice of Christian principle.

Upon the subject of marriage and divorce the Church will naturally look for the authoritative guidance of the Episcopate as a whole. It can do no good, nay, in fact, it is rather harmful

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than useful, that individual Bishops should utter more or least than useful, that individual Bishops should utter more or least than useful, that individual Bishops should utter more or least than useful, that individual Bishops should utter more or least than useful, that individual Bishops should utter more or least than useful, that individual Bishops should utter more or least than useful, that individual Bishops should utter more or least than useful, that individual Bishops should utter more or least than useful, that individual Bishops should utter more or least than useful, that individual Bishops should utter more or least than useful than useful than useful than useful than useful that individual Bishops should utter more or least than useful than useful, that murradas upon so solemn an issue. The contradictory pronouncements upon so solemn an issue. The contradictory pronouncement of the laity, becomes intoler. The position of the clergy, and indeed of the laity, becomes intoler. position of the ciergy, and by episcopal authority in one dioces able if practices condemned by episcopal authority in one dioces able if practices condended. The Church has suffered too much are condoned in another. The Church has suffered too much from the divided counsels of her leaders. If the instinct of government is not dead in the Church, is it not time to pleat with all due respect that the Episcopate should act, as a Cabing acts, by adopting a definite policy? Such a policy need not and perhaps could not, be what every Bishop in his private judgment holds to be best; but it would be the policy urged upon the Church by the Episcopate as a whole; and ever Bishop, so long as he retained his see, would feel bound to support it, or at least not to depart from it. The number of the clergy who would disobey the collective direction of the Episcopate would in all probability be small; and they would be condemned by the public opinion of the Church as well as of the nation.

But if a grave responsibility rests at the present time upon the Bishops as the leaders of the Church, not less does it rest upon Churchmen and Churchwomen generally. There are indeed, two wholly different and opposite conceptions of marriage. One is that marriage is a union sanctioned and controlled by the Divine will; it is therefore indissoluble, except in the special instance recognised by the teaching of Our Lord Himself. The other is that it is a secular contract dependent upon circumstances; changeable as the needs or interests or passions of society may seem to demand, and tending ever towards such laxity as was advocated before the Royal Commission by Mr. Plowden, the police magistrate, who thought 'It would be an admirable thing if marriage could be put an end to by the consent of the parties'; or by Miss Llewellyn Davies, the general secretary of the Women's Co-operative Guild, who said, 'When man and wife agree to part, I feel it would be much better for the morals of both to grant a divorce. these circumstances the choice of Churchmen and Churchwomen can hardly be doubtful. If they will set themselves heart and soul not only in theory but in practice to maintain the permanent sanctity of Christian marriage, the battle of national morality will be half wor. Descriptions will be half won. But whatever may be the law of the State, it is impossible that the Church for herself or her members can assent to any least assent to any lower conception of Christian marriage than such si accords with the accords with the will and the law of Jesus Christ.

J. E. C. WELLDON.

THE PROBLEM OF MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

(II)

THE PASSING OF MARRIAGE

I HAVE been asked by the Editor of The Nineteenth Century and After to contribute to his Review a few considerations suggested by the Reports of the Divorce Commission. I comply the more willingly with his request because I regard those documents as being of much importance; not, indeed, for any merits of their own, but on account of their very sinister significance. I shall begin by considering my subject from two points of view, the historical and the sociological. A grave moral disease of the present day is what I may call a prurient and pestilential individualism. It is the direct outcome of the Rousseauan philosophy-what a profanation of so august a word-which was at the heart of the French Revolution, and which, starting from France, has infected the general mind throughout Europe. issue, in the public order, is the utter degradation of politics—yes, utter; for what greater degradation is conceivable than the government of a country by the elect of equal and universal suffragethat is to say, by a majority largely composed of charlatans, the outcome of majorities 'chiefly fools,' as Carlyle judged, and surely with some reason? Everything is referred to the decision of 'the Yea or No of general ignorance.' The counting of heads is accepted as the one rule of right and wrong, in entire oblivion of the fact that most of the heads are empty, and of the verity that 'ex nihilo fit nihil.' It seems to be an almost universally received doctrine, at the present day, that society is something artificial; something which can be created, or recreated, according to the will, or rather whim, of the multitude—that is of the majority of them operating through Acts of Parliament. notion is more opposed to the clearest lessons of history, to the most fundamental data of sociology. I use these words advisedly. If there is any lesson of history which is writ large on the annals of the world, it is that majorities are almost always wrong; and the very first principle of sociology is that civil society is not a ortuitous congeries of individuals, but an organism, the product of long centuries of evolution and heredity, the present out-

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come of an immemorial past. No man liveth to himself. work our work not only for ourselves, but for the generations we inherit the work of the generations work our work not only to the work of the generations that shall come after. We inherit the work of the generations that shall come after. The dead forgotten and and product that shall come after. that shall come after. 'The dead forgotten and unknown' that have gone before. 'The dead forgotten and unknown' that have gone before.

have bequeathed to us the results of their toils and their suffer.

yes and the traditions belief have bequeathed to us the traditions, beliefs, ideas, idea which are the very foundation of our civilisation. which are the very louisticated the most precious, is marriage as legacies of the past, and one of the most precious, is marriage as legacies of the pass, and firmly established throughout it was shaped by Christianity and firmly established throughout Europe in the age when Christendom was a fact, and not the shadow of a great name; an age which no one who knows will hesitate to salute as 'magna parens virum.' To glance a little at what Christian marriage then was—and, indeed, still is, in the Catholic Church—will be a good preparation for considering the tinkering to which our Royal Commission would subject the institution of matrimony.

'Behold I make all things new 'was, in effect, the proclamation to the world of the Author of Christianity. And not the least part of that great renewal was the re-creation of marriage. The unit of the social order in the Christendom to come was to be the family. But in the decadent Roman Empire the family had largely lost the religious character which it bore in earlier ages. Marriage, to adopt the words of an Elizabethan poet, from 'an immaculate robe of honour' had become 'a cloak to leprost 'and foulness.' 'Hoc fonte derivata clades.' I need not enlarge upon the facts written all too clearly upon well-known pages of Latin literature. It may suffice here to quote a few words in which a learned writer sums them up:

When Christianity began its great work, not only was the unity of marriage broken by repudiation of the bond and perpetual violation of its sanctity, but in the background of all civilised life lurked a host of abominations, all tending to diminish the fertility of the human race and to destroy life in its beginning and in its progress. . . . The Church succeeded not only in rolling back the tide of pollution, but in establishing the basis of all social life, the unity and indissolubility of marriage. The power of a sacrament had silently been insinuated into the decayed, the almost pulverised foundations of social life, and built them up with the solidity of a real of the City solidity of a rock, which would bear the whole superstructure of the City of God 1 of God.1

This was the great achievement in the social order of the Church, working the work for which her Founder came into the world. world. And her first instrument in effecting it was her revellention of the winter of tion of the virtue of purity. Yes, revelation: the word is not too strong. In action too strong. In antique Hellas and Rome, the existence of such a virtue was hardle a virtue was hardly suspected, although, here and there for example, in the institut example, in the institute of the Vestal Virgins—we find what may

¹ The Formation of Christendom, by T. W. Allies, vol. i. p. 306.

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be called a foregleam of it. A married woman was indeed expected to be faithful to her husband; but that duty was based on the fact that she was his property. No similar duty was held to be incumbent on a man. No turpitude attached to his intercourse with courtesans or slave girls; no ethical obligation was supposed to forbid it. But the Church prescribed a new law as to the relation of the sexes-a law grounded on the revelation made by Christianity. This is expressly indicated in the well-known words of St. Paul: 'Let every man possess his vessel in sanctification and honour, not in the lust of concupiscence even as the Gentiles who know not God.' While inculcating the superior excellence of religious celibacy, it established marriage on that doctrine of monogamy, holy and indissoluble, which its Founder had recognised as the divine original, the ideal pattern of the institution, from 'the beginning' in the counsels of Eternal Reason; exhibiting it, in the words of the Office, as a sacrament 'instituted in the interests of the reproduction of the human species'; a sacrament, indeed, of the natural order, but adopted into the family of religion; a sacrament of which the contracting parties are themselves the ministers; a sacrament imposing upon them duties towards each other, towards their children, towards society; a sacrament for the reception of which absolutely free consent is so essential a condition that even the undue exertion of parental influence will invalidate it; a sacrament which works this change in those who receive it that they are thenceforth not two but one flesh, two atoms bound together, in a bond severable only by death: and finding in that union the consummation alike of manhood and of womanhood.

> He is the half part of a blesséd man Left to be finishéd by such as she: And she, a fair divided excellence Whose fulness of perfection lies in him.

It is curious and significant that the most popular of the Latin poets seems to have anticipated this ideal in his well-known lines:

Felices ter et amplius Quos irrupta tenet copula, nec malis Divulsus queremoniis Suprema citius solvet amor die.²

Of course, I am well aware that fully to realise the high Christian ideal of marriage was the work of centuries. But the

² Greatly daring, I ventured some years ago upon an English rendering of these exquisite lines:

Thrice happy—more than thrice—are they
Whom bonds indissoluble join: whom love,
That bickering jars can neither mar nor move,
Makes one of twain—until the closing day.

same must be said of every Christian ideal, of the Trinity, of Dec. the place and prerogatives of the Deipara, of the Papacy, for the place and prerogatives of coulto velut arbor avo, for example. Each developed 'occulto velut arbor avo, and was, example. Each developed in a sense, the long result of time. Cardinal Laurence Brancala in the first ages of the in a sense, the long result of that in the first ages of the Church is quite warranted in saying that in the first ages of the Church many verities were imperfectly apprehended or almost unknown many verifies were imposed the refore matter for surprise that ('penitus ignotæ'). It is not therefore matter for surprise that in the early centuries great Doctors of the Catholic Church doubted concerning the case of a husband who puts aside an unfaithful wife and remarries. 'He merely commits a venial sin,' says St. Augustine, and that in one of his later works, though in an earlier treatise he had expressed a less lenient view. In St. Ambrose, too, we find a like dubiety; in one passage he declares that such remarriage is no sin at all: in another he gives a contrary opinion. But gradually the true and stricter view was imposed by the Roman Pontiffs, and in the opening Middle Ages the doctrine of the absolute indissolubility of marriage, rightly contracted and consummated, save by the death of one of the parties, was firmly established in the Western Church; nor has it ever since been questioned. In the schismatic Eastern Patriarchates the explication of Christian doctrine was arrested, and the view prevailed that woman's adultery was a valid ground for putting her away and marrying another. It was the beginning of still greater laxity concerning the marriage bond, and now in those regions a husband's facilities for divorce ing his wife-hers for divorcing him are much less ample-are almost as great as they were among the Pagans of decadent Rome. This degradation of family life is part-a noticeable part-of the general moral degradation which ensued in the East on its separation from the Centre of Unity. In the Byzantine Empire society became stationary or decadent. The virility which is a dominant note of Latin civilisation is absent. Nor can it be doubted that one—perhaps the chiefcause of the incontestable superiority of the West was the higher position which woman occupied there. That position unquestion ably rested upon the indissolubility of marriage. The kind of men found in a country depends upon the kind of women found in it. Renan well observes: 'La force d'une nation c'est la pudeur de ses femmes.' And the chief bulwark of woman's chastity is the absolute character of matrimony.

The great religious upheaval of the sixteenth century is often spoken of as the rejection of Papal authority. Thus Gray, in a well-known ode, describes Henry the Eighth as 'the majestic lord who broke the bonds of Rome.' But he broke also the bonds of ecclesiastical discipline regulating marriage. Same must be said of the Continental Reformers. The author of a

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noticeable book recently published finds, indeed, the primum movens of the Protestant revolt in discontent with the severe teaching of the Catholic Church regarding the relation of the He writes:

Of all the restraints imposed on individual conduct, the restraint placed on the satisfaction of sexual desires is the most irksome. Belief in any number of given dogmas, the necessity of attending public worship, fasting. penance—all this is relatively easy: but against the rigorous regulations edicted by the Catholic Church with regard to his sexual life, the individual will never cease to chafe and fret. Even in the centuries in which faith was most intense, these regulations were not observed with anything like exactitude. Far more than any positive disbelief in dogma was hatred of such restraints the real lever of the Protestant movement in the sixteenth Neither the various princes who embraced the Protestant cause. nor those who followed them, cared one straw about dogma: finely spun distinctions between transubstantiation and consubstantiation, incomprehensible controversies regarding the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass. would never have sufficed to excite enthusiasm among a population sunk in ignorance, unable for the most part even to read or write, and most certainly incapable of grasping any abstract notions, however simple-and the abstract notions contained in these Christian dogmas (i.e. transubstantiation and sacrifice of the Mass) are extremely complicated. How are we to suppose such purely intellectual problems to be accessible to the understanding of ignorant and semi-barbaric populations? And even if we were to admit such an impossibility, can it for a moment be supposed that merely intellectual problems are capable of provoking enthusiasm or fury-of kindling those passions that burst forth with such amazing, such uncontrollable violence, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?3

Unquestionably there is much truth in this view. Protestantism, whatever else it was or was not, must assuredly be regarded as a great assertion of individualism; a breaking asunder of the bonds, a casting away of the cords, wherewith the Catholic Church had sought to fetter those animal passions, those lower instincts, those fleshly lusts, which war against the soul. so, from the first, we find the various sects which arose throughout the Continent on the ruins of the ancient faith, at one in derogating from the law of strict monogamy, however widely apart on other matters. Luther-to say nothing of his willingness, on a memorable occasion, to permit polygamy-allowed divorce for adultery and malicious desertion; and Calvin followed his example. The disciples of these teachers, in subsequent ages, bettered it. In the eighteenth century dissolution of the marriage tie was accorded by their Protestant Consistories for such reasons as 'uncongeniality,' 'irreconcilable enmity,' and

The Sociological Value of Christianity, by Dr. Chatterton-Hill, p. 125. It seems evident from his volume that Dr. Chatterton-Hill is not a Catholic, or, indeed, a Christian of any variety. I propose, with the permission of the Editor of this Review, to give, in a subsequent number, some account of this striking book.

the like, and we catch an echo of this laxity even in the Writing the like, and we catch an oost, the austere Milton; nay, as his of our own great Furtain post, as his editor says, he 'pushes the Protestant licence' very far, coneditor says, he pushes the does, in his well-known treatise, that divorce tending, as he does, in his well-known treatise, that divorce tending, as he does, in his should be granted for 'indisposition, unfitness and contrariness should be granted for England the old concentrations. should be granted for interpretation of mind.' In the Church of England the old conception of interpretation of interpretations of mind.' In the Church of England the old conception of interpretations. of mind. In the Charles of indestrinate inde cut short before he had been able to indoctrinate it with the looser notions of sexual morality which, naturally enough, were congenial to him. But marriages of the wealthy were from time to time dissolved by Acts of Parliament, the Anglican Bishops not protesting, and, indeed, in some cases, assenting.

It was, however, the French Revolution—which may be regarded as the Second Act in the great drama of which the Protestant Reformation was the First—which virtually made of marriage a contract terminable at the pleasure or satiety of either party. This was effected by the famous law of the 20th of September 1792, and by way of complement the Convention decreed, on the 2nd of November in the same year, that natural children should be placed on the same footing as legitimate in the matter of succession. It is worth while to cite the words of Cambacérès-afterwards Napoleon's Arch-Chancellor-in recommending this change; they are a complete revelation of the Jacobin mind on the subject. 'There cannot be two sorts of paternity, and no interests should prevail over the rights of blood. It would be to wrong legislators, free from prejudice, if one dared to believe that they would shut their ears to the incorruptible voice of nature and consecrate at the same time the tyranny of custom and the errors of jurisconsults.' The effect of these laws of the Jacobin legislators was to intoduce into France, for a time, the morals of the poultry yard; a state of things which their successors, at the present day just as 'free from prejudice' as they were—are striving, with much promise of success, to bring back. It is the inevitable effect of the degradation of the ideal of marriage—the sole curb of man's capricious appetite, the sole defence of woman's fragle The spectacle presented by the United States of America may serve as an illustration of this truth. There, divorce is rampant; and what is notable is that it is most rampant in regions where the state of in regions where 'the dissidence of dissent and the Protestantian of the Protestant and t of the Protestant religion ' have been most fully realised: in the

That seems to be the better opinion, and it is supported by the great hority of Sir Lewis Dibdon authority of Sir Lewis Dibden, who, in his Notes on the Reformatio Levis Lewis Dibden, who, in his Notes on the Reformation of the law of the l Ecclesiasticarum, writes that after the Protestant Reformation the law of the Church of England as to the indiscolubility. Church of England as to the indissolubility of marriage, and the corresponding

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Commonwealths founded by Puritans and in the parts of other States settled by their descendants. If the matter were not so grave, the causes for which the marriage tie may there be dissolved might be regarded as admirable fooling. It has been held in the Courts of that country to be cruelty sufficient to warrant such dissolution when a man would not cut his toenails. and in consequence scratched his wife every night; when he accused her sister of stealing, thereby severely wounding the feelings of his spouse; when he persisted in the use of tobacco. thereby aggravating her sick headaches; and I saw a case mentioned the other day, in one of the public prints, where a man succeeded in divorcing his wife on the ground that she had taken his artificial teeth and worn them herself.

So much from the point of view of history. Now let us turn to that other point of view from which I have undertaken to regard my subject: the point of view of sociology. What is the true foundation of the State? Not the individual, as the revolutionary doctrine insists; no, but the family. It has been truly said that the revolutionary doctrine of atomism would be valid only in a community where every man should begin life as a foundling and end it a bachelor. Man is, according to the venerable Aristotelian dictum, a social animal. that by his very nature: 'unus homo nullus homo.' born a member of a society—the family: he grows up in that society; in his turn he founds a like society; and his children repeat his life's story. In the family the character is formed: in the family the truth is realised that no man liveth to himself, and the essential lessons of duty and responsibility are learned: the family is the school of authority and of respect: the family weds the gains of the past to the hopes of the future—its office to 'link the generations each to each.' It is the microcosm of the State which may indeed be rightly viewed as the expanded But the first condition of family life is its stability; and the great instrument of that stability is 'pure religion breathing household laws,' the first of those laws being the indissoluble union of the parents. Yes, for the vast multitude religion is the only curb of the egotism which ever threatens that union. 'Nothing,' said one who was not only a great master of romantic fretion but a great master of social science, 'nothing proves more conclusively the necessity of indissoluble marriage than the instability of passion.' These words of Balzac express a profound truth. And here I should like to quote again a lfew admirable sentences from Dr. Chatterton-Hill:

The family is a miniature society; and the disintegration of this miniature society cannot but produce the disintegration of the larger Society—even as social disintegration in its turn points to a disintegration

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of the family. If the individual be not strongly integrated in the tame to be integrated in society as a whole; if he be not come. of the family. If the individual in society as a whole; if he be not conscious neither will he be integrated in society as a whole; if he be not conscious neither will not be conscious. neither will he be integrated in society, he will not be conscious of his duties and responsibilities towards society. No society can be conscious of his duties are responsibilities towards society. of his duties and responsibilities towards society. No society can hope to his duties and responsibilities towards society. No society can hope to he weak—even as no individual can hope to he his duties and responsibilities to not as no individual can hope to be strong if the family be weak—even as no individual can hope to be strong if the family is by far the strong if the family be weak heart. For the family is by far the residue if he be afflicted with a weak heart. For the family is by far the residue is the class. The residue is the residue in the residue in the residue is the residue in the residue is the residue in the residue in the residue in the residue is the residue in the resid if he be afflicted with a weak near.

efficacious of all the social sub-divisions, such as the class, the profession the syndicate, the corporation, etc., the function of which is to adapt to which is to adapt to which it the syndicate, the corporation, conjugating him in a group to which he is attached by ties of especial affection or interest—society as a whole being attached by ties of especial affection or interest—society as a whole being the individual, to be able to influence of the individual of the of attached by ties of especial the individual, to be able to influence him too large, too far removed from the individual, to be able to influence him sufficiently. The family differs from other social subdivisions. . . For the members of the family are linked together by ties sui generis: ties at one of a physiological and a psychological nature, which do not exist between the members of any other group, of any other organisation. Hence the supreme importance of maintaining intact the family structure without which the family functions cannot be performed.5

Dr. Chatterton-Hill remarks: 'These truths are elementary.' So they are. But they do not seem to have been adequately appreciated by the curious medley of ladies and gentlemen who constituted the Commission on Divorce. I fail to find in either the Majority or the Minority Report anything which suggests the real apprehension of them, or any suggestion whatever of any sociological value. The recommendations of the Majority Report indeed, with the exception of their suggestion for restricting the publication of divorce cases, are, as it seems to me, not merely valueless but much worse: they are in the highest degree perverse and pernicious. They mean, in fact, the further broadening of the way, already too broad, which leadeth to destruction. so that many more may go in thereat. To the existing grounds for divorce the signatories of the Majority Report would add five more—viz. wilful desertion for three years, cruelty, incurable insanity, habitual drunkenness, imprisonment under commuted death sentence; and, further, departing from the existing law, they would make simple adultery by the man, as is at present such adultery by the woman, a reason for the dissolution of a marriage. There is a very valuable observation in Taine's great work that those who propose legislation should picture it to themselves as applied in the actual world, that they should endeavour to contemplate the people affected by it, a proceeding which, as he justly observes, needs 'rare talent for observation and, at every step, exquisite tact.' I make no question that the ladies and gentlemen selected for the Divorce Commission amply endowed a in the commission are amply endowed with those gifts, but I may be permitted to doubt whether there I doubt whether they have used them sufficiently, or indeed all in the execution of the countries of the sufficiently. all, in the execution of their task. I find no evidence that the have in imagination mixed themselves with life before making their recommendations.

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However that may be, the adoption of the proposals of the Majority Commissioners would prove to be the beginning of the end of Holy Matrimony. The signatories of the Minority Report are well warranted when they write, 'If the principle which lies behind those proposals be once admitted, with all that it necessarily implies, the result would be to abolish the principle of monogamous life-long union.' A plausible—but not as I think a valid—defence might be offered for the dissolution of the marriage bond by adultery, because, in the words of the Minority Report. tit breaks the tie of married life, in a sense, and with a completeness which can be predicted of no other wrongdoing.' But the doctrine of the Majority Report is that 'the law should be such as would give relief where serious causes intervene which are generally and properly recognised as leading to the break-up of married life,' and, as we have seen, it specifies five of such causes besides adultery. Are there not, however, other causes which the parties concerned, backed up by that vague, indefinite, amorphous. illogical, and often quite contemptible thing miscalled public opinion, would insist upon as being equally serious? For example, incompatibility of temper or of temperament, a chronic or incurable malady, post-nuptial incapacity for the physical requirements of marriage, deep-rooted and irreconcilable difference of religious belief. Surely the Minority Report is right when it declares: 'The proposals [of the Majority of the Commissioners] if carried by legislation would lead the nation to a downward incline on which it would be vain to expect to be able to stop halfway. It is idle to imagine that in a matter where great forces of human passions must always be pressing with all their might against whatever barriers are set up, those barriers can be permanently maintained in a position arbitrarily chosen with no better reason to support them than the supposed condition of public opinion at the moment of their erection.' which must be added-what neither the Majority nor the Minority of the Commissioners seems to have recognised—that, human nature being what it is, the very prospect of the possibility of divorce must militate against the continuity of marriage. The knowledge that the union of a man and woman must persist until death parts them, is the best security for their finding in it if not happiness some 'settled low content,' or at all events a modicum of that 'agreeable feeling' which Herbert Spencer regards as the object of life and the sole criterion of right and

⁶ It would be the gravest mistake to legislate for the removal of exceptional hardships. 'Hard cases make bad law' is a well-known dictum in the Courts. Hard cases make bad laws is a principle which the legislature should ever bear in mind. It should legislate for the general good, not for the relief of private grievances.

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And now let us turn to the Minority Report. It supports of the Committee o And now let us turn to two of the Majority of the Commissioner two of the proposals of the Majority of the Commissioner One is that the sexes should be placed upon an equality in the One is that the sexes should entitle the wife to a ding matter of adultery: that is adultery of the husband should entitle the wife to a divorce. It adultery of the nusuality size is untenable both on physiological appears to me that this view is untenable both on physiological adults. appears to me that this appears to me that this and on practical grounds. I do not deny that adultery in a like and on practical grounds.

But I do maintain that Inc.

is as unethical as in a woman. But I do maintain that Inc. the sociological point of view it is of far less moment. It appears sickening cont to me absolute nonsense—or perhaps sickening cant would be better description—to ignore the difference between the two sexes in respect of the erotic instinct. Man by his very nature inclines to polygamy. Woman to monogamy. The ebullien virility of the man requires to be tamed and disciplined to ordered social life by religion, or by reason, or by both. 'Woman is chaste in her inmost being '- 'Das Weib ist keusch in ihren tiefsten Wesen'-Schiller sings, and truly. Chastity is the woman's prerogative and distinctive virtue, just as courage is man's; it is the keystone of her moral character on which all her worth depends : a lapse from it overthrows her spiritual being in a way which is irreparable: 'Læsa pudicitia nulla est reparabilis arte.' The psychical difference is enormous between the conse quences of unchastity in the two sexes. And the physical differences are the counterpart of it. I need not further dwell on this matter. I observed the other day in some journal-I do not remember what, nor does it matter—that to place the two sexes on a different footing in sexual matters is to contravene the holy law of equality. 'The holy law of equality!' The expression appears to me the veriest balderdash. No such law exists, and if it did exist it would be by no means holy but most unholy. as opposed to the plainest facts of life and the most elementary principles of justice. Inequality not equality is the supreme rule of life, and it reigns in the family as elsewhere : nay, the family is built upon the inequality of the sexes, and the unlikeness of one spouse fits the unlikeness of the other.8

One other proposal of the Majority of the Commissioners finds favour with the Minority, and regarding it the fewest words will suffice. It is the suffice. It is that greater facilities should be given to persons of slender means, living at a considerable distance from London, to exercise their to exercise their statutory rights under the Divorce Acts.

^a I need hardly say that this phrase is suggested by the beautiful lines.

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⁷ It also concurs in the recommendation of the Majority relating to the blication of reports of diverge and in certain publication of reports of divorce and other matrimonial causes, and in certain other recommendations of no control of the Majority relating to the publication of the Majority relating to the publication of the matrimonial causes, and in certain other recommendations of no control of the matrimonial causes, and in certain other recommendations of the matrimonial causes, and in certain other recommendations of the matrimonial causes, and in certain other recommendations of the matrimonial causes, and in certain other recommendations of the matrimonial causes, and in certain other recommendations of the matrimonial causes, and in certain other recommendations of the matrimonial causes, and in certain other recommendations of the matrimonial causes, and in certain other recommendations of the matrimonial causes, and in certain other recommendations of the matrimonial causes, and in certain other recommendations of the matrimonial causes, and in certain other recommendations of the matrimonial causes, and in certain other recommendations of the matrimonial causes. other recommendations, of no great importance, which need not be noticed have

^{&#}x27;For he was rich where I was poor, And his unlikeness fitted mine.'

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course, as they say, it is incontestable that 'no one ought to be deprived of his legal rights merely by poverty.' If the power to divorce is to be reckoned among the liberties of the subject, it should not be made a luxury of the well-to-do.

And now, before I lay down my pen and take leave of this most important and most painful topic, I would make one concluding observation. The signatories of the Minority Report observe: 'There are reasons at the present time which lead us to think that the State is called rather to strengthen than to relax the strictness of its marriage laws.' There are such reasons; they are only too manifest. But is there any reason to hope that the State in England, or indeed anywhere else. will adopt this course? I confess I do not see any. Throughout the civilised world the revolution in the relations of the sexes, for four centuries in progress, seems now to be reaching its logical consummation. England has followed the example of other countries ' haud passibus æquis.' But in the establishment of the Divorce Court in 1857 we must, I fear, discern a downward step not to be retrieved. The most sagacious publicist of the nineteenth century—so I must account M. le Play saw in it 'a decline of public morality.' The saintly Keble, is his well-nigh forgotten tractate, Against Profane Dealing with Holy Matrimony, regarded it as a sign of a great apostasy. Surely they were right. In every subsequent year the forces among us which war against Holy Matrimony have been gathering strength: and now the cry, once barely muttered, is shouted on all sides: 'Down with it, down with it, even unto the ground.' But certain it is, if any fact is certain, that the dignity of woman is bound up with that indissoluble wedlock which alone is worthy of the name of marriage. What but the consortium omnis vitæ makes a wife to differ from a concubine or a courtesan? As certain is it that with the dignity of woman is bound up all that is most precious in modern civilisation. Glory and loveliness in art, in literature, in public and private life, will pass away with the passing of marriage.

W. S. LILLY.

1113

^{&#}x27;I have of course before me the Roman jurisconsult's definition of marriage: 'Nuptiæ sunt conjunctio maris et feminæ et consortium omnis vitæ; divini et humani juris communicatio.'

THE MANNING OF OUR MERCANTILE MARINE

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The prosperity, strength, and safety of the United Kingdom and his Majesty's dominions do greatly depend on a large, constant, and read supply of seamen, and it is therefore expedient to promote the increase of the number of seamen and to afford them all due encouragement as protection.

THESE words are taken from the preamble of the Merchant Shipping Act, and define what should be one of the cardinal elements in the national policy. They refer directly to merchant seamen only, on whom we depend for our national existence all times, just as we do on naval seamen for our safety in time of war; but they also refer indirectly to the latter, as at the time at which the Act was passed the Mercantile Marine constituted an important reserve of the Navy, and was intended to be the source from which its wastage in war could be speedly and mainly recruited. That being so, the word 'seamen'in the preamble referred, it may be assumed, to British seamen, of European race, owing an undivided allegiance to his Majesty No others would serve for naval purposes, and no aliens, I matter what their nationality, no matter how little adverse their own national traditions might be to British sympathies, could be relied upon to continue their services under the mercantile flag, with all the attendant risks of capture and imprisonment in time of war between England and another great sea-Power A Lascar may be defined as a seaman of Asiatic or East Africa birth, and the term 'Lascars,' as used in shipping circles, is cludes natives of India, the Straits Settlements, China, and Fast The majority are British subjects, but though capable whose seamen, whose courage in their own spheres has often been proved in the trul proved in the typhoons and cyclones of the Eastern seas, the have never been tried in war, and it has yet to be shown the their courage and patriotism would enable them to bear the test. During the last of the la During the last fifty years there has been a steady information of aliens and I both of aliens and Lascars into the British Mercantile Marie and both now continued in the British Mercantile and both now constitute a very large element in its personal it might me If both failed us in any great national emergency it might me happen that a large part of the mercantile fleet, on which we are dependent for our food supplies and raw material, would have to dependent to dependent to the dependent be laid up in the Colonies. National starvation and industrial paralysis or of the Colonies. Paralised in their conditions and industrial paralysis or of the would be the results, realised in their completest sense if we lost, even temporarily, the command of the sea, and to a less but possibly substantial extent in any naval war.

The following table shows the number of seamen (British, alien, and Lascar) who were employed during the respective years mentioned in registered British vessels belonging to the United

Kingdom:

Year	British	Aliens	Lascars	Total	Percentage of Aliens, exclusive of Lascars
1870 ·	177,951 186,147 178,994 176,520 188,340 196,834 198,474 201,910	18,011 27,227 33,046 40,396 38,084 34,735 31,873 30,462	22,734 29,999 41,021 44,367 44,152 43,960 43,934	195,962 236,108 242,039 257,937 270,791 275,721 274,307 276,306	10.12 14.63 18.46 22.88 20.22 17.65 16.06 15.09

No records are available of the number of Lascars employed prior to 1886. In 1903 the number of aliens serving in the British Mercantile Marine reached its zenith. In the same year the number of British-born seamen was less than it had been thirty-three years before, though the aggregate tonnage of British shipping had in the meantime almost doubled. From 1903 there has been a steady progressive increase in the aggregate number of British seamen and a similar decrease in that of the aliens, and the tide might therefore on first glance be said to be well turned.

But the satisfaction that might be felt in this fact has its alloy. The term 'seaman,' in Board of Trade parlance, includes every person employed in any capacity whatsoever on board a ship, not only officers, sailors, engineers, and firemen, but surgeons, pursers, stewards, stewardesses, and cattlemen, the only exceptions being masters, pilots, and indentured apprentices. In this article we purpose to deal only with sailors, the working men actively engaged in the navigation of the ship above deck, as distinct from officers and the balance of the technical seamen, whose duties are either below deck, in the engine-room or stokehole, or are in no way connected with navigation.

A quinquennial census of seamen has been made by the Registrar-General of Shipping and Seamen since 1891, and the

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report of the fifth of the series, that of 1911, has just been put formers it appears that an aggregate of the figures is a second of the figures in the figure of the figures in the figure of the figures in the figure in the figures in t report of the firm of the state an aggregate of 28,72 lished. From its figures it appears that an aggregate of 28,72 lished. From its figures it appears that an aggregate of 28,72 lished. lished. From its figures to appear the street of the argument of this agreement of this agreement of this agreement of this agreement. the day on which the census was taken. Of this aggregate, like home sea-going trade (exclusive of the large sea-going trade) were employed in the home sea-going trade (exclusive of yachts) and fishing vessels) and 27,011 in the foreign. in the home trade, who constituted 5.3 per cent. of the whole number of seamen, British and foreign, employed in that trade may be here disregarded, as many of them—perhaps the majority —have become British subjects in everything but name, men for the most part who have exiled themselves from their own countries in order to avoid conscription, and have their permanent homes, with their wives and families, in England, but have been unwilling or unable to incur the expense of taking out formal letters of naturalisation. Those in the foreign trade, on the other hand, have continued to be citizens of the countries of their birth, with their homes, interests, and affections still centred there, with no ties binding them to Great Britain beyond those of the ships in which they are for the moment serving; and ther constituted 20.3 per cent. of the aggregate of all seamen in the trade on census day.

The percentage does not appear very formidable on first glance, but an analysis of the grades in which these aliens are serving in British merchant ships shows that they still continue to be far more prominent factors in the sailor class than might be assumed from the aggregate percentage. Of 8524 petty officers (boatswains, carpenters, quartermasters, sailmakers, etc.) employed on sailing and steam vessels in the foreign trade, 2659, or 31.5 per cent., were aliens; and of 26,358 sailors, in the same trade, 8946, or 33.9 per cent., were aliens. We are not, as already stated, dealing with firemen or trimmers in this article, but it may be mentioned that 28.9 per cent. of all men employed in those capacities were aliens. These percentages relate only to the persons actually employed on the 3rd of April 1911, the day on which the census was taken, but they may be regarded as applying approximately to the total numbers of petty officers and sailors, both British subjects and aliens, who regularly serve in British vessels.

The table on page 1115 shows that between 1906 and 1910 the aggregate number of British seamen increased from 188,340 to 201.910 and that it 201,910, and that in the same period that of alien seamen of creased from 38,004 / 200 seamen increased from 100,000 seam creased from 38,084 to 30,462. While, however, the number of British seamen has British seamen has continued to grow steadily, the information in the census shows the information in the census shows the information in the census shows the state of the st in the census shows that the increase has been limited to the employed in the constitution of the constitu employed in the engineers' and pursers' departments, and will especially marked in the continuous and pursers' departments, and British especially marked in the latter, and that the number of British sailors has actually decreased in the latter. sailors has actually decreased, though only by 1 per cent., between CC-0. In Public Domain Current.

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1906 and 1911. On the other hand, the number of alien sailors 1906 and to the same period by over 10 per cent.; but, notwithdecreased in the decrease, a very moderate estimate, based upon the standing this decrease, suggests that fully 13,000 aliens continue figures of the state of the sta or steam vessels, occupying berths which should be filled by British subjects were there a sufficient supply of trained and competent men. It is a question of paramount importance in the national interests that means should be taken to insure that in the near future this supply will be available, and that the foreigngoing Mercantile Marine may be efficiently manned by British sailors to a degree which will cause them to be a more preponderating element than they now are among the crews of all ships that carry the red ensign, and will give to the crews the same unquestionable national character that the ensign now confers on the ship. The task may be a difficult one, but it is not impossible. It will necessitate some national expenditure, but that, taken at its most extravagant estimate, will be but a drop in the ocean as compared with the millions that are now ungrudgingly devoted to the social needs of the working classes on shore, and to the promotion of technical education in shore-going spheres of occupation. It will throw some burthens on shipowners, but they need not be such as will seriously hamper the industry, and owners will have their quid pro quo in the amelioration of discipline, sobriety, and faithful observation of agreements, qualities in which too many of the modern British seamen are now sadly lacking, but which may be reasonably expected from men who have been trained and disciplined from boyhood, who can rely on the continuity of their employment and are satisfied with its conditions.

The employment of Lascars on a large scale may be said to have followed the opening of the Suez Canal, and it grew in ratio with the great extension of our Eastern trade until at the present day nearly 44,000 are serving either as sailors or firemen in British ships, the majority in those belonging to great corporations, such as the Peninsular and Oriental and the British-India Steam Navigation companies, trading between England and the East, both mid and far, via the Suez Canal, or between India and Australia. They have been found so suitable to these trades, both from their capacity to stand the great heat of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, as well as from their efficiency, sobriety, exemplary conduct, and amenability to discipline, that they must how be recognised as a permanent factor in the trade, and no thought of their displacement can enter into any plans that may be entertained for increasing the present numbers of British-born

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The case is otherwise in regard to the employment of Euro. The case is otherwise in British ships, and even if they cannot be wholly pean aliens in British ships, and even if they cannot be wholly pean aliens in British sings, managed the whole eliminated, every possible consideration of patriotism, pride, and eliminated, every possible consideration of patriotism, pride, and eliminated the national importance of its angle of the patriotism and the price of the patriotism and the patriotism eliminated, every possible contained importance of having safety serves to accentuate the national importance of having safety serves to accentuate always at our command the large, constant, and ready supply of always at our command the and is indicated in the preamble of the British-born seamen that is indicated in the preamble of the Merchant Shipping Act, and that end cannot be obtained while as at present, the berths that should be filled by British sailors as at present, the bottom as at present, the bottom as allow are to a large degree occupied by aliens. That this is so is partly are to a large degree occupied by aliens. owing to the evil reputation which a section of British sailors have acquired for insubordination and insobriety; but it is also due to the absence of facilities for enabling British boys to adopt the seafaring life, or to obtain the training which will convert them into efficient sailors, and, to a still larger degree, to the conditions of life in the Mercantile Marine which are often such as to afford men little inducement to continue in it when employ. ment of any kind can be found on shore. Any measures that can be taken both to train the boys and to retain them when trained are a national service the benefits of which cannot be overstated.

Many of the old romantic attractions of sea-life have gone. Its mystery exists no more. The merchant sailor, overflowing with jovial good humour and rollicking sportiveness, returned from his long voyage in one of the East or West Indiamen, or of the famous Australian or China fast-sailing clippers, in his picturesque dress, with his pockets full of money, with many thrilling yarns to spin of the wonderful sights he has seen or the perils he has gone through, is no longer the hero of his native His time of village, the sure captor of its fairest belle. continued absence is now in most cases short; he has when he returns nothing to tell that is new, and his dress 10 longer differentiates him from the working landsman. But the sailor's career still presents attractions to adventurous and high-spirited lads; it affords a means of livelihood which, not withstanding all its handicaps and hardships, still compares in some of its aspects not unfavourably with that provided by many shore occupations; and all authorities agree that there is still available an entire of the available an ample supply of boys, not the effete wastrels of the streets, but of respectable class, and good intelligence and physique, who, with the full consent of their parents, are both willing and apprint willing and anxious to try a sea-life, but are prevented adopting it by lack of consent it by lack of opportunity.

The old navigation laws, which dated from the time of the second Charles the Second, required that the master and three-fourths of the crew of a British and the of the crew of a British ship should be British subjects. were modified from time. were modified from time to time, and finally repealed in

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and it is from that year that aliens began to crowd into and become a permanent factor of the Mercantile Marine. become a product of steam and the opening of the Suez Canal gave developments impetus to their employment. Tonnage increased enormously, but as improvements in machinery, which reduced coal-consumption and other expenses, enabled steamers to be run profitably where they could not have been before, the increase became more and more intensified in steam to the detriment of sailing tonnage, and the sailing-ship became less and less the prominent factor in British tonnage, and was gradually eliminated in favour of the tramp steamer. With the diminution in the number of the sailing-ships the facilities that formerly existed for the technical training of the best class of sailors also gradually diminished, and the supply of British sailors of the old school became altogether insufficient to satisfy the requirements of the rapidly growing steamship tonnage. They were gradually replaced by the modern product known the 'deck-hand,' whose nautical skill as compared with that of the real sailor is as the skill of the woodcutter compared with that of an expert carpenter, who is little better than a labourer working amidst sea surroundings, and whose chief qualification is that he has gained his sea legs, whereas the sailor is a highly trained expert. As the supply of British sailors decreased, recourse had to be had to the alien for the manning of the sailing ships which remained in service, where technical skill was still necessary. In German, Scandinavian, and foreign shipping generally, sailing-vessels did not decrease with the same rapidity as in British, and foreigners still had the advantage of abundance of facilities for learning in the best schools all the details of their work as expert sailors. They were of necessity welcomed in the British marine, and from the sailing-ships they soon found their way to the steamers.

Spasmodic attempts have been made from time to time to grapple with the evil as far as it could be done by providing a supply of British sailors, but we need only concern ourselves with the efforts of recent years. In 1898 an attempt was made by the Board of Trade to encourage shipowners to take boys to be trained as sailors by granting an abatement of the light dues proportionate to each boy carried in their ships. The attempt failed, and was allowed to lapse after six years' trial. It was found that large payments under the Act (Merchant Shipping Act, 1898) became due to steamers making repeated and short toyages to and from the United Kingdom, while sailing-ships, the only real schools of training, making distant voyages and returning to the United Kingdom at long intervals, received practically nothing. It also lost the sympathy of the Admiralty,

as only 330 boys out of 4416 who came under its operation joing as only 330 boys out of The Naval Reserve when their training the Boer War attention was drawn the sailor class of the Boer War attention was drawn to the completed. During the Mercantile Marine by the fact. completed. During the Mercantile Marine by the facts which foreign element in the transports carrying both men became public that several of war were manned by conand supplies to the seat of war were manned by crews that mainly, in a few instances entirely, consisted of aliens; and in mainly, in a few firstances and in the committee was appointed to investigate the Committee was a most reversigate the general question. The Committee was a most representative one, and the exhaustive nature of its inquiries may be gauged from the fact that the Committee sat for forty-one days and examined seventy-nine expert witnesses of all classes, whose replies to 22,574 questions covered 713 closely printed pages of a Blue-book. The principal results were recommendations that the food and living quarters of seamen should be improved, that the superintendents of the Mercantile Marine offices at shipping ports should be empowered to forbid the engagement of any foreign seaman who does not possess a knowledge of the English language sufficient for the understanding of orders, and that, with the object of increasing the number of British seamen in the Mercantile Marine, every encouragement should be given to training-ships and to the training of boys in merchant vessels. After the failure of the scheme of 1898 another Board of Trade Committee was appointed to 'consider and report upon the most practical scheme for the supply and training of boy seamen of British nationality for the Mercantile Marine,' and its investigations, in their extent and exhaustiveness, fell little short of those of its predecessor of 1902. The result appeared in the following findings:

(1) A large proportion of the foreigners serving in British vessels must

be regarded as a constant element in the Mercantile Marine.

(2) While the presence of these foreigners is not held to constitute a national danger and their elimination is impracticable, encouragement and opportunity should be afforded to British boys desiring to follow the sea at a calling; and this end can best be attained through the agency of training ships, and schools ships and schools.

(3) That this being so, a capitation grant of 201. should be made to these ships and schools in respect of each boy trained for the sea service, who after the completion of living so, a capitation grant of 201. should be made after the completion of his training, actually enters the Mercantile Marine

and makes the sea service his profession.

The last two, it will be seen, fall short of that of the Contitee of 1902 or 12 mittee of 1902 on the same point. The first Committee recommended training The last confined is mended training in merchant vessels. advice to training-ships and schools.

The recommendations of the Committee of 1902 as to the provements of facility improvements of food, cooking, and accommodation, and regard to the language of the Committee of 1902 as and in the language of the Committee of 1902 as and in the language of the Committee of 1902 as and in the language of the Committee of 1902 as and in the language of the Committee of 1902 as and in the language of the Committee of 1902 as and in the Committee of 1902 as and i regard to the language test were embodied in the Merchant Shipping Act of 1906 and therefore became obligatory.

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Nothing has, on the other hand, as yet been done to give legislative force to the recommendations as to the training of boys, though over five years have elapsed since the last was made. Amidst the mass of subjects, both social and political, that engrossed all the thought of Government, Parliament, Press, and public, the question of the Mercantile Marine, vital as it is not only to the wealth and prosperity but to the very existence of the people of the United Kingdom, fell into utter abeyance until the national conscience was aroused from its long-standing apathy by the Titanic disaster. The official inquiry which followed that disaster made it clear that the so-called sailors on board a great liner, which presumably employed the most capable men that could be obtained, were deficient in such elementary attributes of their calling as the lowering, manning, and control of boats in a smooth sea; that, while they displayed high courage in its most heroic aspect of self-sacrifice, they were lacking in decision and resource; and the finding of the inquiry embodied the recommendation 'that in view of the necessity of having on board men trained in boat work steps should be taken to encourage the training of boys for the merchant service.' The Titanic disaster fulfilled the function of Sydney Smith's bishop in railway management. The recommendation just quoted only embodies in general terms those which were more specifically made by the Board of Trade Committees; but, unlike the latter, it does not appear as if it would be suffered to become a dead-letter. Chancellor of the Exchequer has been induced to promise his financial support to any regulations for the technical education of boys desirous to become merchant sailors which the Board of Education may frame under its existing statutory powers. The whole subject has been well ventilated in the Press by experts and by philanthropists or patriots who, while the majority of the nation were indifferent, have ungrudgingly given time, thought, and money to it, and the goal may therefore be said to be at last in view when some effective steps may be taken to provide a supply of trained boys for British ships.

The question has hitherto been viewed from two standpoints— (1) that of providing a reserve on which the Navy could rely for supplying wastage in war, and (2) from that of the interests and well-being of the Mercantile Marine alone. The first may now be put out of consideration, though it is not without some reluctance that the present writer bows to the verdict to that effect that has been given by the Admiralty. He still adheres to the oldfashioned ideas that, notwithstanding the revolution which has taken place in the technical skill that is required in the naval A.B., and has converted him from a sailor of the old school into a highly specialised mechanic, whose workshop is a ship instead

of a factory or arsenal, depletion in war could best be remedied of a factory or arsenar, depositions have been passed on the sea, by drawing on men whose lives have been passed on the sea, by drawing on men whole and who have acquired the courage, promptitude of action and who have acquired the steadiness of nervo. and who have acquired the steadiness of nerve, the steadiness of nerve, the self. decision, the quickness of of comradeship that have from the sterling characteristics of P. Ton time immemorial been the sterling characteristics of British sailors trained upon the blue water in the old schools of masts and sails; that such men, even if suddenly transferred from the deck of a merchant ship to that of a modern battleship, would quickly adapt themselves to their new surroundings. On the other hand, the majority of the trained British merchant sailors that are available will still be required for the manning of their own foreign-going ships in time of war, unless the command of the sea is entirely lost and all merchant ships are laid up in harbour; and failing a very large increase in the present numbers of these sailors, it is quite evident that they could furnish no reserve sufficiently adequate to remedy a large wastage in the Navy in the stress of a naval war.

At present the Naval Reserve consists of three classes: the Royal Fleet Reserve, composed of time-expired naval men; the Royal Naval Reserve, which finds its chief sources of supply in the crews of yachts and of coasting, home-trading, or fishing vessels, the nature of whose employment admits of facilities for their occasional training in ships of war in time of peace that cannot be relied upon in the case of foreign-going ships whether steam or sail; and the Royal Naval Volunteers, the latter a very limited number.

In these three bodies the Admiralty now profess to find sufficient men to satisfy all their estimated requirements. Whether they would continue to do so if the great increase in the naval personnel that is earnestly advocated by such a competent authority as Lord Charles Beresford became an accomplished fact is another matter, and the new feature that may be introduced into the naval wars of the future by the conversion of merchant ships into cruisers on the high seas has been apparently overlooked. If this is carried out, are these cruisers to rely only on their present deck-hands, even more ignorant of the use of armaments than they are of the esoteric duties of trained merchant sailors? For the present, however, things must be taken as they are taken as they are, and it is only natural that with the views they now hold the A.Z. they now hold the Admiralty should disclaim financial responsibility in any school disclaim financial responsibility in any sc bility in any scheme that may be adopted for promoting the entry of hove intervals. entry of boys into the Mercantile Marine. The latter must therefore rely only therefore, rely only on the measures that can be taken directly in

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The failure of the scheme provided by the Merchant Shipping Act of 1898 caused attention to be given to the maintenance of harbour training-ships and technical schools on shore, and thanks mainly to the generosity of some of the great shipowners, supplemainly by public subscriptions and by meagre contributions from the local authorities in a few districts, some have been kept in a high degree of efficiency. But while local funds are supplemented by subsidies from the Imperial Treasury in aid of technical education in all shore industries, an exception was made in that of sea training, and save for a brief period (1908-10) both private benefactors and local authorities have been left to their own unaided resources in this respect, and have naturally been unwilling to incur obligations except on the most limited scale. Now generous recognition of technical sea training is asked from the Treasury, and the co-operation of the county councils throughout the kingdom is also asked for the support of boys from their own districts. There is therefore some hope of a substantial expansion of the public services, hitherto rendered on a scale that has been limited by the funds at the disposal of their managers, of the training-ships as feeders to the Mercantile

The recommendations made by the National Committee on Sea Training in their report presented at the third national conference, which met at the offices of the London County Council on the 21st of October, so far as they relate to the provision of a supply of boys, were the grant of a capitation allowance of 201. per head to recognised training-ships and institutions on shore training for the sea (excluding industrial and reformatory establishments) for all boys who attained the standard of seamanship required for first-class boys in the Royal Navy; and a further allowance of similar amount to shipowners for each indentured boy-sailor carried in their ships and provided with separate accommodation from the crews, and with proper instruction in his duties. The number of boys annually required to satisfy the normal requirements of the Mercantile Marine is at its lowest estimate 5000, and the annual expenditure that would have to be jointly undertaken by the Treasury and the local authorities to carry out the scheme of the national committee would be 100,000l. for capitation allowances. In addition to this a large initial outlay would have to be incurred in extending the limited training-ship accommodation that is now available.

On board the training-ship the boy is thoroughly taught all the mechanical duties of a sailor, to knot and splice, to row and when he leaves it he is qualified to discharge those duties of the

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deck-hand that are within his physical strength. deck-hand that are within a sailor of the traditional British type required to make him a sailor of the traditional British type. But more is required to make him a surface the sailor permanently replaced by unless we are content to see the sailor permanently replaced by unless we are content to build unless to build un gave us such vivid illustrations. It is not rash to assert that gave us such vivid indeserved master in the Mercantile Marine there is not a single experienced master in the Mercantile Marine there is not a single experienced master in the Mercantile Marine who will not admit that sea training in its highest form, develop ing those qualities which have been already indicated, can only be acquired by the mental and physical training that is furnished by service in sailing-ships, and is so well acquired in that service that it is never lost in after-life. This point has been entirely ignored by the national committee, and that it is equally ignored by the existing training-ships is evident from the fact that out of 477 boys whom they sent into the foreign-going Mercantile Marine in 1911 only five were placed in sailing-ships. It is impossible to suggest a complete remedy for this. British sailing. ships are annually becoming more and more a diminishing factor on the ocean. When the first census was taken in 1891 there were 2021 foreign-going sailing-ships manned by 11,387 British and 7279 alien sailors. In 1911 their numbers had fallen to 247 ships manned by 1339 British and 1362 alien sailors. There are however, among those still afloat many of large tonnage and of the highest class which are available to complete the evolution of at least a portion of the training-ship products into the finished sailor. The success of the 'Port Jackson' experiment furnishes a strong object-lesson of what might be accomplished by them, but a more liberal provision than the capitation grant of M. proposed by the National Committee would be required. The grant is in itself enough to repay an owner for half a dozen boys taken into one large steamer in which each boy will speedily make himself useful in many capacities that do not demand the physical strength of a fully-grown man. It is doubtful if it would recoup the owner of a sailing-ship the cost of providing for a score or more boys who could at first render but little service, but who, on the other hand, would be fully taught their duties in a more than the other hand, would be fully taught their duties in a way that the stress and hurry of steamer-life does not nermit. permit. For those who cannot complete their training in merchant spiling of the stress and hurry of steamer-int distributions. chant sailing-ships, the only remedy is that each harbour training ship or shore and live ship or shore establishment should be provided with a sea-going sailing-tender in a line and a sea-going sailing-tender in a line neriod sailing-tender in which a substantial portion of the whole period of training should be of training should be spent. This will again entail a large initial expenditure and in expenditure and increase the annual cost of maintenance of each training establish each training establishment; but unless it is incurred, it seems hopeless to expect the hopeless to expect the survival of the British merchant sailor. Liberal State-aid may be given to training-ships, and bost Me,

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from them may be sent to sea in increasing numbers, but all from them vain as far as regards the displacement of alien by will be in these boys find, when they arrive at manhood, British sailors if these boys find, when they arrive at manhood, British sallot in life compares unfavourably with that of their that their lot in life compares unfavourably with that of their that their bome-staying brothers. It is claimed, in a report of the Liverhome-staying Owners' Association in the present year, that the Mercantile Marine offers a good opening for British boys. The seaman, it is said, is employed for forty-two weeks in the year, and receives for this period from 39l. to 44l. in wages. He year, addition lodged and fed. His lodging has been greatly improved during the last fifteen years, and his food compares most favourably with that found in the home of a workman on shore. All this is quite true, and when it is remembered that no less than a million men in this country are working on shore for wages of less than 20s. a week, without either food or lodging, and often with little security of the unbroken continuity of their employment, the claim of the Liverpool steamship owners might be said to be eminently justified. But there is another side to the question.

Seamen of all grades employed in the great lines of oceangoing steamers are undoubtedly well paid, fed, and lodged, enjoy all reasonable liberty, and can rely, so long as their own conduct is irreproachable—and the conduct of the majority is irreproachable-on continuous employment varied by short rests on shore, and men who have once gained admission into these services are glad to spend their working lives in them. But great liners, manned as they are at present, can only employ about 20 per cent. of all the available seamen, and the rest have to be contented with tramp steamers or sailing-ships. Here the reverse

of the picture becomes very apparent.

Food has been improved both in quality and quantity. bread, preserved meat and vegetables, potatoes, jam, marmalade, pickles and butter now relieve the unvarying round of salt beef and pork and ship's biscuits that were formerly the sole constituents of the seaman's daily diet, whether serving in the North Atlantic in mid-winter or under the fierce, vertical rays of a tropical sun; but the food in tramp steamers and sailing-ships still falls far below what it might be and what it actually is, not only in the Navy and in great liners, but throughout the whole of the United States Mercantile Marine. It is still of monotonous uniformity, it is still often badly cooked, and it is always badly served. Lodging is still, in the majority of ships, deplorably lacking in all the qualities that are essential to even a very moderate degree of comfort. The only legal obligation on the shipowner is to provide a steerage with 120 cubic feet of

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space and a deck-measurement of 15 superficial feet for this space limited as it is, may be substantially space and a deck-measurement as it is, may be substantially reduced man, and this space, limited as it is, may be substantially reduced man, and this space, limited as it is, may be substantially reduced man, and this space, limited as it is, may be substantially reduced man, and this space, limited as it is, may be substantially reduced man, and this space, limited as it is, may be substantially reduced man, and this space, limited as it is, may be substantially reduced man, and this space, limited as it is, may be substantially reduced man, and this space, limited as it is, may be substantially reduced man, and this space, limited as it is, may be substantially reduced man, and this space, limited as it is, may be substantially reduced man, and this space, limited as it is, may be substantially reduced man, and this space, limited as it is, may be substantially reduced man, and this space, limited man, and the substantial man, and man, and this space, inflict and are provided. Mess-tables of separate washing or bath rooms are provided. Mess-tables of their absence. if separate washing of back furniture are generally conspicuous by their absence, and for furniture are generally class-knife and spoon out of tin furniture are generally total has to be eaten with clasp-knife and spoon out of tin pannikni on the men's knees, seated either in a bunk or at best on a second pannish with or without perfunction. on the men's knees, search with or without perfunctory ringing. serving at different times in the day for tea, coffee, soup, means are ill-ventilated and ill in the day for tea, coffee, soup, means are ill-ventilated and ill in the day for tea, coffee, soup, means are ill-ventilated and ill in the day for tea, coffee, soup, means are ill-ventilated and ill in the day for tea, coffee, soup, means are ill-ventilated and ill in the day for tea, coffee, soup, means are ill-ventilated and ill in the day for tea, coffee, soup, means are ill-ventilated. and 'duff.' The steerages are ill-ventilated and ill-lighted, and when heavy weather at sea requires them to be kept closely ship perhaps for many days continuously, and damp clothes and of skins are hung everywhere in them to dry, it is easy to imaging how foul must be the atmosphere of the quarters in which score of men have to eat, live, and sleep.

Such are some of the physical conditions of the lives of the majority of British seamen. As to what may be called the mon conditions, they compare perhaps even more unfavourably with those of workmen on shore. Education has given to the latter a full appreciation of their rights; combination has provided the means of effectively asserting them, and the franchise a powerful weapon for enforcing them. The nature of their employment imposes obstacles, from which shore workmen are free, on the combination at any one time of a sufficiently large number of seamen to be effective, though their Union has much cause for pride in what it has achieved in late years; and the few among them who possess the franchise are rarely in a position to exercise They can therefore do little to help themselves. They still continue to be treated rather as overgrown infants than as thinking men, and to be fettered by restrictions and liabilities that would not be tolerated in any other line in life. At sea their working hours never end: there is no period in the day at which they are not liable to be called upon without any thought of extra remuneration; for them there are neither Sundays 107 holidays; when in port and the routine work of the day is over they can claim no liberty to dispose of their own time as they will: total abstinence is enforced on them; they are not entitled to their wages until the full expiration of the whole period, no matter how long it is, for which they have contracted to sens in one ship; and theirs is now the only civil employment in which breaches of which breaches of contract or of discipline are criminal offences, vested with conclination vested with sanctions from which the railway, postal, and police services—s services—services whose uninterrupted performance is of polices importance to the less importance to the community than that of the Mercantile Marine—are entirely Marine—are entirely immune. There are many masters who exercise their right. exercise their rights over their crews in fashions that are always

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arbitrary and occasionally even tyrannical or fraudulent. Leave arbitrary and of fraudulent. Leave is refused, after long voyages, till the men are tempted to break is refused, and incur penalties of fine or imprisonment; advances of ship and incur penalties of fully served to the ship advances of ship and mean already fully earned to the last fraction are wages that withheld in foreign ports until the seaman in desperation sells his kit for one-tenth of its value or agrees to usurious terms, the profit not falling to the owner of the kit but being shared between the master and unscrupulous tradesmen on shore. A daily ration of spirits is provided in the Navy, but it is unknown in the Mercantile Marine. It has not been found to encourage intemperance in the Navy, in the personnel of which there are large numbers of total abstainers, and it is difficult to see why it should be an anathema in the Mercantile Marine. The consequence is that the fullest indulgence is given, when opporfunity comes, to a craving that is intensified by long deprivation, and drunkenness in its most degrading aspects is a notorious evil among British merchant seamen in foreign ports.

Is it to be wondered at that while such are their conditions of life they should look enviously at the happier fortunes of their shore brethren, and that their ruling desire should be to find shore employment? Twenty thousand men of all classes, it is estimated, annually forsake the mercantile sea-life, and so it will continue to be until wholesale reforms are made in the terms of their employment. The only hope of their attainment is through a strong expression of public opinion, strong enough to influence an overworked Parliament in which sailors are unrepresented and unchampioned, but in which shipowners are both numerous and influential. Experience has shown that nothing can be expected from the owners that is not wrung from them by force. The general increase of wages that was granted last year in a time of unbounded prosperity in the shipping trade, when huge dividends were almost the universal rule, was only obtained after a general strike, and it was withheld from the officers, none of whom joined in the strike, though their claim for increased wages was not less strong than that of the seamen. The boasted improvements of food and accommodation were recommended by the Board of Trade Committee in 1902, but were only secured by legislation, grudgingly and tardily effected after four years' delay. All other conditions remain as they were, and if British-born sailors are unwilling to accept them the owners need not suffer. The supply of competent Scandinavians is inexhaustible.

In the United States the lessons of the Titanic have not been wasted. A new Shipping Act has already passed the House of Representatives, and now only awaits the sanction of the Senate to become law. By it a limit is placed on

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working hours of seamen, and rest from all unnecessary working hours on Sundays and legal holidays are seasons. working hours of seamen, undays and legal holidays while is secured to them on Sundays and legal holidays while is harbour. It entitles them to claim at any time as an absolute right the payment of one-half of the wages that are already earned. It provides that the steerages appropriated to the crew must be duly constructed, lighted, heated, and ventilated, that every vessel having a deck-crew of more than twenty men mix have at least one light, clean washing-place, properly heated with one washing-outfit for every two men: and that a separate washing-place must be provided for firemen large enough to accommodate one-sixth of them at the same time, and equipped with a hot and cold water supply and with washtubs, sinks, and shower-baths. It also provides that every passenger ship must have a sufficient crew to man each lifeboat, and that every ship, whether steam or sailing, must carry in her crew a boy or bots who are citizens of the United States. The food in United States ships is already so good and varied that no legislation for its improvement is necessary. These quotations do not exhaust the provisions of the new Act. There are other important sections to secure seamen against extortion, but those quoted are sufficient to show how largely it will affect the comfort, safety, and general well-being of United States merchant seamen.

For an object-lesson of what might be accomplished we need not, however, go to the United States. His Majesty's Navy has always at its call an abundant supply of the best boys, both in physique and character, of the United Kingdom, and men pass their working lives in it not only contentedly but proudly Leave of absence is granted in abundance. Wages are paid monthly, and the men are therefore seldom without money and the opportunity to spend it on shore as they please:

Their lives, too, on board ship are characterised by every physical and mental comfort that the most thoughtful care can provide for them. The lower deck of one of her Majesty's ships, with its airiness in summer and its warmth in winter, its perfect sanitation and cleanliness, its abundant room and ample provision of mess furniture, could no more be compared to the forecastle of to the forecastle of a merchant sailing-ship than could the lodging of a respectable mechanism. respectable mechanic and his family in a model dwelling in London to the overcrowded done in the control of the the overcrowded dens in St. Giles or Whitechapel rookeries.

The abundant and wholesome food and delight of the cost with and wholesome food can be supplemented at most moderate cost with anything, with the sixel anything, with the single exception of intoxicating liquor, that taste can fancy from the ship's can be supplemented at most moderate taste can be supplemented at most moderate store. fancy from the ship's canteen, which is in itself a small co-operative store managed by the mana managed by the men themselves under the presidency of an officer. Concerts, variety entertains Concerts, variety entertainments, and theatrical performances are constantly organised there is a stantly organised the stant stantly organised; there is always a good ship's library, and abundant supplies of magazines and supplies and supplies of magazines and supplies of magazines and supplies of magazines and papers are handed on from the officers' message of the control of the officers and men alike tells. Officers and men alike take part in cricket, football, sailing-matches and athletic sports, and generally athletic sports, and, generally speaking, nothing whatever that can be done is left undone to promote relationship. is left undone to promote relaxation and amusement, the whole result being Ita

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done being that the men are thoroughly contented with their service, and that there that the ment specimens of her Majesty's subjects than the naval blue-

jacket. These words are extracted from an official report by the present writer, written fourteen years ago, in which, after a long experience of merchant seamen and after having given much thought and attention to their circumstances, he advocated with much greater detail the adoption of the reforms that are indicated in this article. He again advocated them before the Board of Trade Committee in 1902 so fully that the report of his evidence occupies twenty-three pages of the Blue-book. Food and accommodation, though still far from satisfactory, have been since improved, and seamen are now entitled to allot part of their wages, but not to receive them directly, during their employment. All other conditions remain as they were. The writer cherishes no hope that the full comforts of the Navy are ever likely to be extended to the Mercantile Marine. But they may be approximated. More varied food, daily doles of spirits, and decent living quarters, perhaps even mess-rooms, where food can be eaten in comfort, are not impossible; advances of wages may be made and leave given without extra cost to the owners; and why, in the present days of cheap and good literature, should not a small library be part of the equipment of every ship, or even a gramophone be provided? The 'chanties,' the rousing sea-choruses, to the accompaniment of which the anchor was weighed and the sails unfurled in the good old days of the clipper ships, are no longer heard, and are replaced by the creaking of a windlass; but even now no one loves music in its humbler aspects more than a sailor, and no one is more encouraged by it. No more pathetic tale of the sea has ever been told than that of the survivors of the Criccieth Castle when, only a few months ago, they were without food or water in an open boat in the icy seas of the far South Atlantic, and the spirits of all were kept alive by the songs that were sung by one of their number. They were not 'deck-hands,' but sailors trained and serving in a sailing-A good book to read, and music, even that of a gramophone, to listen to, would often keep the sailor contentedly on board his ship, and away from the taverns that face him in every foreign port the moment he puts his foot on shore and are the direct cause of nearly all his moral failings. And last of all, why should not the example of the Navy be further followed and Divine service in its shortest and simplest form be a daily celebration on board every ship that sails upon the seas? It was so a hundred years ago. The writer believes that the God-fearing

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spirit, though hidden, is firmly planted in the hearts of majority of our sailors, whose spiritual needs are totally neglected on board their ships and receive scant recognition on shore.

JOSEPH H. LONGFORD (Formerly H.M. Consul at Nagasaki). 1

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The best thanks of the writer are due to Sir Walter Howell, Secretary of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade; to Admiral W. H. Henders Honorary Secretary of the National Committee on Sea-Training; and to be E. E. Cathery, Secretary of the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union, who help has enabled him to bring down to date knowledge founded on his or direct experience of merchant seamen, which extended over an official life of more than thirty years, but came to an end nearly ten years ago.

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ON THE POSITION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY AT SEA IN TIME OF WAR

ONE of the most important subjects brought before the Hague Conference of 1907 was that proposed by Mr. Choate, on behalf of the United States, in favour of making private property at sea free of capture and seizure.

This was in the following terms:

Mr. Choate said :

The Government of the United States of America has instructed its delegates to the present Conference to urge upon the nations assembled the adoption of the following proposition: - 'The private property of all citizens or subjects of the signatory Powers, with the exception of contraband of war, shall be exempt from capture or seizure on the sea by the armed vessels or the military forces of any of the said signatory Powers. But nothing herein contained shall extend exemption from seizure to vessels and their cargoes which may attempt to enter a port blockaded by the naval forces of any of the said Powers.'1

In the course of an eloquent speech Mr. Choate said that

this proposition involves a principle which has been advocated from the beginning by the Government of the United States, and urged by it upon other nations, and which is most warmly cherished by the American people; and the President is of opinion that, whatever may be the apparent specific interest of our own or of any other country for the time being, the principle thus declared is of such permanent and universal importance that no balancing of the chances of probable loss or gain in the immediate future on the part of any nation should be permitted to outweigh the considerations of common benefit to civilisation which call for the adoption of such agreement.

To no country was the United States proposal more important than to us.

The importance of the principle has been recognised by some of our greatest statesmen. Lord Palmerston, in his address to the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce on the 8th of November 1856, declared:

I cannot help hoping . . . that in the course of time those principles of war which are applied to hostilities by land may be extended without exception to have applied to hostilities by land may be extended without exception to hostilities by sea, so that private property shall no longer be

Deuxième Conférence Internationale de la Paix, 1907, tome iii. p. 766.

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the object of aggression on either side. If we look at the example of the we shall not find that any powerful country were the object of aggression on that any powerful country was former periods, we shall not find that any powerful country was end former periods, the losses of individuals. It is the conflict of former periods, we snan not make the conflict of arministration of by land and of fleets by sea that decide the great contests of nations,

These words remain true, though he afterwards changed his mind not because he thought that the change would be injurious to us, but, as Mr. Choate pointed out, because

if we adopted these principles we should almost reduce war to an exchange of diplomatic notes.2

We reply, as Sir John Lubbock (now Lord Avebury) did in the House of Commons 3: 'Well, that would be a result which we could contemplate not only with equanimity, but with satisfaction.'

In 1889 the London Chamber of Commerce asked me again to bring the question forward in the House of Commons, but] suggested that before doing so I should see Lord Salisbury, which Lord Salisbury said he was entirely with us, and that if I moved a resolution the Government would support it, that, in his words, we should be 'pushing at an open door'; but he asked me before doing so to see our Ambassador to France, as he feared that France would oppose. This I did, and Lord Lytton said that if we made such a proposition France would certainly object. He suggested that if some neutral State could make the suggestion it would be more likely to be adopted. Under these circumstances it was thought better to wait for a more favourable opportunity.

Sir Henry Maine, a great authority on international law, writing in 1888, said:

These, of course, are economical reasons, but I also look upon the subjet from the point of view of international law. Unless wars must be altogether discarded as certain never again to occur, our situation is one of unexampled danger. Some part of the supplies which are matter of life and death to us may be brought to us as neutral cargo with less difficulty than he will be brought to us as neutral cargo with less difficulty than he will be brought to us as neutral cargo with less difficulty than he will be brought to us as neutral cargo with less difficulty than he will be brought to us as neutral cargo with less difficulty than he will be brought to us as neutral cargo with less difficulty than he will be brought to us as neutral cargo with less difficulty than he will be brought to us as neutral cargo with less difficulty than he will be brought to us as neutral cargo with less difficulty than he will be brought to us as neutral cargo with less difficulty than he will be brought to us as neutral cargo with less difficulty than he will be brought to us as neutral cargo with less difficulty than he will be brought to us as neutral cargo with less difficulty than he will be brought to us as neutral cargo with less difficulty than he will be brought to us as neutral cargo with less difficulty than he will be brought to us as neutral cargo with less difficulty than he will be brought to us as neutral cargo with the will be brought to us as neutral cargo with the will be brought to us as neutral cargo with the will be brought to us as neutral cargo with the will be brought to us as neutral cargo with the will be brought to us as neutral cargo with the will be brought to us as neutral cargo with the will be brought to us as neutral cargo with the will be brought to us as neutral cargo with the will be brought to us as neutral cargo with the will be brought to us as neutral cargo with the will be brought to us as neutral cargo with the will be brought to us as neutral cargo with the will be brought to us as neutral cargo with the will be brought to us as neutral cargo with the will be brought to us as neutral cargo with the will be brought to us as neutral cargo with the will be brought to us as neutral cargo with the will be brought to us as neutral cargo with the will be brought to us as n difficulty than before the Declaration of Paris was issued; but a nation still parmitted to permitted to employ privateers can interrupt and endanger our supplies at a great number of points, and so can any nation with a maritime force of which any material which any material portion can be detached for predatory cruising is seems, then that the seems, then, that the proposal of the American Government to give up privateers on condition of exempting all private property from capium might well be made by might well be made by some very strong friend of Great Britain Is universally adopted it would universally adopted, it would save our food, and it would save the commodities which are the modities which are the price of our food, from their most formidable enemies, and would discount their most formidable enemies. enemies, and would disarm the most formidable class of these enemies

The following States, to their great honour, voted in favour of Mr. Choate's proposal to make private property at sea from capture or critical sea from capture or c from capture or seizure: Germany (with some reservations of

³ March 1878.

² Deuxième Conférence Internationale de la Paix, tome iii. p. 775.

³ March 1878

points of detail), Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Points, Cuba, Denmark, Equador, Greece, Haiti, Italy, Norway, China, China, Roumania, Siam, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Holland, Persia, Roumania, Siam, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, and the United States.

Those who opposed were Colombia, Spain, France, Japan, Mexico, Montenegro, Panama, Portugal, Russia, Salvador, and,

alas! Great Britain.

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In 1905 the late Lord Chancellor (Lord Loreburn), in a letter to The Times, most emphatically endorses the American doctrine. He says:

It may be asked: What prospect is there of altering the law in this respect, even if we desired it? An answer may be found in the history of this question upon which, instructive though it is, a few words must suffice. During the last fifty years or more the United States have persistently advocated this change, even to the point of refusing to abandon the right of privateering in 1856, unless all property, other than contraband, should be declared free from maritime capture. Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia have all within the last half-century either adopted in their own practice or offered to adopt the American view, and Continental jurists have almost without exception denounced the existing law. Last year President Roosevelt declared in favour of a new international conference at The Hague, and notified that among other matters for deliberation the United States intended again to press this very subject on the attention of the Unquestionably the American President, with the immense authority he now wields, will exert every effort to maintain his point. trust that his Majesty's Government will avail themselves of this unique opportunity. I urge it not upon any ground of sentiment or of humanity (indeed, no operation of war inflicts less suffering than the capture of unarmed vessels at sea), but upon the ground that on the balance of argument coolly weighed the interests of Great Britain will gain much from a change long and earnestly desired by a great majority of other Powers.

This being the view of one of the principal ministers, it was a great surprise, as well as disappointment, to many of us that our representatives were instructed to vote against the proposal of the United States.

What, then, were their reasons? They did not, I am happy

to say, allege that it was opposed to our interests.

The reasons given seem so insufficient that I must give them in the actual words of Sir E. Satow, who was deputed to speak for us. Sir E. Satow said:

Je vous demande la permission de dire quelques mots pour motiver le vote que nous allons déposer. La Délégation de Grande-Bretagne n'a pas cru de son devoir de répondre en détail à tous les arguments présentés en faveur de l'abolition du droit de capturer les navires marchands ennemis et leurs cargaisons. Mais il n'est pas inutile de rappeler que l'abolition du droit de capture entraîne nécessairement l'abolition du blocus commercial. Car Pune et l'autre mesure ont pour but d'entraver le mouvement commercial de l'advoncé. de l'adversaire, et de le priver, dans la mesure du possible, des fournitures

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Il est donc évident que la proposition d'exempter de la capture parchands belligérants et la capture par la capture parchands belligérants et la capture parchands per la capture parchand per la capture parcha per la capture per la captur règle. Il est donc evident que marchands belligérants et leurs cargaigne de la confiscation les navires marchands belligérants et leurs cargaigne de la confiscation les navires marchands belligérants et leurs cargaigne de la confiscation les navires marchands belligérants et leurs cargaigne de la confiscation les navires marchands belligérants et leurs cargaigne de la confiscation les navires marchands belligérants et leurs cargaigne de la confiscation les navires marchands belligérants et leurs cargaigne de la confiscation les navires marchands belligérants et leurs cargaigne de la confiscation les navires marchands belligérants et leurs cargaigne de la confiscation les navires marchands de la confiscation de la confisc de la connecation les des capable seulement d'égarer l'opinion publique me n'est qu'une équivoque capable seulement d'égarer l'opinion publique me instruite. On a fait beaucoup de cas des opinions exprimées par plusien écrivains et hommes d'Etat anglais à l'appui de la proposition. opinions datent pour la plupart d'une période assez éloignée où les opinions datent pour la plupart d'une période assez éloignée où les opinions de la company de la compa ditions du commerce et de la guerre maritime étaient tout autres de qu'elles sont aujourd'hui. Il ne nous serait pas difficile d'opposer à ca citations d'autres encore provenant de la même source, mais il nous suffin de signaler à l'appréciation de la Commission, l'examen approfondi de la question qui a été fait par un auteur transatlantique contemporain, de l'autorité prééminente dans cette matière est universellement reconnue et qui s'est déclaré d'une manière non équivoque en faveur du maintien de droit actuel.

Quant à l'aspect soi-disant humanitaire de la question, l'opinion de la Délégation de la Grande-Bretagne a été exprimée dans une séance antérieure. Il nous paraît donc inutile de faire remarquer encore un fois, que l'abolition du droit de capture, même accompagnée de l'abolitie de la contrebande de guerre ainsi que du blocus commercial, ne diminuerait en rien l'inhumanité de la guerre.

Il nous semble entendre une voix qui nous enjoint d'observer modération toutefois-le huitième commandement, mais quand nous lui tendoos l'oreille pour écouter ses conseils au sujet du sixième commandement, cette

voix reste muette.

On a fait allusion aux paragraphes deux et trois de la Déclaration de Paris, et l'on s'est efforcé de prouver que cette déclaration, en accordant immunité à la marchandise ennemie sous pavillon neutre, ainsi qu'all marchandise neutre sous pavillon ennemi-à l'exception de la contre bande de guerre dans chaque cas—avait pour but de rendre la guerre mois désastreuse pour le commerce maritime en général. Mais il ressort de l'histoire de cette déclaration que son vrai but était de concilier la régle française de province l'ille angles de la concilier la régle province de la concili française de 'navires libres, marchandises libres' avec la règle anglaise de l'immunité de l'immunit de l'immunité de la merchandise neutre sous pavillon ennemi. Il est dais que l'effet de la merchandise neutre sous pavillon ennemi. que l'effet de la règle nouvelle était de sauvegarder les intérêts des neutres confre en protégeant leurs marchandises contre la capture et leurs navires confie la saisie, et que l'intention était nullement d'accorder une protection at commerce helligérant. commerce belligérant. Nous regardons donc notre proposition d'abolir la contrebande de guerro. contrebande de guerre, dans toute l'étendue de l'expression, comme le grant du state de que en avant qu'en sit fait de l'étendue de l'expression, comme le grant du state de l'expression pas en avant qu'on ait fait de nos jours pour le développement du principe de la Déclaration de la Au sujet de la proposition de la Délégation belge (Annexe 14) amendée par la Délégation des Pays Bullet (Annexe 15), nous croyens re-(Annexe 15), nous croyons ne pouvoir l'accepter non plus. Les avantage pour les propriétaires des respectives de la constant de la c pour les propriétaires des navires cargaisons saisis et sequestrés seraient notre avis très douteux, tandis qu'a notre avis très douteux, tandis qu'en même temps des devoirs fort orient seraient imposés aux bellicement seraient imposés aux belligérants. Pour ces raisons la Délégation de Grande-Bretagne donners un vote de la company D'accord donc avec nos instructions, basées sur une logique et p

raisonnement à notre avis irréfutables, nous nous voyons obligés de voter raisonnement de la Délégation des Etats-Unis.4

The reasons then given were (1) that

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l'abolition du droit de capture entraîne nécessairement l'abolition du blocus commercial.

The abolition of the right of blockade would be, however, a great advantage. This, therefore, is in reality a reason for, and not against, the American proposal. The second reason was (2) that:

tant que le terme 'contrebande de guerre' ne sera par strictement limité aux articles qui par leur nature même peuvent immédiatement être utilisés dans un but militaire, et tant que chaque Puissance individuellement se croit autorisée à comprendre sous cette rubrique toute sorte de vivres et de matières brutes servant aux industries pacifiques, rien ne sera plus facile que de donner à l'exception une étendue aussi large qu'à la règle.

We ourselves, however, had a proposal to do away with the right of declaring any goods contraband of war. Our resolution

1. La marchandise appartenant à un ressortissant d'une Puissance Contractante neutre embarquée à bord d'un navire neutre ou ennemi ne peut pas être condamnée comme étant de contrabande.

2. Le pavillon d'une Puissance Contractante neutre couvre toute la marchandise à bord.5

The American proposal would have led up to this, and the second reason given by Sir E. Satow against the American proposal was again really one in its favour.

It seems remarkable that, after having voted against the proposal to make private property at sea free of capture and seizure, we ourselves proposed to abolish contraband of war. I confess I cannot understand this apparently inconsistent action.

The third reason we gave was (3) that the American proposal would not diminish the inhumanity of war. Surely it would; but at any rate it would tend to diminish the disastrous effects. It was not put forward as a cure for all evils. It would not abolish gout, cure cancer, or prevent earthquakes, but that is no reason for not supporting it. The British reasons for voting against the excellent resolution proposed by America seem to me unworthy of us, contradictory, and insufficient. Our objection was not that it went too far, but apparently that it did not go far enough! Let us now consider the material reasons which ought surely to have induced us to give it our hearty support.

Under existing circumstances the mere apprehension of a war practically diminishes the value of every ship afloat—not merely the fact of war, but even the fear of war. Recollect, moreover,

Deuxième Conférence Internationale de la Paix, tome iii. pp. 832-3. ⁵ *Ibid.* tome ii. p. 1166.

the immense damage which three or four vessels inflicted to the immense damage willow the war between the North and the

We have heard a great deal in this discussion about the Nary; We have neard a growt sure Navy intended to protect our commerce, but let me ask, Is our Navy? or our commerce to support our Navy?

Our rule as regards the Navy is that it should be as strong as the Navy is that it should be as strong as those of any two Powers, but our Mercantile Marine is as great the world put together. as those of all the rest of the world put together.

That the proposal to make private property free from capture or seizure would be desirable in the general interests of manking no one probably would contest; and that being so, even if it were contrary to British interests, we ought not, I think, to withhold our consent.

But let us consider whether it would be contrary to our interests.

The greatest of British interests is not only the peace but the prosperity of the world. A selfish policy is not only wrong but foolish. The country would, I am sure, by an overwhelming majority, give up any claim which could be clearly shown to be unjust, ungenerous, or injurious to the general interests.

The proposal to render ships free from capture and seizure is one clearly for the general advantage, and it is therefore for those who oppose it to show that it would be so dangerous to this country as to justify us in resisting. This, however, I not only deny, but maintain that we ourselves should be great gainers by the change.

No one can have read the various debates and discussions that have taken place on this subject without feeling that on one point there is an overwhelming consensus of opinion-namely, that the present state of things is unsatisfactory, and may become dangerous.

On the other hand, while statesmen and politicians have been much divided in opinion as to the course which we ought to pursue, the representatives of our commerce have been almost unanimous in considering that we ought to proceed on the lines of the Declaration of Paris.

The fact is our statesmen think of our Navy and our power inflicting in inflinting in inflicting in inflicting in inflicting in inflicting in of inflicting injury on our opponents in war; while mercantile men think of our Mercantile Marine and the material interests of the country.

The provisions of the Declaration of Paris to which we have agreed are as follows 6:

It is hardly necessary to say that the Declaration of Paris must not be structured with the Declaration of Tax and the Declaration of Paris must not be structured by the Declaration of Tax and the Declaration of Paris must not be supported by the Declaration of Paris must not be supp confused with the Declaration of London.

(2) The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.

(3) Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war,

are not liable to capture under enemy's flag.

(4) Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective—that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access

to the coast of the enemy.

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In 1870 Prussia decreed the establishment of a Voluntary Marine, which the highest legal authorities have held not to be technically a violation of the Declaration, though certainly depriving it, so far as this clause is concerned, of almost all real value. In fact, to abolish privateering you must go further and

abolish the capture of private property at sea.

The Select Committee of the House of Commons on Merchant Shipping, which sat in 1860, and which consisted of Mr. Baring, Mr. Lindsay, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Horsfall, Mr. Dalglish, and other eminent commercial authorities, came to the conclusion that 'the time had arrived when all private property, not contraband of war, should be exempt from capture at sea.' country has at all times a much larger amount of property affoat than any other nation, and has consequently an enormous interest at stake.

The Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, in a petition presented to the House of Commons, have since expressed their conviction that, even if the course proposed would deprive our Navy of a certain amount of power, it would on the other hand shield us from the infinitely greater injury which the fleets of any strong maritime State would inflict upon our Mercantile Marine in time of war.

The late Mr. Baring, when this question was before the House in 1862, asked the pertinent questions: What country has most commerce afloat, most property to be seized? Surely England. What country would gain most by the preservation of that property? England. You say that your object in war is to injure your enemy. What country could be so much injured in war through her commerce as England?

Let us now consider what we have at stake and what we could gain in a war. Take, for instance, two countries—Germany and

I take Germany first.

Our rule as we know is that our fleet should be stronger than those of any other two countries, but our Mercantile Marine is greater than that of all European countries put together. Our tonnage is over 12,000,000 tons; that of the rest of Europe taken together is a little less, that of Germany being under 3,000,000.

Moreover, we must remember that a substantial amount of foreign shipping is in the Boundard Englishing in successful Headman ies.

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Tonnage.

Take, again, exports. Ours are over 566,000,000l., or deduce. Take, again, exports.

ing those to Germany—our best foreign customer—say, those of Germany are 367,000,0007—in ing those to Germany are 367,000,000l. in round 510,000,000l. in round than ours, though her area is numbers 100,000,000l. less than ours, though her area is so much numbers 100,000,0001. 1000 16,000,000 greater. Moreover, with oversea commerce, and if larger, and her population are now dealing only with oversea commerce, and if we deduct are now dealing only with oversea commerce, and her tradthe amount sent by Germany overland and her trade with us amounting to 279,000,000l., her exports to oversea countries are under 90,000,000l., as compared with ours of 510,000,000l.

Then take Spain. Her exports are 43,000,000l., and deduct.

ing those which go overland less than 12,000,000l.

Is it not idle to suppose that any injury we could inflict on Spanish commerce could have any effect on a war with that country?

Moreover, we must remember that under the Declaration of Paris (see ante pp. 1136-7), to which we are parties, we could not take enemies' goods if they were in a neutral ship. The flag covers the goods.

We may be sure, then, that Germany and Spain, or any other country with which we were unfortunately at war, would secure

their exports by sending them in neutral vessels.

On the other hand, we could not do so, because there are not enough neutral vessels to carry our immense commerce.

Our Mercantile Marine, moreover, would be in great danger. The Germans have made arrangements to arm their swift ocean steamers, which would be free to prey on our commerce, and especially on our shipping. This would not do Germany any good, but would do us a great deal of harm.

The following figures ' give the tonnage belonging to the

principal countries:

							STEE	11,585,878
United King								1,092,165
Russia (inclu	ding	Finl	and)		12.70		•	1,479,684
Norway	•							546,616
Denmark		•				14.7		2,859,307
Germany							•	511,246
Netherlands					-			1 444,338
France .								474,942
Spain .	•							1 071,193
Italy .								487,500
Austria-Hung	ary				•			187,444
Belgium								775,902
Sweden .							•	04.384
Portugal					14.7	7		457,474
Greece .				-	3.7			and to any

This shows how much we have at stake compared possible enemy.

⁷ Statistical Abstract, Foreign Countries, Cd. 6099, 1912, p. 34.

Consider, again, the question of imports.

Our insular position makes the matter one of vital importance Our imports come entirely by sea; those of other countries to a great extent by land.

Our imports of raw materials would therefore be subject to a war risk which would raise their price, but not that of similar materials going to neutral countries. This would place our manu-

facturers at a great disadvantage.

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Consider, also, the problem of our food. For the same reason the price would be raised, to our great disadvantage. I am not, indeed, one of those who take an extreme view as regards our While Paris and Brussels have plenty to eat. food supplies. London is not likely to starve. Nevertheless, an increase of price would greatly increase the sufferings of the poor, and under existing circumstances an increase of price would be inevitable.

Moreover, as I have attempted elsewhere to show in more detail, our investments abroad are so immense, and so widely spread, that it is almost impossible to attack any foreign country without injuring our own property. We talk of foreign nations. but in fact there are no really foreign countries. The interests of nations are so interwoven, we are bound together by such strong, if sometimes invisible, threads, that if one suffers all suffer; if one flourishes, it is good for the rest.

This is especially true in our own case.

England has immense investments all over the world; our merchants are in all lands; we have built railways and factories in almost every country. It would have a melancholy interest if we could calculate how much the Russo-Japanese war has cost the rest of Europe. In Argentina alone our investments amount to more than 150,000,000l. It may almost be said to be an English Colony. The fire in San Francisco cost our English fire offices over 10,000,000l.

We do not, I think, realise how greatly we are interested in the prosperity of foreign countries. People often speak of them as if their condition was immaterial to us—in fact, however, their welfare is of great importance to us. In the first place they are nearly all good customers. Then, again, if the world's harvests are good, our people get their bread for less, and their wages go further; if there are good rains in Australasia, woollens are cheaper.

In the Crimean war our fleet went to the Baltic and burnt a considerable quantity of Russian produce—that is to say, it was produced in Russia. But whose property was it? Much of it belonged to English merchants and was insured in English fire offices. Take, again, the depredations of the Alabama. We paid 3,000,000l. for the damage done to American shipping—that is to

say, shipping under the American flag. But that very shipping the it insured in England. The company of which say, shipping under the Times and The company of which was much of it insured in England. The company of which had to pay many thousands, and then was much of it insured in which was chairman had to pay many thousands, and then we was chairman had to pay many thousands, and then we were was chairman had to pay the American Government for the injury done to

The extension of the Declaration of Paris, therefore, so to The extension of the from diminishing the utility of our Navy in war, would set in the state of from diminishing the distribution of view—of even greater free for objects—from a military point of view—of even greater from the forest protecting our commerce.

importance than that of protecting our commerce.

Moreover, it must be remembered that Germany's excuse to the sudden expansion of her Navy was the desire to protect he commerce. If, however, private property at sea were declared free of capture and seizure, she would, I presume, be willing to reduce her sea forces, and both countries would save many millions a year.

Under the existing system we have much to lose and little, or nothing, to gain; if private property were made free of capture and seizure we should lose little, if anything, and gain much

From all these considerations it is of vital importance to u that private property at sea should be free of capture and seizure

It will not, I hope, be supposed that I ignore the moral and religious arguments, but for the present I am only dealing with the material aspects of the proposal.

A VEBURY.

THE OUTLOOK IN THE NEAR EAST

(I)

FOR EL ISLÂM

THE problems offered for solution by the population of the Turkish Empire are too various and intricate to be disposed of in a book, much less an article. The most that one can do is to lay stress on factors of importance and warn the student against certain pitfalls. Some leading factors in the present situation, as well as its most crying danger, seem to be ignored.

What is the cause of the Mohammedan fanaticism, expressed in brutal massacres of subject Christians, which was unknown before the nineteenth century? The Mohammedans of old were not inhuman. Compare their conquest of Jerusalem, for instance, when the Holy Sepulchre and all the churches were respected, with that of the Crusading armies with its awful massacre; their treatment of the subject Christians with that endured by heretics and Jews in Europe; and it will be evident that the religion of the sword in those days was more tolerant than that of peace and love. In the Bûlâc edition of the Arabian Nights, in the fourth volume, there is a story different from every other in the book, having in every word the air of truth. It is of a merchant who repaired to Acre at a time of truce, and while there became enamoured of a Frankish woman, the young wife of an officer in the Crusading host, but was restrained from wronging her by thoughts of God. Afterwards he came across her as a captive, and, as she was then lawful to him, married her. The story, told with absolute simplicity, with no aspersions on the faith or customs of the Crusaders, is an odd contrast to the Frankish stories full of 'the foul Paynim,' 'the false perjurious Mahound,' &c. Yet that the Crusaders recognised the honour of the Moslems, esteeming them above the Eastern Christians, can be shown from history; as also that the Eastern Christians loved them better than the

'Secure under the Mamaluke sceptre,' says Gibbon, writing of the schism of the Eastern Church, 'the three Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem' (the Patriarch of Constanti-

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nople, not yet fallen, was intimidated by the forces of the West nople, not yet ration, was incompled to the Latins, was incompled to the Condemned the Criental churches, Moslem rule part the Oriental churches and the Orienta from crushing out the Oriental churches, Moslem rule preserved from crushing out the Office Middle Ages they would have been them. By the Europe of the Middle Ages they would have been them. persecuted to extinction for their slight divergence.

When Constantinople fell at length, the conqueror divided When Constantinopie the city and its churches equally between the two religions, and though that edict was rescinded half a century later, the principle of toleration still endured. Travellers in Turkey in the eighteenth century, like Lady Mary Montagu, speak of the moderation of the Turk as something unexpected, a most strange discovery. Every male Christian paid a tax (the merest trifle) annually for his life, which was technically forfeit to El Islâm, In return he was exempt from service in the wars which swept off thousands of the Moslem population. The penal laws against him much resembled those which formerly prevailed in England against Roman Catholics, with the exception that his faith was not proscribed. Those laws were often unenforced for years together. They are now abolished. All recent changes have been favourable to the 'Nazarenes.' Never, so far as I know. in the history of El Islâm have subject Christians suffered persecution for their faith. What, then, is the cause of those 'atrocities' which have shocked the world from time to time in the last century?

I believe the answer to be foreign interference, of a particu-

larly intimate and galling nature.

Of old, poor Christians and poor Moslems lived on equal terms, chaffing each other freely on the subject of religion, as many genial folk-tales live to witness. They do so still where equal poverty combines them. But, thanks to interference by the European Powers, protecting each her special brand of native Christian; thanks to missionary efforts directed mainly to the Christian population; thanks last, but principally, to the capitulations of the Berlin Treaty by which each subject of the fourteen States enumerated resident in Turkey acquires exterritorial standing (i.e. is placed out of reach of the law of the country) together with his servants and dependents, generally native Christians; the Christian population has been set above the Moslem in a way which savours strongly of injustice. Christian has been schooled for nothing by the missionaries, who put him is the who put him in the way of earning a good living. Boasting the protection of the protection of some foreign consul, he is perforce an object of attention to the To the Total and of attention to the Turkish Government. In time past, when supervision was less ! supervision was less keen than it is now, many Christians even changed their nationality. changed their nationality. Without departing from the country or the least intention or the least intention or desire ever to do so, they obtained

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papers of naturalisation from a foreign consul simply and solely papers of a 'pull' in Turkey, and not through any love of the adopted nation. I am acquainted with a man, a Christian native of the Lebanon, whose father, being dragoman to the Italian Consulate, obtained papers of naturalisation in this way. The father laid by money and bought property. The son renounced the fez and took to hats, and thought himself superior to all Ottoman subjects. Despite his Arab name, he was Italian to all inquirers, until this year, when word went forth that all Italians were to leave the Empire. Then he changed his tone: 'I am the son of an Arab, like the rest of you,' he cried in anguish. His swagger of the foreign subject vanished in a trice. He begged them, for the love of God, to let him stay. But the evidence was clear against him; his fellow-Christians with the Moslems drove him out. In his place of exile his one thought was to return; his mind was tortured with anxiety for his possessions. He bribed some smugglers to convey him in with other illicit goods. But in a street of Beyrout, when he believed all danger past, the cry 'Italiani!' was raised suddenly, a mob collected, our friend was badly beaten by the common people, rescued by the authorities, and once more banished. That shows the utterly factitious character of such 'naturalisa-

The great majority of Christians in the Turkish Empire have no wish to dwell elsewhere. Except the people of the Lebanon, who, in return for their autonomy, were years ago walled in with a prohibitive tariff, preventing too much profit from their labours, they would seldom emigrate; and the tendency of emigrants is to return. Nowhere else could they enjoy the same immunity in the pursuit of rather dark commercial ends; nowhere else could they extort such interest for money lent, or live on a luxurious scale so cheaply. They have no corporate sentiment approaching nationality, nor any solid bond of union in religion, divided, sub-divided, as they are, into conflicting sects. These words do not apply to Servia and Bulgaria—till lately Turkish provinces—where a sense of nationality survived and the bulk of the population was of one opinion; but they do apply to Thrace and Macedonia, almost as much as to the Asiatic provinces I have in mind.

The scale of education, as of comfort, wealth and luxury, is generally higher among Christians than among Mohammedans, and this owing entirely to foreign interference (including missions) in the sionary effort, rendered arrogant by the capitulations) in the former's favour. The Christians almost everywhere seem pam-Pered; the Mohammedans neglected and downtrodden. the Christians are not herded to the army, like the Moslems.

'We saved their lives, we kept them like expensive to the saved their lives, we kept them like expensive to the saved their lives, we kept them like expensive to the saved their lives, we kept them like expensive to the saved their lives, we kept them like expensive to the saved their lives, we kept them like expensive to the saved their lives, we kept them like expensive to the saved their lives, we kept them like expensive to the saved their lives to the saved their lives to the saved the 'We saved their fives, the for centuries,' I have heard a Moslem cry with indignation for centuries,' I have heard a moslem cry with indignation for centuries,' If we had been considered to the control of the control for centuries, I have near their persecutors! If we had killed and now you say we are their persecutors! If we had killed the had beginning, as you, of Western Europe them all at the beginning, as you, of Western Europe, would not now be trouble. them all at the beginning, would not now be troubling; by

Expensive' they have truly been to Turkey; though a to 'pets' there may be two opinions. My friend meant the the Moslems had done all the fighting, and the government, police, and so on, while the Christians stayed at home, increased multiplied, and made money. On the other hand, many of the Christians have been, and are still, good subjects, of high service to the State. A list of native Christian pashas—not to speak of physicians, clerks, philosophers, and men of letters-would include few names that are not quite illustrious, honoured by Moslems and by Christians equally. The Christians have always had a hand in the administration of finance in Turkey; her foreign commerce has been theirs entirely. A hundred instances of kindliness and toleration could be found for every instance of oppression, under normal circumstances.

It is only where the foreign consul's, or 'protector's,' hand is seen, raising a man above the common lot of Turkish subjects. that any bitterness is found between adherents of the two The Christians boast of favours, put on airs. Then all at once there may arise a sudden madness; and the innocent-poor, wretched, and half-starving villagers-may suffer for the guilty, being, to the mind of madness, the same species. The burden of bad government falls heaviest to-day upon the poor Mohammedan, who, seeing Christians, once his equals, basking at their ease, feels sore with injury. He, the conqueror of old, has still his pride, but nothing else to lean on for support or comfort. No foreign Power is heedful of his lot. His government, to which he looks with blind devotion, is always harassed by the Franks or Muscovites and cannot help him.

In 1860 at Damascus there was this sore feeling. Some low class Moslems did a foolish, rather childish thing. some crosses out of bits of wood, attached them to the tails of the street dogs, and sent these running through the Christian quarter. The Russian consul took the matter up. The culpris At the consul's bidding the Turkish Governor gave orders that for punishment the prisoners were to sween the street. sweep the streets of the Christian ward in chains. of Moslems thus degraded, with native Christians looking of complacently, procomplacently, produced a transitory insurrection of such that the authorities that the authorities were powerless to check the slaughter

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Thousands of Christians perished, hundreds fled. The Russian consul's house was the first burnt.

That is an instance typical, I think, of many others. Russia in her dealings with the subjects of the Porte has seldom been considerate of Moslem feeling, or squeamish of the means used to obtain her ends. Many thousands of lives have been sacrificed

to her ambitions.

Then usury has caused much trouble; for usury, beloved of Eastern Christians, is to the unenlightened Moslem an abominable crime. Where land is the security, the trouble is embittered; for land in Turkey is a sacred thing, 'the house of El Islâm,' and a Christian could not until three years since acquire it legally in his own name. Usury has been the cause of horrid murders, particularly where the moneylender is Armenian and his customers are Kurds, his ancient enemies. · And here again the innocent many-wretched peasants-have suffered for the guilty few-the cunning townsmen. The slaughter of women and children, so horrible to us, seems merely logical to peoples among whom the custom of blood-vengeance still obtains; and Christians also practise it in warfare.

As far as I can gather, in two cases only can massacres be fairly laid to the charge of the Turkish Government, and both cases happened under Abdul Hamid II., a Sultan whom the Turks themselves deposed with ignominy. Moslems of the better sort are not bloodthirsty. They hate such crimes as much They have long been worried over the condition of their country, seeking some road to quiet out of all her troubles. The very massacres themselves are proof that even ignorant Moslems were unhappy in the state of things. The Powers of Europe, they were constantly assured, desired nothing else than the good government of Turkey for the benefit of Mohammedan and Christian, both alike. That was the cause, the one and only cause, of all their interference. This seemed strange, since, by their interference on behalf of Christian sects, by their 'Capitulations' placing many thousands of inhabitants of Turkey outside the country's law-a privilege which has been shamefully abused by certain lesser Powers which once were Turkish provinces they have made reform a superhuman task. Yet many Moslems half believed these Christian declarations. That was one reason why the Young Turk Proclamation of equal rights for all was everywhere received with such enthusiasm. Moslems hoped that the way out of the difficulty had been found at last; while native Christians hardly dared to trust the evidence of their own senses.

The news was too miraculously good to be at first believable. Then came the disillusion. At once upon the tidings of new life in Turkey, Bulgaria threw off the suzerainty—very dear to Moslem pride—and Austria gobbled Bosnia and Herzegovin The other Powers which signed the Berlin Treaty made to feeble protest. The Christian States had never been in earnest when they said their one idea in interference was Turkey renovation and reform. The last thing they desired was her revival. At the first sign of a new and healthy life in her they fell to snatching what they could, for fear lest in a short while she should hold her own. Supine and sick, they might have let her be. Alert once more and eager for her strength she go no mercy from them.

In the European and the Asiatic provinces, in Arabia, Egypt, and throughout North Africa, in Afghanistan and India, a war of Moslem indignation rose, and still is rising, against what was regarded as the grim fanaticism of the Christian Powen. Tripoli did not allay this feeling. The present onslaught upon Turkey by her former subjects—the final tearing up of the Berlin Treaty in so far as Europe is concerned, though Turkey is still called on to observe it for her part—has brought it up to fere heat. To those who know—as Moslems know, exclusively—the part played by Bulgaria in working up the Macedonian troubles, that Power's solicitude for Macedonia appears the most ironical of pretexts, too shallow to deceive a child in politica. The aim of the Allies, they say, is nothing nobler than a whole sale slaughter of Mohammedans, unworthy the connivance of the Western Powers.

Bulgaria's rejection of the suzerainty discredited the Young Turks at the outset with the ruck of Moslems, who look upon the loss of territory as an insult to the Faith. The Young Turks, thus belittled, proved feeble and were soon divided. They felt their impotence to cope with the old Moslem feeling. They made the grave mistake at first of relaxing all the reins of government instead of tightening them. And along with protestations of sincere goodwill they got their death blow from the Powers of Europe, their protectors. They fell, and a strong Government (including Chiristians), representing all shades of opinion, took up their anxious burden of reform. Again Bulgaria was foremost in the field against it. Again the Power of Europe shrugged their shoulders, pleading impotence.

Is it wonderful that every Moslem in the world should not be saying that we are the real enemies to Turkey's progress; our last desire to see her Christian peoples dwell contented our real intention to degrade and main her? Our Moslem fellow subjects have their newspapers which publish gleanings to the English Press, a large section of which is occupied to the vilifying with amazing ignorance a Moslem Power, the only

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Truly the simple fact, well ascertained, of the existence of a multitude of native Christians loyal to the Porte might give our latter-day Crusaders pause, since it deflates their diatribes. The Christian churches of the East are many; Turkey has let them all survive together. Would any Christian Power have done as much? They value foreign interference only as it raises one above another. Collectively they stand to lose by any change. Under any other rule they would ere long grow discontented, and sentimentalise about 'old times,' as do the Copts in Egypt. The majority now know enough of the conditions which prevail in other countries to recognise that even a chaotic, mediaeval Turkey, prolific of disorders and unsafe for travel, is better as a place of residence and less oppressive of the individual than, for example, Russia.

As for Turkish government, 'rough in the hand, but genial in the head.' I believe that most of them regard it in the abstract with some slight affection. The Orthodox Greek Church of Turkey long ago declined to be the cat's paw of an anti-Moslem Power. Her punishment was the Bulgarian exarch. The Armenian Church has suffered more than any other from the Mohammedan mob, and she preserves the spirit of a nationality; yet it is truly to be doubted if a majority among her members would be found to vote for any foreign ruler but the Turk. The lesser, weaker Churches are protected under Moslem rule from the aggressions of the greater. All have equal standing. As in the hotbed of religious strife, Jerusalem, the Moslem keeps the Christians from each other's throats.

If Christians thus support the Sultan, what of the Moham-Their loyalty is a religious sentiment, extending far beyond the Turkish Empire into ours. The world of El Islâm is still, what Christendom has ceased to be, one mind, one body for religion. The genuine Turks—a small, superior race, enjoying the prestige of aristocracy—alone of all Mohammedans have stepped out from the Middle Ages into modern life. Others have seemed to do so at the behest of Christian tutors and through imitation; but they are subject to relapses one has seen in Egypt. The Turks have made the journey by themselves. They promise to evolve a civilisation as 'modern' as our own and owing much to ours, yet independent and perhaps superior, as building less upon mechanical contrivance, more on culture of its citizens. They are Hanafis, members of the only Sunnite Sect of El Islâm which values reason as a guide above tradition. They, therefore, in their faith itself can welcome progress which Mâlikis and Shefa'is would deem ungodly. And their influence

upon their co-religionists is almost boundless. It was they were chiefly the upon their co-religionists to was they were chiefly when overthrew the recent tyranny whose ministers were chiefly have they have they have the Young Trust is they—though not the Young Trust is they—though not the Young Trust is they of the baser sort. It is they—though not the Young Turk, have of the baser sort. It is they brained section—who rule to-day the counsels of the Empire brained section—who take they can exert on populations common To show the influence they can exert on populations common also the sincerity of even To show the influence the sincerity of even ignorate esteemed fanatical, and also the sincerity of even ignorate the sincerity of even in the Moslems in the desire for a new era: when, in the spring of Moslems in the desire to a spring of 1909, the late Sultan was employed upon his counter-revolution 1909, the late Survey were despatched in all directions to stir persons massacre) with the notice of the potice of insurrection (which means massacre) with the notion of district crediting the new régime. Only in one district round Mersin and Adana did massacres take place. Elsewhere quite commo Moslems of the class that generally loves a riot—at Beyrou it was some boatmen—caught the envoys soon after their landing and led them to the Government for deportation. At Adams Turks worked among the rescuers.

Upon the Turks, with their prestige as fellow-tribesmen and companions of the Caliph, as liberators of the realm, rests at the hope of the Islâmic world. The indignation felt by Moslems everywhere at their unjust treatment by the Powers of Europe is immeasurable, and may at any moment become dangerous. The Turks are conscious of this peril at their backs, and are doing all they can to ward it off. In the capital they were in a position to maintain good order without the presence of the foreign warships in the Bosphorus. But in the provinces there cannot fail to be some ugly outbreaks when the tidings of defeat are known, as must soon happen, in spite of false news circulated with the best intentions. These disorders the presence of the foreign warships in the Bosphorus will exacerbate, since all the Powers concerned are viewed as enemies to El Islâm. And who can say how far the flames may spread?

It seems to me a great misfortune for the British Empire that a Moslem Power, the Caliphate, should be put down for the mere wish to practise what we have for years been preaching—a nationality that shall be independent of religious differences. For it comes to that. In the four years since religious toleration was proclaimed in Turkey, Turkey has had a number of assailants, no defender. The backward Moslem races will regard these national disasters as a 'judgment' upon Turkis innovations; and that must do incalculable harm.

The most disheartening fact revealed by the collapse of the so-called Concert of Great Powers is that England with her millions of Mohammedans has no settled Moslem policy too much to expect that harassed statesmen should have some faint conception of Pan-Islâmism in its higher meaning faint conception of Pan-Islâmism in its higher meaning the Perhaps it is. But mere humanity demands consideration of the

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problem offered by the poor Mohammedan. The Allies may say, at the conclusion of the war, that the said problem is no longer of importance in the European provinces, so few of the Mohammedan inhabitants remaining. The trouble will be thus transferred to Asia, and rendered more acute by more congestion if the aggressive policy of Europe is maintained. Who can say, after this exhibition of their impotence, that the Great Powers can guarantee the integrity of Turkey in Asia? The raids on any trifling pretext are as likely to continue till not a scrap of independent Moslem territory is left. Conquest is no true solution of the difficulty; it only bottles up a spirit which must have an outlet, and prevents the Moslem population from its own development. The principles formulated at the revolution, and since adopted by the Turkish nation as a whole, were as hopeful for the Moslem as the Christian. There seems a danger that in any settlement arranged by Christian Europe the claims of the Mohammedan may be ignored.

MARMADUKE PICKTHALL.

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THE OUTLOOK IN THE NEAR EAST

(II)

THE BALKAN CRISIS IN A NUTSHELL

HUMANITY has been staggered, to borrow Krüger's prophetic phrase, by the result of the war in the Balkans. But to those who happened to be acquainted with the true state of affairs this result has not come as a surprise. To them it was a subject for marvel that Bulgaria had delayed so long, as her army was second to none in efficiency, and it could be confidently assumed that it could at any time make its way to Constantinople in the course of few weeks. The only explanation was that King Ferdinand, who is a consummate diplomatist but no soldier, was instinctively reluctant to take the field. He has since shown that he waited to some purpose, as he rendered success a certainty by securing the co-operation of Servia, Montenegro, and Greece. If Bulgaria with her own unaided efforts was sure of victory, the collapse of Turkey with the four States against her was bound to be tremendous, as it has proved to be. There can, under such circumstances, be no return to the status quo ante bellum, and the only question now before us is the partition of the conquered territory.

Will the victors divide all the spoils between them, or will certain portions be ruled out of their spheres and receive some measure of independent autonomy? Then will Servia be permitted to attain her cherished desire of securing one or more ports on the Adriatic? As regards Albania the case is clear enough. Servia has no right to lay claim to a province which is inhabited by an alien population which detests her very name.

Well founded is Austria's objection to the Adriatic port pro gramme, which, if carried out, would expose her to the presence at such a payol at the at such a naval station of a hostile fleet within easy distance of Austria has given unmistakable evidence of readiness to come to terms with Servia, and if complications are to ensure to will be through it will be through no fault of hers.

As for all the speculation regarding the eventual fate of Corntinople, the idea of the ide stantinople, the idea that it might be retained by Bulgaria is based on utter misconcentiation. on utter misconception of the real state of the case. The Greeks have always looked for have always looked forward to recovering their old Byzanting if the power of the Ways if the power of the Turks were broken, and they have every Da

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historic and moral right to it. Politicians who never get below the surface are too prone to miss the fact that it was through the dissensions of Greeks, Slavs, and of Bulgarians, who are of the Ugrian race, and therefore quite distinct, that the Ottomans were enabled to establish their empire in the Balkan Peninsula, and that it was owing to their rivalry that it was maintained. They argue, too, as if Austria had no voice in the question, forgetting that her armies were the first to arrest the Mussulman tide and to free or to secure better terms for some of the vanquished races. Russia has not been the sole champion of the Christians of the East, and Servia in particular has every reason to be grateful to Austria for her action in the past centuries.

When this fateful war began, experts in the Eastern Question turned curious eyes to Roumania, as the appearance of an army on her south-eastern frontier would have considerably hampered Bulgaria's operations. Some time ago there was a rumour, which obtained a certain amount of credit, that Roumania had actually concluded an alliance with the Porte. It was impossible to obtain any direct confirmation or contradiction of this report, which is now shown to have been utterly unfounded. But there is no doubt that a mere hint from Austria would have led to such a demonstration, and here, again, her Government has proved its desire to abstain from any step which might complicate an already sufficiently tangled situation. Roumania is the strongest, and is by far the most advanced of the Balkan States, and it is with her and with Austria that the future rests, as, while the Allies have been signally victorious, they are in some degree exhausted by the struggle, and although they may defy the European Concert such as it is, they would soon be compelled to lower their tone if Austria or Roumania showed any disposition to step in.

And what of Russia, who is suspected in Vienna of inspiring for her own ends Servia's reluctance to treat? It has often been argued that Austria took advantage of Russia's weakness after the great war with Japan to proclaim the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Yet years before that war broke out Austria was regarded in competent military quarters as more than a match for Russia. If a downright quarrel were unhappily to break out, the result could be predicted with complete confidence—that is to say, if such a war were confined to these Powers : and why should

it not be?

There is too much disposition to represent this question as one between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, the fact being lost sight of that not one of Austria's or Russia's allies or friends is bound to assist either party under such conditions as these. To take one case alone. The French Republic, whose policy is so practical and pacific, would resist any attempt to drag

it into hostilities with its eastern neighbour unless its honour and it into hostilities with his cance has been for years on the most its interests were at stake. France has been for years on the most its interests were at stake. Who, but for the unreasonable its interests were at stake. I stake the most cordial terms with Austria, who, but for the unreasonable outer cordial terms with Austria, who, but for the unreasonable outer cordial terms with Austria, who, but for the unreasonable outer cordial terms with Austria, who, but for the unreasonable outer cordial terms with Austria and the most cordial terms with the most cordial terms with the most cordial terms with the most cordinal ter cordial terms with Austria, ..., raised when she definitively annexed Bosnia, might by this time have been detached from her close connexion with Germany.

If Russia chooses to thwart Austria's well-founded objections. which are supported by Italy, to Servia's acquisition of a port of ports on the Adriatic this is her own affair, and does not concern France. Nor, in conclusion, should it be forgotten at this juncture that it was anxiety as to Russia's future which led France to cultivate more friendly relations with England, and that the only criticism in France of such a policy is based on the fear that England may one day draw the Republic into serious complica. tions with Germany, the cost of which may be chiefly defrayed by France, who is par excellence the pacific Power.

Strange indeed is the situation in Turkey after the bright promise held out by the Revolution of July 1908, when Christians and Mohammedans fell into each others' arms and, weeping team of joy, vowed an eternal friendship under the régime of liberty which was believed to have set in under the auspices of the Committee of Union and Progress. Feuds and rivalries were regarded as having been dissipated for ever, but soon a jarring note was struck by Austria's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and by Prince Ferdinand's proclamation in the following October, and also by the restlessness of the Cretans.

The Committee grew suspicious of the Christians, and began to devise ways and means for daunting them. There was a programme for the immigration of 1,300,000 Mohammedans and of 200,000 Jews into Macedonia, Bosnia being confidently reckoned upon to furnish 600,000 of these Mohammedans and Bulgaria about the same number, while the Mussulman Tartars

were also expected to supply a strong contingent.

Then efforts were made to play the different Christian races off against each other. The first to suffer seriously was the Hellenic population. In the summer of 1909 the relations between Ottomans and Greeks were so strained owing to Crete that the Patriarch called on Mahmoud Chefket Pasha, then Minister of War, to remonstrate. But he was brutally insulted, and was told that his people was likely insulted, and was told that his people was likely insulted. that his people would be deliberately ruined and annihilated. Yet soon afterwards a Bulgarian Minister was declaring that if was should break out by should break out between Turkey and Greece his country's synpathy would be all on the side of the Porte, and a large party of Servian politicism of Servian politicians and journalists was at Constantinople with profuse protestations of admiration and friendliness, this being actually followed by actually followed by the visits of the Kings of Bulgaria and of Servia to the city on the

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The motive of these civilities was mistaken by the Committee, which in its conceit attributed them to fear, and soon it was capping its persecution of the Greeks with its Associations Law, which, among other things, meant the closing of the Bulgarian clubs and mischief for the Christian churches and schools generally. 'I shall have ten years of despotism decreed,' one of its leaders madly exclaimed; and again was the plan for the overwhelming of the Christians in Macedonia by the introduction of large numbers of Mohammedans seriously considered.

The result of all this tyranny was that by the beginning of the following year Greeks and Bulgarians, who had been in such suicidal rivalry, were arriving at an understanding, and that the visit of the Servian Crown Prince to Sofia was laying the foundation of the League whose arms have been crowned with such triumphant success. The blindness of the Committee of Union and Progress may seem incredible, but it is nevertheless a fact that by its hostility to the Christian populations it paved the way

to this debacle.

Well may the dethroned Sultan, if he ever learns the whole truth, ask the Committee what Turkey has gained by the Revolution when she has definitively lost Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Tripoli, and is undergoing so many other amputations. Infamous though his own rule was, no improvement set in afterwards; indeed, in the opinion of every competent judge, the last state has

been infinitely worse than the first.

King Ferdinand is criticised for having called this war a crusade, but the definition is quite exact, owing to the intolerable policy pursued by the Committee, and as such it has been recognised by Christian soldiers in the Ottoman armies. The fact that the members of the Balkan League are evincing symptoms of megalomania is beside the question, as their respective aspirations are no novelty. Long ago the Servians speculated as to their chances of reviving their ancient Empire, the Bulgarians did the same, and after the reunion of Wallachia and Moldavia I often heard Roumanians express the hope that they might one day enter into full possession of Dacia through the addition of Transylvania, Bukovina, and the Banate of Temesvar to their territory.

This longing for expansion can be easily understood when it is remembered that each of these States is maintaining a Court, Legations, and an army, the quality of which, in the case of the League, has just been tested with so much success, but which is out of all proportion to its size and resources, and that therefore the country could not stand the strain for ever. As a matter of fact these costly preparations were made with a view to seizing whatever could be wrested whenever the opportunity offered,

and, when business with Turkey has been finally disposed of, the old rivalries between these States are bound to be resumed.

And their argument that Europe has no right to interfere in their affairs cannot be entertained for a moment. further back, it was Europe who saved Servia from the further back, to was a room the consequences of her war with Turkey in 1876, and it was Austria who intervened in her rescue after her utter defeat by Bulgaria at Slivnitza. It was Europe again who saved Greece from the fate with which she was threatened after her crushing defeat by Turkey in 1897. So every consideration is due to Europe from States which owe their liberation to her, and which, if they know the meaning of the word gratitude, will refrain from any act which might lead to complications in comparison with which what is passing in the Balkan Peninsula, terrible though it is, would inevitably sink into insignificance.

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AT A JOURNEY'S END

A LITTLE army of men and women has suffered me to lead them during the last two years over a stretch of land, which some hasty observers seem to think as easy to cross as a well-paved street, and others judge to be less manageable than a pathless wilderness. The wayfarers know that neither opinion is strictly true. Caution and toil are needed to make the foothold firm, but orderly tracks can be cut, although they must be rather narrow. At many points pitfalls threaten. A false step, a wandering gait, may breed infinite trouble. The laws of the country prohibit any loose striding or haphazard digression. Yet if there be industry, vigilant control, obedience to discipline, recognition of a common cause and repression of selfish ambition, there is good reason to hope that home will be reached without mishap or reproach, even amid expressions of sympathy from bystanders.

This is not the first tour of the kind that some of my comrades have completed with me. A few of us have gone together over similar ground before. But the journey which has just ended has been new to the majority of the travellers, and the route has somewhat differed from that of the former tours. In the first elation of completing a pilgrimage in safety, travellers are prone to rate too highly the merit of their exploits. Their selfsatisfaction may well stir impatience in the onlookers, if they make for the Temple of Victory in gaily decked triumphal cars, and shout loud thanksgivings in the public ear. But a voyager, when he has just escaped from the heat and burden of the road, may, perhaps, without offence, muse in the Temple of Peace over some of his adventures, before the memory of them grows dim. Some small advantage for those who follow in our footsteps may attend a meditation on the methods and purpose of our recent march, and on some of the principles of conduct which we have tried to respect. My associates have worked with a zeal which it is grateful for me to acknowledge, but I speak here without consulting or committing them. The main responsibilities must needs rest on the guide's shoulders. None besides him keeps the whole field of operation quite continuously in sight; only he is at hand day by day to watch all the changing fortunes

of the scene. His range of observation can alone be

As I write, I am putting my 'imprimatur' to the third at the Second Supplement of the Diction As I write, I am putting and last volume of the Second Supplement of the Dictionary of Speech and of the Speech and of the Second Supplement of the Dictionary of Speech and of the Second Supplement of the Dictionary of Speech and of the Second Supplement of the Dictionary of Speech and of the Second Supplement of the Dictionary of Speech and of the Second Supplement of the Dictionary of Speech and Original Second Supplement of the Dictionary of Speech and Original Second Supplement of the Dictionary of Speech and Original Second Supplement of the Second Supplement of the Dictionary of Speech and Original Second Supplement of the Dictionary of Speech and Original Second Sec National Biography. I trust that my figures of speech will be a speech win reckoned of relevance to my recent editorial labours and to the brief comment on them which I am hazarding here. My newest experience is alone my present theme. It is sad to remember that I am the sole survivor of the original little band of active organisers who set the Dictionary on its road nearly thirty year ago; without intermission, albeit at the outset in a subordinate capacity, I have personally tended the giant from his infancy to his manhood, and none has shared the whole of that experience with me. The early stages of the undertaking barely touch the purpose of this paper, but it is right that I should recallfor public memory is often short—how this vast work was originally devised and carried out by George M. Smith, the friend and publisher of Thackeray and Browning, and the founder of the Cornhill Magazine and the Pall Mall Gazette, Mr. Smith did not count the cost of his enterprise. Nor was his public spirit rewarded in his lifetime. But he has taken his rank among national benefactors. A tablet in St. Paul's Cathedral now records the national service, and his portrait hangs in the National Portrait Gallery. Another name of the past claims tribute of me, that of my predecessor in the editorship, Sir Leslie Stephen. It is more than twenty-one years since I succeeded to Stephen's chair after an eight years' apprenticeship, and I am conscious of no abatement in my sense of indebtedness to him. whose name has just been inscribed by my pen on the great roll in the latest Supplementary volume. To his training I attribute whatever success has attended my endeavours to continue the traditions, which he inaugurated for the Dictionary, of comprehensiveness, conciseness, fairness, and independence.

TT

The Dictionary dates its theme from the first runnings of the river of national life some fifteen hundred years ago. Its essential value does not depend on the addition of those who have lately died at the same fifteen hundred years ago who have lately died; its importance as an aid to study and research is assured if it at a scheme is assured if it stopped short of the present era. The scheme justly ignores the living. It treats only of the dead. graphy, however brief or summary, has no title to exist unless it be complete and it be complete, and without the finishing touch of death every biographic record :biographic record is a fragment. But, in the affairs of mortal men, death is never of men, death is never at rest, and the various categories in the

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Dictionary's store are expanding daily. Whatever other purposes Dictionary the book serves, it is, first and foremost, a work of historic the book a biographic register of successive holders of important offices, of successive workers in all manner of human endeavour, who have paid the debt of nature after doing something that was more or less noteworthy. There are always new links ready to be affixed to the many chains of achievement, which already make up the Dictionary, and the more links that are annexed, the more complete the undertaking grows. As far as was practicable, the book has hitherto sought to keep some pace with the march of the grim tyrant. When the original volumes were coming out at quarterly intervals in due alphabetical sequence, each volume admitted to its pages up to the latest possible date those whom death qualified for entrance. I remember that frequently the press was stopped so that recognition might be promptly accorded in the current issue to some name which fate had only just made eligible. In mid-May 1894 I recall how Dr. James Gairdner, one of the ablest of our historical contributors who himself passed away last month, hurriedly brought me word of the death of his brother-in-law, Professor Henry Morley, the literary historian. Dr. Gairdner persuaded me to insert a memoir of Morley in the thirty-ninth volume (Morehead-Myles), which was then passing through the press, and the notice was duly published just a month later (in June 1894). I remember, too, that another of these late-comers was Roundell Palmer, first Earl of Selborne, at one time Lord Chancellor, who died on the 4th of May 1895. His memoir appeared in its due place in the fortythird quarterly volume, issued at the end of the following June. Such belated arrivals caused printer and editor a passing embarrassment, but I believe their admission well served the interest of the future. I do not think that these rapidly compiled articles, or others with a like history, which are now embedded in the mighty mass, betray much sign of haste in their composition. The mould which they fill was cast for them beforehand, and the expert contributor was able to pour in the new metal so that it became barely distinguishable from the old.

Though the original sixty-three quarterly volumes noticed numerous recent deaths, the principle of alphabetical arrangement led necessarily, in the course of publication, to a steady growth of arrears, more especially in names beginning with the early letters. These only allowed of Supplementary treatment. When the original issue was completed in June 1900, a First Supplement ment was accordingly planned to commemorate some 800 men and women of note who had fallen by the way since the foundations of the Dictionary were laid in 1886. Queen Victoria died while the First Supplement was in preparation. Her day of death (the

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22nd of January 1901) was made the last date qualifying to 22nd of January 1901) and seen a second residual for the seen a second residual for the seen a second residual for the seen as second residual for the seen as second residual for the seen as second residual for the second admission, and none who admission, and none who after a lapse of eleven years, there has been a second garnent which Mrs. C. of fresh names, in a Second Supplement which Mrs. George M Smith, the present proprietor of the Dictionary, has designed in Smith, the present property that the same generous and enlightened spirit which has distinguished the same generous and enlightened spirit which has distinguished the same generous and enlightened spirit which has distinguished the same generous and enlightened spirit which has distinguished the same generous and enlightened spirit which has distinguished the same generous and enlightened spirit which has distinguished the same generous and enlightened spirit which has distinguished the same generous and enlightened spirit which has distinguished the same generous and enlightened spirit which has distinguished the same generous and enlightened spirit which has distinguished the same generous and enlightened spirit which has distinguished the same generous and enlightened spirit which has distinguished the same generous and enlightened spirit which has distinguished the same generous and enlightened spirit which has distinguished the same generous and enlightened spirit which has distinguished the same generous and the the same generous and only the same generous and pleteness of the Dictionary's roll of the noteworthy dead has been checked once more.

The Second Supplement somewhat differs in scope from the First, although there is no fresh departure in method. An endeavour was made in the First to supply some 200 accidental omissions of the early periods. Thus the first Supplementary volumes which appeared in the autumn of 1901 did not gather systematically the harvest of any rigidly fixed number of years. A quite recent date of death was not the invariable pass. port to entrance. Apart from the waifs and strays of past centuries, the candidates were qualified by death in every year from 1886 to 1901 if the accident of the place of their names in the alphabet excluded them already. The new volumes, on the other hand, confine themselves exclusively to those who died within the very recent period which begins with the death of Queen Victoria on the 22nd of January 1901 and ends with the year 1911,

Boundaries so near at hand are in harmony with the original practice. The old traditions go on their way unchanged. The new volumes maintain the former statistical proportions between the persons commemorated and the general population. The number of new names amounts to 1635, bringing the tale of memoirs in the whole work to 31,755. Each of the last eleven years yields 150 recruits, and they come as before from all parts of the United Kingdom and of the British Empire. The tables of the aggregate annual mortality for the prescribed period show that, of every 4000 persons who died at adult age, one finds a place in the national biographic record. The same ratio of distinction of the control of the con tinction (1:4000) prevailed throughout the nineteenth century according to the Dictionary's previous standards. But many as are the links between the new Supplement and the old, the Die tionary, while never shirking the difficulties of contemporary biography, has never pursued that path with all the new installment's concentration ment's concentration. The experiment may well shed useful light on some of the nicer problems of biographical philosophy.

A main object of collective or national biography is Priestle,'s artan aim in scientific Spartan aim in scientific exposition, 'to comprise as much knowledge as possible in the small scientific exposition, 'to comprise as much knowledge as possible in the small scientific exposition, 'to comprise as much knowledge as possible in the small scientific exposition, 'to comprise as much knowledge as possible in the small scientific exposition is allowed as possible in the small scientific exposition. ledge as possible in the smallest compass.' No room is allotted

to rhetoric or the language of emotion. Canon Ainger, who, like to record and many another contributor, finds commemoration in the present Supplement, declared that 'no flowers by request' was the venture's true motto. Clearly the student looks to the Dictionary for facts and dates, without embroidery. The Dictionary is rightly expected to furnish means of correcting 'the clock of history, which in details often goes wrong; its function is that of

Timing [sc. events] more punctual, unrecorded facts Recovering, and misstated setting right.

On the first page of his exemplary Lives of the English Poets, Dr. Johnson spoke scornfully of the vulgar confusion between a life' and 'a character.' By 'a life' the good Doctor meant a strict biographic record, and by 'a character' a misty panegyric or a collection of vague impressions of personality. The Dictionary necessarily looks askance on the character sketch. Not that it disdains characterisation, but there are well-defined limits beyond which its exposition of character may not stray. It is only the novelist or the dramatist who can turn to really profitable account the commonplaces of human psychology. The collective biographer is driven at many points of his work to accept the conclusion at which philosophers of eminence have arrived before him that 'the greater part of mankind have little character that distinguishes them from others equally good or bad'; the differences are signalised only by material exploits. The Dictionary silently assumes, unless the circumstances forbid, that a man possesses all the average virtues of a son, husband, or father; that he does his normal professional work with efficiency; that if he be a scholar or a professor he is shy in general society, though he can be genial among his intimates. I may not reveal how many times such observations have been offered me, and have been refused the honours of print. At the same time, distinctive marks of personality call for notice, especially in the memoirs of the more famous men and women. But even here conciseness is incumbent on the writer. The contributor has often to rely for the suggestion of distinctive personality on apt arrangement and presentment of facts and dates. No expansive canvas is offered him for the purpose of discriminating character. A few summary touches must suffice. It may be that a pertinent epithet and a critical note of brevity will be at times as helpful to the student as a voluble discourse.

All the principles and traditions of the Dictionary prohibit, in any fresh instalment, deviation from its original methods of biographic treatment. The newly dead can receive no consideration which differs conspicuously from that bestowed on their

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veteran predecessors. In the Dictionary's pages the newcount terms men and women of previous ages in veteran predecessors. In the previous ages in a point on equal terms men and women of previous ages in a point on equal terms and none are allowed isolated sponding positions, and none are allowed isolated pedesty while the area occupied by each career will vary with the son of the achievement which calls for record Town while the area occupied and eminence of the achievement which calls for record, level and eminence at work. 'Sceptre and or several se processes are everywhere at work. 'Sceptre and crown' by company with 'scythe and spade.' Lord Kelvin now meets on the fellow-worker and the fellow-worker and spade. same plane in the Dictionary all the fellow-workers of small same plane in the Estate of small fame, whose early co-operation helped on the triumphant to coveries of his later life. The opposing protagonists of control are sheltered together under the same roof. In the Second Supplement very few columns of type separate Robert Col Lord Salisbury, the Conservative Prime Minister, from Michigan Davitt, the Socialist revolutionary, or Cecil Rhodes, the active apostle of the Imperialist creed, from Goldwin Smith, the me relentless of its foes, or Leslie Stephen, the convinced agnotic from Cardinal Vaughan. Such collocations are of the essence the scheme, and could be matched a hundred times in the volumes. Achievement of whatever colour, magnitude, or epol is measured by a single historic standard, and reduced to a commi The call of homogeneity cannot be disobered denominator. without injury to what has gone before.

Take but degree away, untune that string,

And hark what discord follows.

The scheme may seem at first sight an ambitious tempting of fate and failure. The biographer of those who have lately did may well be told in Horace's words:

> incedis per ignes Suppositos cineri doloso.

The fire in the ashes is not yet extinguished, and there may be danger in walking too near. Have not the living friends of lately departed hero or heroine power to thwart the cold and austore austere operations of historical adjustment? Will not family sensitiveness compass the suppression or distortion of company information?

One cannot dispute the Johnsonian maxim that 'the new sity' of conforming to the sentiment of the moment and sparing persons it's sparing persons is the great impediment of [useful contemporation biography, V. J. J. Bather is biography.' Yet I am inclined to question whether increased in the property is whether the property is the great impediment of [useful contemp.] 'necessity' is unvarying, and whether concrete experience very much substantial very much substance to the contention that sound principles the biography are inherently biography are inherently inapplicable to strictly contempore experiments. Biography experiments. Biography is of no genuine account unless it not thoroughness and soon for thoroughness and accuracy of statement, for an equitable rate

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tion of human effort, and above all for honest independence of tion of number o the ascertainable facts. It is human to err in literary research; the ascertainty for are the high altitudes of biographic discernment ever easy But the history of the art suggests that those heights to scale. the superable, in favourable conditions, in the field of contemare as superable, in the province of the porary biography as in the province of the past. There seems on porary months a delusive plausibility in the familiar maxims that a man's life should be postponed until time has finally pronounced on his merits or defects, and that his career can only be satisfactorily described in an atmosphere from which contemporary feeling has faded. The converse of these propositions seems better

capable of proof.

Among sources of biographic information the personal witness will always hold the first rank, whether or no much of his testimony be enshrined in letters and papers. In every case there will be details of importance to efficient biography which live in the memory of friends and colleagues, and with lapse of time will either perish or will survive in distorted tradition. The personal knowledge which makes biography complete is 'growing every day less, and in a short time is lost for ever.' On such logical grounds the motto of sound biography would appear to be 'the sooner the better' rather than 'the later the better.' This is substantially the creed of Dr. Johnson, who may well be treated as the final authority on the theory and practice of biography. At the same time, the Doctor allowed that 'if a life be delayed till interest and envy are at an end,' a perfect impartiality is easier of attainment than at an earlier epoch. But on the other side of the account must be set the risk of sacrificing a satisfying completeness and a provable authenticity.

There really seems little disagreement on this score among the best practitioners. No law has fixed the precise interval which ought to elapse between the death and the appearance of the biography, but example as a rule shows that it is brief-often briefer than the average period which the Second Supplement of the Dictionary of National Biography accepts. Boswell began his Life of Johnson within a few months of the Doctor's death, and published it, despite its bulk, within seven years—before any serious inroad had been made on Johnson's circle as it was in his day. Five years intervened between the appearance of Lockhart's voluminous record and Sir Walter Scott's In recent times the interval has not grown shorter. Lord Morley's exhaustive Life of Gladstone, in much of which the biographer is himself the indispensable personal witness, was also issued five years after the statesman's demise. contrent tendency is, indeed, towards a somewhat greater abbre-

In the last two years there have been public full biographies of prominent person viation. In the last two some six or seven full biographies of prominent persons or so before the appearance of the biographic some six or seven run blogster appearance of the blogster died two years or so before the appearance of the blogster died two years of these recent works are far from perfect Some of these recent works are far from perfect Some of these recent works are far from perfect of the state record. Some of the biographer's art. An early biography is mens of the biography biography. But most of the bimens of the blography. But most of the blography is necessarily a well-executed biography. But most of the blography is necessarily a well-executed biography. ventures of our day are generous in their supply of private lety and papers which throw an inner light on character and eventures of our day are anything would have be There is nothing to show that anything would have been gain by delaying the compilation, and there are indications that the loss of personal tool. ponement would have entailed the loss of personal testimony. fruit of the biographical energies of our generation amply confined the biographical energies of our generation amply confined to the biographical energies of our generation amply confined to the biographical energies of our generation amply confined to the biographical energies of our generation amply confined to the biographical energies of our generation amply confined to the biographical energies of our generation amply confined to the biographical energies of our generation amply confined to the biographical energies of our generation amply confined to the biographical energies of our generation amply confined to the biographical energies of our generation amply confined to the biographical energies of our generation amply confined to the biographical energies of our generation amply confined to the biographical energies of the biographical the conclusion that the reminiscence of living contemporaries first hand is the least dispensable ingredient. Broadly speaking the balance of advantage seems greatly to incline towards et as contrasted with late biography. Had the Dictionary National Biography been inaugurated at the beginning of b seventeenth century instead of the end of the nineteenth, the might possibly have come out a Second Supplement in who Michael Drayton or Ben Jonson might have noticed the care of their lately deceased contemporary, William Shakespear Thereby the wisdom of the world would have benefited to the end of time.

Any satisfactory account of a well-filled career must be edicite In almost all cases there are opportunities of selection and rejation, whencesoever the material be drawn and at whatever dis the life be published. A somewhat heavier call will be mid on the biographer's discretion when he deals with a contempora career than when he treats of one long since closed. Line interests which are not to be ignored may in a contemporary to graphy counsel suppression or partial revelation which lapsed time makes a matter of indifference. No fixed principle (2) determine what suppression may be desirable. Each case provides it vides its special circumstance. Tact in presenting the issue will often rob of offence many a disclosure which tactlessness makes have a disclosure which tactlessness makes a disclosure which a disclosure which tactlessness makes a disclosure which tactlessness makes a disclosure which a disclos make harmful. But the determining factor is the substanting importance of the information to the interpretation of the leading features of the career. If the value from this point of the be small and the be small, and the possible injury that the revelation may me in other directions be obviously great, the biographer's course clear; he is bound to clear; he is bound to omit the doubtful detail. Due recognition of this law must help to solve most of the difficulties arising biography from an biography from any genuine conflict between public and printerests. Where interests. Where suppression is required, useful auxiliary ance is offered by Ci ance is offered by Cicero's wise dictum that when you debarred from saving debarred from saying all that is true, you must say nothing the

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is false or that conveys a false impression. The contemporary biographer who works on these lines will not fall into serious biographics the argument for delay vitally affected by the implied

The credit of biography and the moral robustness of the community are alike disparaged by the assumption that the nature of the biographic task or social etiquette requires a biographer to record nothing save what the feeling of family or intimate associates approves. The right-minded biographer will not make light of domestic affection or private admiration, even where an impartial judgment detects extravagance. But no healthy code of ethics will suffer him slavishly to echo the sentimentalities of the family circle or social coterie. The biographer's historic sense is, moreover, bound at times to qualify in the light of his researches the contemporary estimate of a career. Every serious biographer, indeed, prays for 'the happy talent' with which Cowper credited Johnson of 'correcting the popular opinion upon all occasions where it is erroneous.' The effort must, as in Johnson's case, give the impression of 'justness of sentiment,' and must convince the reader that the biographer 'does not differ from others through affectation, but because he has a sounder judgment ' or a fuller knowledge. In any case no terms can be made with the fallacious belief that a man's public achievements and repute are the private property of family or colleagues. They are the man's gifts to the world and are at the world's service to be described and valued by efficient biography, in a spirit of becoming charity but at the same time in a spirit of liberty and historic truthfulness.

V

The restricted scale of collective biography, its comprehensive area, the necessary rigour of editorial control, should keep at a safe distance most of the perverse influences which tend to impair the sense of proportion or the just candour in individual biography. The rules of the Dictionary spare the national biographer many of the temptations which beset the independent worker. He may not administer praise or blame, save in extremely compact doses. Mere conventional eulogy is excluded, among other reasons, for want of space. There is no room for 'lapidary inscriptions ' or funeral orations which are never penned 'upon oath, and often read to the next generation like vapid burlesque or (in Milton's phrase) 'flattery and fustian.' National biography which hopes for a long life should respect the needs of the future student and every precaution should be taken against the risk of misleading him. If the national biographer be equal to his work, he confines himself to 'assured intelligence,' and lets alone the unverified gossip of the passing hour. His comparative methods

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of study should beget a mood of detachment, and a fixed habit.

Although he is not likely to realize of study should beget a modulated criticism. Although he is not likely to realise all he modulated criticism. Although he is principles may well he modulated criticism. Atthough the principles may well be hopes, a resolute adherence to his principles may well be a future renown of his hero as to the hopes, a resolute aunicrones of his hero as to the cause of

Fame, impatient of extremes, decays, Not more from envy than excess of praise.

The national biographer, when he is dealing exclusively with his contemporaries, is inevitably exposed to certain of the peril which dog the path of the individual worker in the field. If he is to perform his task thoroughly, he has to rely, like his fellow. labourer, on the personal testimony, both oral and written of his heroes' friends or relatives, and they will sometime quarrel with the first principles of his art. Private sentiment will on occasion question his right to independent judgment. Such embarrassments are not unknown in the history of the Second Supplement, but they are far less common than might be anticipated. The attempt has been made throughout to present the concrete biographic details with uniform precision. It is curious how often the available public sources of content porary information overlook or leave in doubt the exact date or place of birth of a noteworthy man, his parentage, his school, the fact whether or no he were married or left issue, besides many particulars of wider moment. The pursuit of clues in all these directions has brought the compilers of the Second Supple ment into a voluminous correspondence with hundreds of family circles. As a rule, the results have been satisfactory and have been reached without any sort of friction. There has rarely been reluctance to give the requisite help, and it has been rendered for the most part unconditionally.

Pride in finding that a relative has passed the test for admis sion usually loosens the flood-gates of family information, and the biographer is left to use it at his unfettered discretion. The memoir which owes much of its substance to domestic intelligence may cause on its publication disappointment to the family by its brevity, by its modest estimate of the exploits or by its subduel key. Yet the sense of domestic satisfaction has in the aggregate, so far as I can learn, outbalanced any grievances. A study of family and invited in family and 'private' communications to the Dictionary goes to justify the plant's to justify the plea for early biography. It is clear that had the operations of the Grant and the state of the state of the Grant and the state of the Grant operations of the Second Supplement been postponed to a period when direct personal direct per when direct personal testimony would no longer be available many a circumstance of the second Supplement been postponed to a passed july many a circumstance of biographic value might have passed into oblivion, or could color oblivion, or could only have been recovered at an almost probletive expenditure of labour problem. tive expenditure of labour. A like inference is to be drawn from

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the vast amount of cognate help rendered by public offices and by every kind of public institution. This assistance has often come from those in the highest positions, whose authentic knowledge has corrected some puzzling misconceptions. operation merits the heartiest expressions of gratitude from those who have the welfare of the Dictionary at heart, and it bears convincing testimony to the importance of the living witness.

It should be understood that a perfect readiness on the part of contemporaries to furnish information is not invariably commensurate with the efficient power. A kinsman or an intimate acquaintance of a noteworthy man will often fail to be of service from a defective exercise of memory or observation. The only hope will lie in a very prompt inquiry. I suppose that every biographical investigator has suffered the embarrassments of Dr. Johnson, who, when he was meditating a life of Dryden, obtained with difficulty introductions to the only two survivors among the poet's friends, and could only learn from one of them that at Button's Club the poet sat by the fire in winter and at the window in summer, while the other could offer nothing beyond the bare statement that whenever a dispute arose in Will's coffee-house on literary matters appeal was made to 'glorious John.' Nor would it be difficult for writers in the Second Supplement to parallel another grievance of the Doctor, who called upon a female cousin of Pope to enable her to fulfil a promise of what she deemed to be valuable help. The biographer could gather from her nothing more pertinent than that her cousin was 'vastly clever' and wrote, she believed, some famous plays. To Johnson's questioning the latter statement, the good lady admitted that perhaps she was thinking of Shakespeare, whose genius was to her mind hardly superior to her cousin's. proffers of help spoil the temper of a biographer. Yet he is bound, when his information is scanty, to neglect no chance of increasing his store, and the list of disappointments in his day's work will lengthen with delay.

VI

My rule has been, while warmly welcoming bricks and mortar from kinsfolk, to decline the offer of near relatives to construct the memoir in which they have a family interest. The reasonableness of this regulation has not been seriously impugned, and I feel that the domestic censure, which a published article occasionally provokes, both from relatives who have been consulted and from those who have not, is a fairly complete Justification of the procedure. Rare cases have arisen in which the estimate of the national biographer offends because it is higher than that of the family circle. Protests prompted by the

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more normal sentiments of domestic admiration keep one aline putation is at times suspected in places where to the external putation is at times suspected. It has more than once proved to the external eye there is no room for it. It has more than once proved to the external eye there is no room father's humble though reputable. eye there is no room for the eye there is no room a father's humble though reputable calling offence to mention a father's humble though reputable calling offence to mention a latter of his marriage, or how hair even to state that a man lost a marriage, or how he inherited nothing or how he left a gigantic fortune.

It is not, however, only from kinsfolk that discontent of private or personal grounds will occasionally spring. Colleagues and friends will not always be satisfied with the biographer's attempt to record without bias a hero's work. Some, indeed will deem that a man receives more credit than he deserves, and that the portrait is insufficiently shaded. Others will complain that the dark colours are too heavy, or that they miss the conventional praises with which they are already familiar, or that they question the truth of certain statements. In a work of such encyclopaedic range some part of the varied criticism will be deserved. It has to be admitted that a certain proportion of inaccuracies, at any rate in facts and dates, escape the vigilance of the correctors of the press, despite all reasonable endeavours to guard against them, but the amount of error, when compared with the vast array of information, is, I think I may claim, in significant. To every censure a respectful hearing is given, and whenever contributor or editor is convinced that a positive mistake has occurred attempt is made to correct it at the first opportunity.

No editorial cushion can be free from thorns. In the case of the Dictionary of National Biography, it is not the critics who cause very many or even the chief embarrassments From other quarters come unwelcome disquietudes. It is paintal to send empty away hungry applicants for a kind of work for which the competition is keen; although the supply is extensive, there is not enough of it to satisfy all comers. than once the editor has been told, while the Second Supplement has ment has been in preparation, that by giving a place in the Dictionary's gallery to some lately departed kinsman he would be assuration. The conditions made refusal be assuaging a family's grief. obligatory; but to announce it was disconcerting. constant endeavour, too, to standardise achievement of all grades and in all bronch and in all branches of human effort is a fruitful source of anxiety.

One seeks in the fame One seeks in vain for 'some mechanical equivalent' of fame, so as to measure it so as to measure it, as physicists now measure physical energy in terms of some 'in terms of some arbitrary unit.' The editor has to look for guidance for the most guidance for the most part to an instinct bred of long application, and though fatal tion, and though fatal miscalculation may be avoided, then Doc,

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is much room for troublous perplexity. The editor's duties are not easy to discharge with unerring efficiency. is for him to adapt and proportion to the single scheme contributions from varied pens; he has to restrain the exuberance of enthusiasm, to test facts and dates, to reconcile conflicting statements on the same topic in separate articles from different hands; to guard against the omission of details essential to the plan, but liable to be overlooked at times by his coadjutors. The contributor will not always be grateful for the attentions which the editor habitually bestows on his manuscript. But my recent editorial experiences have furnished so many proofs of contributors' ardour and magnanimity that I take leave of them at the end of this journey with a lively sense of gratitude and regard. No editor could have less reason to be niggardly in thanks to all with whom he has been associated in the conduct of the enterprise.

If the toil over this Second Supplement has been severe and strenuous for all of us-for contributors, editorial assistants, and editor-we may find some solace in a statistical inference which may be drawn from the contents of the three new volumes. Of the 1635 men and women commemorated there, almost all of whom have given proof of mental exertion and were fairly successful in the affairs of the world, the average length of life approaches seventy years. Nearly four hundred, indeed, died after their eightieth birthday, and of these four were centenarians. It cannot be unfair to conclude that sustained intellectual effort is no bar either to longevity or to a reasonable measure of happiness in the course of life's pilgrimage.

SIDNEY TIER

THE MYSTERY OF EISHAUSEN:

A SECRET OF THE BOURBONS

So long as the mystery of the veiled princess of the Castle of Eishausen remains unsolved, so long must we acknowledge that the history of the nineteenth century in Europe is far from

complete.

It is only within the last few years that the fascination of old letters and records, yellow with age, cast its spell on me. To explain what led me to study a story as strange as, and far more romantic than, that of the Man in the Iron Mask, I must ask

my readers' patience while I go back to 1903.

In that year we moved to the home of my childhood, Killin. carrick House, in Wicklow. Among other tasks it fell to our lot to arrange a large quantity of family papers, at first an uncongenial piece of work to me, but by degrees one of everincreasing interest. Before long I found it impossible to handle these messengers from the past without a glow of sympathetic feeling. The actual handwriting of persons whom one knew till then only in the pages of history conveys something very different from the aloofness of print. Canning, the great Duke of Wellington, Admiral Rodney, William the Fourth, Queen Adelaide, and many others had contributed to the mass of papers we turned over. Especially noticeable were three portfolios of crimson leather, containing some five hundred letters all in the same writing. They were in French, and signed only with the interlaced initials C. S. The period they covered was 1790 to 1799, that of the French Revolution. I began to read them, and so interesting did I for all a publish interesting did I find them that I decided to translate and publish the greater number.

It was necessary, however, to learn something of their writer. By means of internal evidence and 'foreign titles of nobility' in Debrett, I found that they were to my great-grandmother, Lady Hawkins-Whitshed, from her grandmother, Charlotte Sophie, Countess Bentinck, widow of William, first Counterport Bentinck, second son of the first Earl of Portland.

Charlotte Sophie's life was eventful, and her circle of friends among famous contemporaries was wide. Documents and letters concerning her were to be found, not only among family archives at Welbeck Abbey, and at Indio (Devonshire), but at Mid-

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dachten in Holland, at Helmarshausen in Germany, and in the State Archives of most European capitals. I confined myself to a comparatively short biography of twelve chapters, and left letters and diaries to supply the rest. But the material that passed through my hands was enormous, and in addition to archives I came across old published works referring to her. Among them was one which excited my curiosity. I suppose that a mystery has an irresistible call for most people, and the book in question combined fact and fiction so cleverly that none of the family could decide where truth ended and pure romance began. Charlotte Sophie was one of the chief characters, the hero of the story being a grandson of whose relationship to her we have thus far found no positive proof. The heroine was a beautiful princess in distress.

The novel was extremely interesting, the more so as the author, with amazing audacity, called his characters by their proper names. I met in its pages many members of my family, and it cleared up more than one obscure point of our history, but the mystery of the hero and heroine fascinated me most.

The book relates how, after many adventures, the hero, Ludwig, undertakes, while still quite a young man, the guardianship of a beautiful princess of France, who must be completely effaced and isolated from every living being but himself. They go to a remote part of Germany, Ingelfingen, from which they fly on the execution of the Duc d'Enghien, and then to Hildburghausen in Saxe-Meiningen. Three years later they settle at the Schloss of Eishausen, four miles distant. There they live from 1810 till they die, she in 1837 and he in 1845. She is buried in a garden on a hillside belonging to her guardian at dead of night, and before the coffin is placed in the grave it is opened that the few faithful servants standing by may testify that it really contained the mistress they had never before cast their eyes upon. All declared that the woman who lay within was extremely beautiful.

There was but one way to learn something more of this strange story, and in September 1911 I went to Hildburghausen. As the train dawdled along the charming valley towards my destination my excitement grew ever greater. I was, however, quite prepared to hear that the story had no foundation in fact, and that the people it concerned had never lived at Hildburghausen. I considered the fruitlessness of my journey so likely that I left my luggage at the station and drove up to the town, wondering if the first person I spoke to would think me crazy. For the book had been published more than half a

translation before long.

1 Der Dunkelgraf, by Ludwig Bechstein. I hope to publish an English

century before, is difficult to obtain, and practically forgotten Dec.

Arrived in the town I walked into a book shop, intending to open the subject by inquiring if I could buy a copy of the Dunkelgraf. I am sure my voice must have been unsteady when I put this question to a boy behind the counter. To my surprise he briskly said Yes, and to my utter amazement he handed me

Then, in a flash, I realised that I had come to the right place, and hardly knowing what I said, remarked, 'I think the Dunkelgraf was a member of my family.' The boy opened his mouth and his eyes very wide, stared hard at me for an instant, and then dashed to fetch his father! It was not long till I heard that the story was absolutely true 2 so far as the life of the mysterious pair in that neighbourhood was concerned, and that the writer of the volumes which had just been put into my hands had made a life-study of the subject and lived in the place. His name was Kirchenrat Dr. Human, and the bookseller advised me to call on him, which I did at once.

Dr. Human's researches led him to believe that the Dunkelgraf was a Dutchman, by name Van der Valk, and that the lady was Marie Thérèse Charlotte of France, daughter of Louis the Sixteenth. The former suggestion I do not agree with. The latter startling idea I gradually came to think might be correct. It threw a new light on the question of the escape of the Dauphin from the Temple, for if the Duchesse d'Angoulême was a changeling, and if 'Naundorff' really was Louis the Seventeenth, no wonder she refused to see him! He would certainly have

unmasked the intrigue.

Many scraps of evidence tend to make the hypothesis not unlikely. The change in the voice of the Princess after leaving the Temple 3; the astonishing precautions taken for so many years lest anyone should see the features of the Eishausen lady or hear her voice; the recognition of the child who saw her unveiled for an instant in the early days, and exclaimed on seeing a portrait of Madame Royale soon after (that painted by stealth on the journey from prison by a young artist who disappeared and was never heart and was never heart and was never heart and was never heart and are the same and the same a and was never heard of afterwards): 'There is my beautiful princess': the princess'; the unstinting expenditure on her menage; the strange language; at strange language '—doubtless French—she was said to speak at

of Meiningen, he would certainly not have revealed it.

silence of Madame Royale while in prison.

Except that it was not a love story but one of politics.

Bechster, heroine is a daughter of the Duc d'Enghien and Charlotte de Rohan-Rochefort, but this same about the department of the Duc d'Enghien and Charlotte de Rohan-Rochefort, Duke but this seems obviously not the case. It is unlikely that he knew the identity of the lady, and if he did know it, as the trusted librarian of the Grand Date of Meiningen, he would certainly not be the lady. Some contemporary memoirs remark this change, and account for it by the loss cance of Madame Royale while

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first; her religion—she was a Roman Catholic; the protection of the Grand Duke and Duchess of Hildburghausen 4 (a sister of the beautiful Queen Louise of Prussia), in whose domains the mysterious couple lived; the three fleurs de lys on certain garments found after her death, and the Prayer Book printed in Vienna a year after Marie Antoinette's birth; Kühner's remark in his book, that it would be easy to trace the mystery to the foot of a throne, 'though I am the last man who would do so'; the sale of a piano Louis the Eighteenth had purchased for his niece but got rid of, as he was told that, after all, she did not care for music,5 and the rumour that when the party escorting the Princess arrived at Vienna, the lady with them was not the prisoner of the Temple!

If there was an exchange, the girl substituted for Marie Thérèse Charlotte may have been Mademoiselle Ernestine Lambriquet, who, with her father, was attached to the household of

Monsieur, and was thus familiar with court life.

Her father perished in the Terror, and she was never heard of again! 6 It may have happened that at first no substitution was intended. But let us for a moment imagine what would be Madame Royale's state of mind, if, on taking leave of her, Gomin' confirmed her suspicions of the fact that her brother had escaped from the Temple! Would she not, in all probability, at once tell the Prince de Gavre this stupendous secret? And he, deep in the confidences of the Austrian Emperor, would immediately isolate his charge from her surroundings, and make all ready for an exchange, so that never again should the Princess have a chance of opening her lips on the subject. We know almost for certain, from the correspondence of Lady Atkyns, discovered only a few years ago, that the proces-verbal of the Dauphin's escape was placed among the most secret archives of Vienna. We know from a letter in the archives of the Department for Foreign Affairs in Vienna that the Emperor wished Madame Royale to be accompanied by Mademoiselle Lambriquet, 'a young person with whom she has been brought up, and of whom she is particularly fond.' What more likely than that the Comte de Provence should devise an appalling intrigue

Of course this happened in other cases after the Revolution. Still, it is worth noting.

^{&#}x27;The Duchess told the late Count Bentinck's mother that she knew the secret, but did not, of course, disclose it to her.

Madame Royale was very musical. So was the Princess of Eishausen. The latter had a piano at the Schloss, and one day when she began not only to play, but to sing, the Dunkelgraf silenced her, no doubt to prevent possible recognition of her voice.

Jailer of the Temple Prison.

A Friend of Marie Antoinette, by Frédéric Barbey. The letters prove beyond all doubt that the evasion of the Danphin took place CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

to ensure the safety of his crown, and that in the end Madello to ensure the safety of his crown, selle Lambriquet should be Duchesse d'Angoulême and Madane selle Lambriquet of Eishausen? Royale the prisoner of Eishausen?

We must remember that Louis the Eighteenth was about the age was one when great We must remember that the age was one when great crims lutely unscrupulous, and impunity so long as money was forther could be committed with impunity so long as money was forther could be committed with impunity and silence those who could be committed with and silence those who could give coming to bribe the instruments and silence those who could give information. There seems now no reasonable doubt that Ionia the Eighteenth (Regent of France as at first he called himself) knew of his nephew's evasion, the child whom he had branded as illegitimate and then claimed to succeed! Every Court in Europe was in the secret, and found it wise for political reasons to feign ignorance. The abduction of Madame Royale, hideous crime though it would have been, was no worse than the failure to seek for and recognise Louis the Seventeenth, and the two together would form a diabolical scheme as complete as it was daring.

It may be asked why the Duchesse d'Angoulême, on he deathbed, alluded to Louis the Seventeenth as her 'brother,' How else could she allude to him, unless she wished to confes to a double deception? Her remorse, whether his sister or m. must have been overwhelming, for she knew the secret of the Bourbons, but allowed herself to be coerced into silence!

Another explanation of the mystery has been recently suggested to me. It arose out of Madame Royale's letter to Gomin when she took leave of him. This letter, which is given in ful in several works describing the journey from Paris to Vienna after her liberation from prison, is of a curiously intimate nature. The Princess had attached herself warmly to Gomin, who was among the first to show her kindness during her imprisonment, and he was in receipt of a pension from the Duchesse d'Angoulême in later life. According to this theory—which has much to recommend it—the Princess of Eishausen was the daughter of Madame Royale and Gomin, born at Innsbrück (where Madame Royale stayed with her aunt, another girl taking her place till she could be smuggled into Vienna). account for the extraordinary seclusion in which the supposed Princess Marie Thérèse Charlotte was kept during the latter part of her journey and for some time after her arrival. It would also account for the last also account for the last arrival and the last arrival arrival. also account for the rupture of the negotiations for her marriage to the Archdula Clarific Cl to the Archduke Charles, and for the contemptuous way she was treated during beautiful to the contemptuous way she was treated during beautiful to the contemptuous way she was treated during beautiful to the contemptuous way she was treated during beautiful to the contemptuous way she was treated during beautiful to the contemptuous way she was treated during the contemptuous way she was treated as treated during her sojourn at Vienna. The fact that the Duchess d'Angoulême in le d'Angoulême, in her Dernière Volonté, took the very unusul step of expressive for la service volonté, took the very unusul tends to step of expressly forbidding a post-mortem on herself, tends to

It will be remembered that, at Madame Royale's request, Gomin according to the Emperor met and took charge of her.

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confirm this theory. 10 If the lady of Eishausen was the daughter of Madame Royale, this, too, must have been an open secret for the Courts of Vienna, Prussia, and St. Petersburg, and for the Comte de Provence. What power could not the latter wield over his unhappy niece by means of this sword of Damocles! If she ever expressed to him a conviction that her brother still lived, how easily could he silence her by pointing to this weapon! According to General de la Rochejacquelein (who was a member of her household) Madame Royale, when dying, sent for him, and urged him to find her brother, who she knew had survived his imprisonment. She exclaimed: 'It is the nightmare of my life!' When the Duchess died she left a box of papers to be published fifty years after. If these could be brought to light the key of both enigmas would probably be there. Her published memoirs are not what I allude to.

We have no certain means of checking the age of the Princess of Eishausen, for no reliance can be placed on the Dunkelgraf's declaration 11 in the death certificate, and a child born in January 1796 would be eleven on arriving at Hildburghausen in 1807, and by means of long dresses might easily be made to look older. But when one recollects the isolation in which she lived, and the fact that not even one of her women servants was ever allowed to see or speak to her, I cannot help thinking that no one but an older person—and one accustomed to self-discipline and seclusion—could possibly have endured the life.

Those who caught occasional glimpses of the princess-and these were few-described her as of medium height, with large blue eyes, a beautiful complexion, and very graceful in her movements. Geheimrat von Bibra, who had made a study of genealogy, once saw the lady out driving, her veil thrown back. He considered her resemblance to the Bourbons very striking. The Dunkelgraf, on the rare occasions when he spoke of her to the servants, alluded to her as 'Her Highness,' and his bearing towards her was always singularly deferential. When she drove he invariably accompanied her, and the carriage and horses were beautifully turned out. She was dressed in the latest fashions, her clothes being supplied by Goullet of Frankfort.

Readers will naturally wonder how we know so much about people whose whole object was to escape notice.

It will be remembered that the Duc and Duchesse d'Angoulême had no children. A post-mortem, together with embalmment, was invariable in the case of princesses of France.

The Dunkelgraf's declaration in the death certificate of the Princess ran as follows: 'Sophia Botha, unmarried, a commoner, and a native of Westphalia, aged 58. This was the age of Madame Royale. The certificate so obviously gave the wrong name and rank that the authorities ignored it. There are two letters extant, however, which indirectly confirm the lady's age. 'Sophie' was the name under the lady's age. the name under which Madame Royale travelled when she left the Temple

The basis of nearly all our information is a book of letter the son of the Pastor of Eishausen after The basis of nearly and the Pastor of Eishausen after the published by the son of the Schloss and the parsonage was published by the son of Dunkelgraf's death. The Schloss and the parsonage were on Dunkelgraf's death. The Schloss and Pastor Kühner was a man of Dunkelgraf's death.

a stone's throw apart, and Pastor Kühner was a man of unusur to Queen Thérèse of Rayanian a stone's throw apart, and culture, having been tutor to Queen Thérèse of Bavaria, who culture, having been tutor to Queen Thérèse of Bavaria, who culture, having been tutor to Queen Thérèse of Bavaria, who culture the Dunkelgrafe is the properties of the properti culture, having been tutor to grave. The Dunkelgraf he rected a monument over his grave. The Dunkelgraf he rected a monument or Varel de Versay, but no one had a second or Varel de Versay, but no one had a second or Varel de Versay. known as Count Vavel, or Varel de Versay, but no one believel known as Count vavor, or it was his real name—kept up a brisk correspondence with the Pastor on every subject imaginable—history, philosophy, chen Pastor on every subject the servant from the Schlos istry, politics, local affairs, etc., the servant from the Schlos delivering and fetching the letters, which he always handled with white kid gloves. The answer had to be written on the letter or, if too long, the letter had at any rate to be returned with the reply. But Kühner (and afterwards his widow, with whom the correspondence was continued) must have copied many of the letters, and these their son gave to the world after the Count's death, with as many facts about the life of the recluse and his beautiful ward—Kühner's son saw her once, through his glasses. standing at her window—as he could collect. During all those years, in spite of the frequency of their letters, the Pastor and the Count never once spoke to each other!

Kühner's book is unprocurable. Booksellers at Leipzig and elsewhere are still searching for it on my behalf, and I have advertised for it in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. ¹² I shall never cease to try and solve the mystery, and shall welcome the help of any who may be willing and able to study it also, for I believe that it may help to bring to light one of the greatest political

crimes of comparatively modern times.

The identity of the Count ¹³ is also still unknown. Many Bentinck papers came from Hildburghausen, including the MS. of the autobiography of Charlotte Amélie de la Trémoille. Princess of Aldenburg, the grandmother of Charlotte Sophie. Countess Bentinck. About the middle of the nineteenth century these were in the possession of the author of the novel I have referred to; but, as he and his son are dead, it seems impossible to learn how he acquired them. It is thought that on the death of the latter all his papers were sold. I have seen certain documents which were bought at an auction in Germany. They documents which were bought at an auction in Germany. They documents Bentinck's marriage contract and her deed of separation.

ELIZABETH LE BLOND.

¹² It was published at Frankfort.

13 A friend informs me that a member of the Spencer family who was a Connexion of their Oxford with her grandfather used to hint at the fact that a connexion of their once rendered a great but secret service to the Bourbons soon after the Revolt tion. Can this have been the Dunkelgraf? It would coincide with Bechstein.

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THE DEARTH OF COTTAGES FOR RURAL LABOURERS

THE problem of housing in the towns and cities of the United Kingdom has of late years received considerable attention, but the problem of rural housing has, until quite recently, been wholly neglected. It is true that Mr. Balfour's Housing of the Working Classes Act was passed twenty-two years ago, but the local bodies were unwilling to adopt Part III., which enabled them to build cottages, since such dwellings could not be erected without placing a burden upon the rates.

In 1909 the Housing and Town Planning Act was passed, but this Act has failed to deal with the difficulties which confront us. At the present moment, however, all parties in the State are beginning to realise the importance of the rural housing question, which lies at the very base of any movement destined to revitalise and regenerate our countryside.

In 1909 the Housing and Town Planning Act was passed, but until last October it had affected the situation very slightly. The official returns show that the total amount of loans sanctioned was less than 80,000l., and the number of houses provided only 398.

The introduction, however, of a Housing Bill by a private member, Sir Arthur Griffith Boscawen, M.P., caused a remarkable awakening of public opinion and a quickening of the activities of the Local Government Board in speeding-up the machinery of the Housing and Town Planning Act. During the last few months a considerable number of loans to the local authorities have been sanctioned, but as yet only the fringe of the problem has been touched.

An investigation conducted by the National Land and Home League gives ample proof of the inadequacy of the present machinery. In May 1912 a letter was addressed to all the rural district councils in England and Wales asking them to reply to three questions:

(1) 'Are cottages for labourers required in any of the parishes

Loans to seventeen rural district councils, involving an expenditure of about 55,000%, were under consideration on the 31st of October

(2) 'Could the council build cottages for labourers with on the rates?' causing a burden on the rates?'

sing a burden on the lates.

(3) 'Is the council in favour of assistance and a grant to the council man and the council man are the council man ar some central housing authority, so that the council may sales without overburdening the rete some central nousing attended to the demand for cottages without overburdening the ratepayers the demand for cottages without overburdening the ratepayers and district councils in English

There are some 655 rural district councils in England at those questions have been received. Wales, and answers to these questions have been received from Wales, and answers to the given us a very fair knowledge to 332; so that this inquiry has given us a very fair knowledge to 332; so that this inquiry has given us a very fair knowledge to 332; so that this inquiry has given us a very fair knowledge to 332; so that this inquiry has given us a very fair knowledge to 332; so that this inquiry has given us a very fair knowledge to 332; so that this inquiry has given us a very fair knowledge to 332; so that this inquiry has given us a very fair knowledge to 332; so that this inquiry has given us a very fair knowledge to 332; so that this inquiry has given us a very fair knowledge to 332; so that this inquiry has given us a very fair knowledge to 332; so that this inquiry has given us a very fair knowledge to 332; so that this inquiry has given us a very fair knowledge to 332; so that this inquiry has given us a very fair knowledge to 332; so that the country is the same to 332; so that the country is the same to 332; so that the country is the same to 332; so that the country is the same to 332; so that the country is the same to 332; so that the country is the same to 332; so that the same to 332; so the 332; so housing conditions throughout the country; it has shown the housing conditions throughout the country; it has shown the housing conditions throughout the country; it has afforded with the afforded with the country. present legislation is ineffective, and it has afforded evidence a to the lines on which the councils themselves desire that action may be taken. The returns are of great interest, and thrown much light upon rural housing that it will be well to investige them. For the purpose of investigation ten counties in Englad which can most truly be called agricultural counties are her taken; since the housing problem in counties such as Lancashie. Staffordshire, and similar semi-manufacturing areas is as much urban as it is rural, and will not therefore come within the some of our investigation.

To begin with Norfolk. There are in this county twenty rural districts, and replies have been received from sixteen. On of these, fifteen councils report a dearth of housing accommode tion in their areas; only one (Aylsham) reports a sufficiency of cottages for the labouring classes; and in Aylsham there is known to be as great a dearth of accommodation as in any other district in the county. Fifteen councils state their inability to build without placing a burden upon the rates; one council (Henstead) says that they can build without rate aid, but now that the cottages are erected they cannot let them at the rental previously fixed; the rents will therefore have to be reduced, and thus a burden will be placed upon the rates.

And now what of the four councils which have not replied to the inquiry? They are Downham, Forehoe, Mitford, and King's Lynn. The medical officer of health reports on the village of Southery, in the district of Downham, that 'in eight houses there are no winds are no windows in the rear, and only a front door; eighteen houses are houses are without staircases, the approach to bedrooms is by step-ladders.' The Downham Rural District Council has, more over, been pressed by the Local Government Board to hold housing inquired and the local Government and done. housing inquiry under the Act; but this has not yet been done.

A report was presented to the Forehoe Rural District Council a few months ago on the housing conditions in the village of Costessy. With more of the conditions in the village of the costessy. Costessy. With regard to a row of six cottages the report states

there is no water supply, no garden, and only four closets between the six cottages. The yard is saturated and only four closets between the player out of the player of t six cottages. The yard is saturated with filth, and is the playground

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about seventeen children. . . . On these premises are found all the conditions necessary for an epidemic.

Overcrowding is rampant; a man, wife, and eight children occupy two bedrooms, one measuring 12 feet by 6 feet by 6 feet, where six boys slept,' their ages varying from nineteen to five years. In another case eight people occupy two small bedrooms. Another shocking case of overcrowding is where two small bedrooms and a recess are occupied by a family of eleven-man, wife, and nine children from seventeen years to two months.

At Mitford the Local Government Board sent down inspector, and in October wrote to the rural district council that the Board regard with grave concern the existence of these unsatisfactory conditions, and they desire to urge upon the rural district council the necessity for immediate action under the Housing Acts.' Yet, in face of this, nothing appears to have been done. The only remaining council, that of King's Lynn.

has a very small rural area.

Now as to Suffolk. Out of eighteen rural district councils eleven have replied. Out of those eleven all but one state that further accommodation is needed in their areas, and the same number state their inability to build self-supporting cottages. No councils report a sufficiency of housing accommodation, and none report that they can build cottages which will let at an economic rent. In five out of the seven councils which have not replied we know by the medical officer of health's reports that more accommodation is urgently needed. At Bosmere the housing 'is exceptionally bad'; at Cosford overcrowding cannot be dealt with owing to the dearth of houses; at Hartismere closing orders would result in driving 'the family either out of the district or into the workhouse'; at Samford 'house accommodation is insufficient'; whilst at Woodbridge 'an exceptional number of houses are in an unsatisfactory condition.'

In Essex eleven out of seventeen councils have replied to the inquiry. Nine councils state that there is a dearth of cottages in their area; one (Epping) states that there is a sufficiency; while all the councils state that they cannot build without placing a burden upon the rates. Although the Epping Rural District Council reports a sufficiency of cottages, the medical officer of health says that 'the provision of better houses . . . is one of the most important requirements of the district'; while the report on the urban district is to the effect that there are many old rotten cottages beyond repair, but there are no houses for the

present tenants to move into.

For information as to the six councils which have not replied we must again turn to the reports of the medical officers of health. In Billericay 'there is not a parish in which cottages are not wanted; were it not that cottages are so scarce number would be condemned and really recommendated. much larger number would be condemned and really required to the property of t much larger number would be closed.' In Dunmow there is a dearth, while as to Tendre be closed. If I represented every house that be closed.' In Dunmow the the medical officer says, 'If I represented every house that he the medical officer says, 'If I represented every house that he the medical officer says, 'If I represented every house that he the medical officer says, 'If I represented every house that he the medical officer says, 'If I represented every house that he the medical officer says, 'If I represented every house that he the medical officer says, 'If I represented every house that he the medical officer says, 'If I represented every house that he the medical officer says, 'If I represented every house that he the medical officer says, 'If I represented every house that he the medical officer says, 'If I represented every house that he the medical officer says, 'If I represented every house that he the medical officer says, 'If I represented every house that he the medical officer says is the medical officer says and the theory has been also been also be a supplied to the theory has been also been also be a supplied to the theory has been also be the medical officer says, the medical officer says, be considered unfit for habitation and got closing orders, be without sufficient houses for the people to be considered. be considered unit for the people to live should soon be without sufficient houses for the people to live of eleven rural district council to

uld soon be without sufficient of eleven rural district councils, see that cottages are needed in their areas. In Cambridgeshire, councils, services are needed in their areas; one to specify the six state that they cannot be to specify the six state that they cannot be to specify the six state that they cannot be to specify the six state that they cannot be to specify the six state that they cannot be to specify the six state that they cannot be to specify the six state that they cannot be to specify the six state that they cannot be specify the six states the six specify the six states the specific that the six specific the six specific the six specific that the six specific the six specific the six specific that the six specific th none are required; while six state that they cannot build with

From Wiltshire, out of eighteen councils, fourteen replications while three states are Ten admit a dearth of dwellings, while three state that the are sufficient. Twelve state they cannot build self-supporting cottages, while one council (Westbury) says this can be done.

In Somerset, again, ten out of seventeen councils reply Seven state a dearth—one a sufficiency. Six councils state the cannot build to pay. Of the seven councils that have not repu we may consider the medical officer of health's reports on in In Keynsham 185 houses (more than half those examined) have 'only two or less bedrooms, a condition which often leads to moral overcrowding.' In Langport there 'is a distinct lated cottage accommodation.' In Long Ashton the medical officer of health states that he 'has repeatedly drawn attention to the insufficiency of house accommodation for the working classes. In Wells 'houses with more bedroom accommodation ar required.'

In Devonshire twelve councils out of eighteen reply, and state that more cottages are needed in their areas; while if

agree that they cannot build without loss.

Matters are little better in Dorset. Seven councils out a twelve reply, and five state that there is a dearth of cottages in their areas; while six say they cannot build without placing! burden on the rates. Of those councils which have not replied, the medical officer of health for Sturminster states that the house accommodation 'is anything but satisfactory. In several is stances impossible to remedy owing to dearth of good cottages. In Sherborne the medical officer of health reports that population has increased and the number of inhabited house has slightly decreased.'

Reports from Gloucestershire are more scanty. twenty-one councils only ten have replied. Four state a death of cottages former of cottages former of cottages former of the cottages for the c of cottages, four a sufficiency; while seven say they cannot built without hurdening of the seven say they cannot be seve without burdening the rates. The medical officer of health report for the community that the community the rates. report for the county, however, gives us assistance in the of five councils which of five councils which have not replied, and two samples are given.

In Campden a dearth is reported; in Tewkesbury it is stated that many of the cottages are in a very undesirable state, and it may be necessary for the district council to build cottages to replace any that may be closed.' It is worth noting that in ten rural districts practically no action had been taken up to the end of 1911 to inspect houses under the provisions of the Act.

In Surrey six councils out of nine reply that cottage accom modation is insufficient, but in one (Reigate) that there are enough cottages. All state that they cannot build without placing a burden upon the rates. In regard to Godstone it is interesting to note that the Local Government Board wrote to this council in September drawing their attention to the reports of their own medical officer of health and their surveyor, and asking the council if they had considered the advisability of building cottages in their area. Apparently the Board consider. that there is a dearth of cottages in Godstone. Of the remaining councils, the medical officers of health report, as to Farnham, that 'cottage accommodation is still badly needed'; as to Guildford 'that there is a great scarcity of cottages in the district'; and as to Hambledon that 'house accommodation . . . is still much needed.'

In Reigate, where the council state there is no dearth, the medical officer of health reports that 'it is exceedingly rare to come across an unoccupied cottage; the demand exceeds the supply.' And in this case again the Local Government Board have written to the council asking them what action they intend to take under the Act.

The ten counties here dealt with are the principal agricultural counties, and therefore most pertinent to our inquiry, and in the great majority of cases there is need for further housing accommodation. In Norfolk it is insufficient in every district; in Suffolk in at least sixteen out of eighteen districts; in Essex in thirteen districts out of seventeen; in Somerset eleven councils out of seventeen report a deficiency; in Dorset nine districts out of twelve; and in Surrey there is, as far as we are aware, only one district out of nine that is not suffering from a dearth of cottages. From Cambridgeshire, Wiltshire, and Devonshire come statements of similar deficiencies, and the reports would be monotonous if they had not such tragic meaning.

In other counties the replies are not full enough to be quoted in detail, and the total figures for the inquiry may now be given.

In answer to Question 1 as to whether a dearth of cottages existed, 182 councils say 'Yes,' 107 councils say 'No.'

In answer to Question 2, as to whether cottages could be erected without placing a burden upon the rates, eight councils Yes, 261 councils say 'No, CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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In answer to Question 3, as to whether a State grant is welcome, 169 councils say 'Yes,' thirts. In answer to Question, 169 councils say 'Yes,' thirty-nite building would be welcome, 169 councils say 'Yes,' thirty-nite

The replies to Question 1, together with the extracts given The replies to the various medical officers of health, the great dearth of cottage accommodation, the great dearth of cottage accommodation and the great dearth of cottage acc from the reports of the conclusively that a great dearth of cottage accommodation exists of our rural districts.

in the vast majority of our rural districts.

The replies to Question 2 afford overwhelming evidence to to the impossibility of erecting cottages under the present Ad which will let at a rental such as the agricultural labourer can afford to pay, unless a burden is placed upon the rates. Eight rural district councils replied that they could erect cottages and let them without incurring such a burden. Of these, five council have undertaken schemes; and details as to the estimated income and expenditure are given in the White Paper issued by the Local Government Board on the 1st of August.2

At Effingham the estimated expenditure is 11. in excess (the estimated income; at Henstead 31. in excess; at Sain Germans 91. in excess on one scheme and 31. on another; while at Hitchin income exceeds expenditure by 11., and at Chesterle Street the balance is also 11. The balance either way is small but this all tends to show that councils cannot build without

placing a burden upon the rates.

The replies to Question 3 show that local authorities, having realised their inability to build under present regulations and the further necessity that there is for them to build, have arrived at the conclusion that the only possible solution is for the State to make grants from some central fund to enable them to ered cottages which can be let at a low enough rental. The answer afford, moreover, valuable support to Sir Arthur Griffith Boscawen's Housing Bill, and should be of much value when fresh efforts are again made to resuscitate the Bill.

The attitude of the Local Government Board to the Bill was far from satisfactory. Mr. Burns was opposed to the setting up of Housing Commissioners, and declared that he could never agree to a policy of rate-aided or State-aided cottages. His opposition to the left and to the latter has apparently been overcome, for in the nor famous 'Swaffham' case of October last the Board abandoned their principles of their principle of refusing to grant loans on schemes which showed a defect it will be showed as defect it will be sh showed a deficit in their balance sheets. At a meeting of the Swaffham Runal Distriction of the Swaffham Run Swaffham Rural District Council a letter from the Local Government, Board ment Board was read, in which they stated that

the Board recognised that any scheme for the provision of such house might involve a small charge and the provision of such house and the provision of such ho might involve a small charge on the rates, but although they regarded as important that a scheme for the as important that a scheme for the erection of working-class dwelling

² In all these five cases we find it stated that the 'general expenses' stated the 'general expenses' stated the 'gener be borne hypthen Brish Prodiction as the case may be. Haridwa

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should, as far as possible, be self-supporting, the fact that such a scheme showed a small annual deficiency would not preclude them from sanctioning a loan for the provision of the houses if the circumstances did not admit of a satisfactory self-supporting scheme.

But, after all, it matters little if Mr. Burns has abandoned his principle of a few months ago, or if the administration of the Board is slightly more active than in the past; for neither of these things will solve the problem which confronts us—the problem of the cheap cottage. If we refer to the White Paper of August we find details as to rental, and a study of these shows that out of forty building schemes, in only fifteen is the rental less than 3s. 6d. per week: the highest rent which an agricultural labourer can afford to pay. Thus the official papers themselves show that the only solution of the cheap cottage lies in the application of the principle contained in the Boscawen Billthe system of grants-in-aid for building. This system has already been applied to Ireland, and it will be well to glance for a moment at the Irish housing schemes, and to see what has been effected there under a system of State grants. The first of the series of Irish Labourers Acts was passed in 1883, and various amending Acts have been enacted up to 1911. Cottages are now built in Ireland under an Act of 1906 which was amended in 1911, and 211 out of 213 rural district councils in Ireland have applied these Acts.

Under the 1911 Act loans to Irish local authorities will be granted up to 4,250,000l. at $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. for sixty-eight and a-half years, the $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. including the repayment of principal and interest. Only 64 per cent. of this charge is met by the local authorities, the remaining 36 per cent. being in the form of a State grant—16 per cent. from the Labourers' Cottage Fund and 20 per cent. from the Ireland Development Grant. The State thus pays 1l. 3s. 5d. interest on every 100l. loan, the remaining 2l. 1s. 7d. being found by the local bodies, with the result that cottages are let at a very low rental without placing any considerable burden upon the rates.

A report issued by the National Housing and Town Planning Council a few weeks ago contains the following specimen balancesheet of an Irish cottage erected under the Acts:

	a and the ment
Receipts Estimated rent at 1s. 3d. per week	Loan of 170l. at 3l. 5s. p.a. 5 10 6
	£3 10 9 3 5 0
V _{OL} , LXXII—No. 430 CC-0. In Public Domain. G	Loss on rates £0 5 9 Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

This estimate, however, contains no allowance for employee etc., so that the loss to the rates would This estimate, nowever, repairs, insurance, etc., so that the loss to the rates would be repairs, insurance than 5s. 9d.

It is not suggested that a system identical in all its detail It is not suggested that you would be suitable for this country; but the Irish system, in the Boscawen Bill in the Bill in the Boscawen Bill in the Boscawen Bill in the Bill would be suitable for the broad outlines and as laid down in the Boscawen Bill, is the

One important point of difference between an Irish and a English scheme would be in the rental to be charged for the cottage. In Ireland the rentals vary from 9d. to 1s. 3d.; England a rental of 2s. 6d. could conceivably be charged.

If we apply such a rental to the balance-sheet quoted about we get the following result:

Receipts	£ s. d.	Expenditure
Estimated rental at 2s. 6d.		Loan of 1781. 5s. at 3l. 5s. 5 15 16 Less 36 per cent. paid by
Balance	£2 15 10	the Government 2 1 8

We see that, whereas there is a deficit on an Irish scheme of 5s. 9d. at a rental of 1s. 3d., there would be a balance of 21. 15s. 10d. on an English scheme at a rental of 2s. 6d.

This balance should about cover other outgoings, as empties, repairs, etc. So that under a scheme such as is here outlined, there should be no burden whatsoever upon the rates.

Loans to the extent of 8,000,000l. have already been granted to Ireland for housing purposes, and at the present moment the annual charge in respect of the 36 per cent. grant is 81,336. It has lately been estimated that 100,000 additional cottages and required to meet the dearth in rural England, and on this basis an annual loss of 208,000l. would fall upon the Exchequer if the This expenditure would really Irish terms were adhered to. be one of the soundest investments that the country could possibly embark upon, for it is almost impossible to over-estimate the advantages of good and ample housing accommodation in our villages.

Farmers complain that they are unable to find a sufficiency of good labour; expert ploughmen, hedgers, and ditchers are by no means easy to all the decline means easy to obtain. No one disputes the gravity of the declining our agriculture. in our agricultural population, and it now seems evident that this fact is intimately fact is intimately connected with the lack of cottage accommodition. Not only tion. Not only are the cottages too few, but many of the existing ones are very near ones are very poor. The labourer of the present day is no long

³ I take 1781. 5s. as the cost of land and building; this being the price given in the White Paper (No. 293) issued by the Local Government from in May.

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content to live as his forefathers did. Small wonder that he becomes discontented with his surroundings, and ends by emigrating to the towns or to the Colonies.

It is true that no immediate benefit would result to the taxpayer from the erection of additional cottages, but the ultimate benefit to the State cannot be over-estimated—a benefit financial, physical, and moral. Bad conditions of housing must necessarily be a financial burden upon the State; they are responsible to a very large degree for the periodic epidemics that rage in our villages, prostrating both rich and poor alike, and every one of these epidemics is a financial loss. The moral effects are self-evident. You cannot crowd people of both sexes and all ages into two small bedrooms, and then expect them to conduct themselves according to the ordinary standards of morality which are attained by people living under proper conditions.

The whole question of rural housing is one which is in urgent need of settlement. If cottages cannot be built without the imposition of further burdens on the rates, then the Exchequer must come to the rescue. If the local authorities cannot shoulder the burden—and it is evident that they cannot—the State must step in. It has done so in Ireland, and if rural life is ever to be revived, must do so in England. The sooner the system of State grants is adopted the better for us. There is now a Bill before Parliament which embodies this remedy, and which—if given fresh facilities—will soon remedy this canker at the heart of

the nation.

HENRY BENTINCK.

MY THOUGHTS ABOUT THE DRAMA IN JAPAN AND IN ENGLAND

Two or three friends of mine in Japan have joined in sending me the Japanese drama books from time to time since last two years. Now I believe I have collected almost all the famous dramas in Japan. It has been my habit to read them when! was laid in my ill-bed, and whenever I read these dramas I am

always struck with all sorts of sentiment.

In my very early age while I was in Japan, I often went to the theatres. But I was too young to understand those complicated dramas. Only I used to pick up a few dialogues here and there, which I can still remember and recite. Now, reading the whole pieces of those dramas, I can seize their full constructions, which contain many familiar verses to my ears. It is one of my greatest pleasures to let my recollections go back more than twenty years ago and understand the plays thoroughly at last. Sometimes I feel I can see those actors' expressions and movements and hear their voices clearly. However, let me now not only be in such a dreaming pleasure, but step forward to criticise those dramas in Japan.

When the dramatists had splendid historical materials they could display their fluent verses upon our beautiful Bushido and the deepest taste in humanity. Now let me quote a few parts.

THE TRANSLATION FROM 'GOSHO-ZAKURO HORI-KAWA YOUGH' THE SCENE OF THE HOUSE OF GOEMON

The Scene. The little cottage of Sabro Ise who, under an annual part to assumed name, Gōemon is doing the surgical treatment to

support his dying mother, with his wife.

Many patients called on him and they all had Goemon's vice. Such as wellservice, such as washing the wounds, and bandaging etc. etc. And now they are And now they are all gone. Sabro Ise peeping into his mother's room whispers to his wife—' Mother is honourably sleeping fast and all the patients are and all the patients are gone. We are quite alone now.

To that we me once more that of the contract of the co true the murderer of my father is not our honourable Lord

Yoshitsune. O, how glad I am! For I can fulfil my duty of vengeance without any difficulty.

But who was the assassin then? Could you not find out any clue to the assassin from your conversation with Suruga?' (one

of the subjects of Yoshitsune).

The Wife. No, nothing whatever! Suruga has identified all the victims with whom our honourable Lord Yoshitsune had a fight thirteen years ago. Your father was not in that list. That was all that I learnt from him!

Sabro Ise. How very unfortunate am I, not to be able to find my father's enemy. It is just like to grasp the cloud. Now

shall I be able to find . . .

[A STRANGER comes to the door. He is a tall and handsome Samurai.

The Stranger. Is the famous surgeon Gōemon in?

[THE WIFE goes to the door.

The Wife. Yes, my lord. Fortunately my husband is at home.

THE STRANGER enters.

The Stranger. Ah, you are Dr. Gōemon? Under some circumstance I cannot disclose my own name to you. But will you be good enough to have your surgical treatment upon the wound I received last night?

Sabro Ise. It is my intention, especially at this warsome time, to cure everybody—enemies as well as my kinsmen—therefore you need not tell me your name. Now let me see your wounds.

The Stranger. Thanks for your honourable martyrdom.

[He undresses his left shoulder. Sabro Ise examines the wound.

Sabro Ise. Um! The wound is very slight. But it was done with a very blunt sword. You must feel a great pain. Never mind, my lord, it will be cured quite soon. Nyobo (the equivalent to the English 'dear,' to call the wife) bring up all the instruments and some plaster. O, I see another old wound just an inch underneath! This is different from the new wound! Evidently it was cut deeply with a superior sword. You must have suffered very much.

The Stranger. Ah, about that old wound, I suffered very much because I was a Ronin (a fugitive) at that time and I could not afford to get the treatment of any professional surgeon.

Sabro Ise. How have you received such a wound then? If you were a Ronin, perhaps you have committed some crime. Were you a robber? or a thief? or a murderer?

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Lord Lord

At that time in Japan it was our national law that the children of the murdered man should take revenge on the murderer.

The Stranger. Well, Doctor, it is rather an awkward to be asked so many questions. I feel I The Stranger. Wen, Letter, dicament for me to be asked so many questions. I feel I should have that wound now.

It was about thirteen years ago when the red flags of the It was about thirteen yet waving flourishingly all over the country. They banished my honourable master to the eastern boundary and confiscated all the lands which belonged to the Metropolish Then I myself alone went up to Kioto (the Metropolis) to detect Then I mysen alone was just the Spring-blossom season the movement of Taira. It was just the Spring-blossom season and Munemori, the inheritor of the autocratic Taira, was going to have the most luxurious picnic with his favourite woman Yuya. I thought it was a splendid chance to assassinate him. I hid myself in that gloomy bamboo bush of Rokuhara to wait his return journey. Then there was a man. I thought he must be a detective sent by that suspicious Taira family. So I attacked him with my sword at once. He was a good fighter and be attacked me too. Now you see this wound is what I received from his sword. However, I killed him without much difficulty, But afterwards I found him to be an old man over sixty, and there were a bow and arrows beside him. Alas! I recognised that he too was my own kinsman, the survivor of Minamoto (the White Flag family), who went there for the exactly same purpose with me, to assassinate Munemori.

I wept! I lamented! And I grieved, but it was too late. Then hundreds of the Taira's guards were marching toward me with their brilliant red lanterns. I knew it would give a great difference of the state culty to me if I and that dead corpse were found out by them. Therefore I dragged the corpse in a great haste and put it near the Gojo bridge where I heard some one was fighting. Quite lately I heard that the fighter was our honourable Lord Yoshitsune. But of course I did not know that then, and I did it only for the temporary device.

Now everything is changed. The tyrannical Taira families have been annihilated and our glorious White Flags are governing all ing all over the country. I have no-one to be afraid of. How ever, the world is always too curious. Therefore I pray the not to tell this story to anybody else.

Sabro Ise. Rest assured, My Lord, I shall not repeat it to anybody. But what is your name, anyhow?

The Stranger. My name is Sho-shun Tosabo.

[Sabro Ise draws his sword at once.

Sabro Ise. Sho-shun Tosabo, you shall not escape from my sword. You are my father's enemy.

[Sabro Ise strikes Tosabo with his sword which the latter parries will be sword which the latter parries with his sheathed sword in his haste.

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Tosabo. Pray don't be so rash! Was that poor old man your own father then? How very sad to hear that! And your name? Sabro Ise. Well, I tell you my real name is Sabro Ise, one of the most loyal subjects of our illustrious Lord Yoshitsune, and the old man you killed was my father, the Hon. Toshimori Ise. . . .

Tosabo. Just wait! Let me see! I know the Ises are the most important and aristocratic family, and why should you lead such a poor life like this? I do not understand. I doubt you are

an impostor!

Sabro Ise. Impostor? Nay, I am not. According to your own information now, when you killed my father I was far away in Suruga district. My wife sent me the grave news and I hurried myself to Kioto at once. Then I was told there was a great fighting near Gojo Bridge and many people were killed by a stranger, and my father's dead body was among those corpses. That was all, and there was no clue about the stranger. Year after year has passed away in the utter mystery about that fighting, and then the war was declared between the Minamoto and Taira families. I, as the most loyal subject, joined to our honourable Lord Yoshitsune and fought all the battles to the The world knows how I did my duty for the Minamoto family. But when we came back triumphant, the honourable Lord Yoshitsune told me one evening that that stranger-fighter at the Gojo bridge was his lordship's self. I thought then my father's enemy was my honourable master. If I wanted to be filial to my father and revenge I should be disloyal to my own master to fight with him. I was in such an awkward position. Therefore I bid farewell to my Hon. Lord. I wanted to pass all my life in a monastery. Alas! then my old mother became seriously ill.

This is why I am now leading such a life, as I know a little of the surgical treatment, in order to support my invalid mother and my wife.

It was only last night that my wife informed me the murderer of my father was some-one else, and not my hon. Lord Yoshitsune, and I was just grieving because I could not find out the real enemy of my father. Ah, this is the heaven's help to meet you here now.

Prepare yourself for the duel!

Tosabo. Ise! Wait! Wait a few moments. I have something to tell you. I thoroughly sympathise with your sad life. Indeed, I wish I could fulfil your intention at once, but there is the most important matter which reluctantly prevents your proposal of duel. Keep your sword in the sheath while I am speaking to you. Lately our illustrious Shogun Yoritomo speaking to you. Lately our illustrious Shogun Yoritomo speaking to you. speaking to you. Dately our more his hon, brother Yoshitsune an unreasonable suspicion upon his hon, brother Yoshitsune and gave the mission to his favourite an unreasonable suspicion apos a conspirator, and gave the mission to his favourite subject the matter. In fact, as you know how a conspirator, and gave the matter. In fact, as you know how spie.

Kajiwara to inspect the matter. In fact, as you know how spie. Kajiwara to inspect the flat who communicated with our in the last and so with our interest of the hetray our White Flag and so with our interest of the hetray our White Flag and so with our interest of the hetray our White Flag and so with our interest of the hetray our White Flag and so with our interest of the hetray our white Flag and white F ful is Kajiwara, it was in Taira and planned to betray our White Flag and so cunning innocent brother. The matter Taira and planned to score brother. The matter was accused the Shogun's innocent brother. The matter was a Therefore I, Tosabo, begged the Shogun to let the accompany Kajiwara for this mission. As I have anticipated Kajiwara sent a detective to the Horikawa Palace to steal in signed agreement with Taira family. But I disguised myst and went to the Palace before his detective arrived there and got possession of this agreement to present it to our Lord Yoshitsune. And pray look at my wound, which I received when I performed this mission.

Now it is easy for me to give my life to you, but pray listen to me seriously. If I did now, who else could save our Ho. Yoshitsune from the suspicion of the shogun? Therefore! humbly beg your mercy upon me until I finish my important

mission.

Tosabo kneels down before Sabro Ise and begs his mercy with tears.

Sabro Ise. No, no. As long as we did not know each other, it could not be helped. But as it is clear that you are my father's assassinator, I cannot forgive you for a minute. Now duel, duel,

duel with you, Tosabo!

Tosabo. That is too piteous, my Hon. Ise. If I want to fulfil my own intention alone, I may kill you in our duel, but this is not my ethic. O, honourable Madame, the matter stands as you hear. Will you honourably be the arbitrator between us two? For I, Tosabo, faithfully promise you that I shall come back when I finish my important duty between the hon. Shows and his hon, brother.

The Wife of Ise. Whatever may be, such a noble Samural like the hon. Tosabo Sama will not fail in his own words.

hon. husband shall listen to him.

Sabro Ise. This is not the place for the woman. You shall me of keep yourself silent. Now Tosabo, whether you will kill me of I kill you all down I kill you, all depends upon the Heaven's will. Speak no more but duel, duel . . .

A voice from the next room. Wait, my son Sabro, wait.

[The invalid mother with the pale face like the could come out comes out with her feeble and trembling per and the wife and the wife assists her to sit down. The intellement mother speaks mother speaks with difficulty.

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Are you the hon. Sho-shun Tosabo who assassinated my husband? You are a splendid Samurai. I have heard all your story in my sick-bed, and I thoroughly understand your great anxiety about the unfortunate trouble of our illustrious Shogun and his hon. brother. Pray be at ease. Now Sabro, you have always been a very sensible son, but why are you so rash today? Or are you thinking that the human life is always so uncertain and you may miss the chance to fulfil your duty to duel with him? It all depends upon the person. It won't be more than two or three months before the hon. Tosabo finishes his important mission, and I, your own mother, guarantee his life until

Sabro Ise. Well, my hon. Mother, I should like to obey you and say, yes. But I can not. About the hon. Tosabo's life I have no fear to wait even three or five years. But Mother, you yourself who guarantee his life, are not in safety. Nay, your serious illness cannot be guaranteed even three days now. And what was the cause of your illness? All because this fellow killed my father, the husband to you. You have been deeply grieving over this matter for last thirteen years, and I, too, had to abandon my hon. Lord Yoshitsune thinking he was our enemy. Mother, your anxiety was piled ten-fold by that, and the result is your present serious illness, and I could not look after you enough through my poor fugitive life. This is all through that man Tosabo. How could I forgive him? I want to revenge on him at once and see your hon. smile in happiness.

Nyobo (my dear wife) you honourably accompany Mother to her bed. Now Tosabo, duel, duel, don't make any more excuse, don't be coward now.

The Mother. Sabro, my son, if you have the duel with the hon. Tosabo now, you are not only disobedient to your mother, but you could not be filial to your dead father, either.

Sabro Ise. Why, mother, why?

The Mother. Why, my son, you remember the tale of your father. One evening while he was a fugitive he went to that bamboo bush in order to attack the tyrannical Taira and he came back no more. Now the hon. Tosabo's story coincides in every detail. Both your father who was killed by Tosabo and Tosabo who killed your father tried their best for the sake of our Minamoto family. Only it was the unfortunate accident after all. I feel you need not revenge on him. But this is the question beyond the woman's concern. However, why you could not be filial to your parents if you have the duel with the hon. Tosabo is too simple to explain. If the hon. Tosabo dies now who else beside him could save both the Shogun and his brother, to whom you ought to be most loyal? Would the spirit of your father be pleased if you killed the hon. Tosabo now? The father be pleased if you have merchants or farmers. To be Samurai is different from the couple of the samurai is different from the samurai is different f

O, my hon. Sho-shun Tosabo, how shameful is my son! You O, my non. Sho-shart Less the studiety of the Shogun and kneel down who forget yourself for the sake of the Shogun and kneel down who forget yoursen for the stupidity of my son. O, what right before my son, may see the before my son, may right has he got to shout, 'Duel, duel' to such a noble Samurai like

you!

Now, Sabro, my son, I shall not stop your duel any longer, But if you raise your sword against him, I, your own mother, will die first under your dishonourable sword. Only if I died yester. day, I would not see such a shameful conduct of my son now.

[SABRO ISE repents, and throws himself under his

mother's feet.

Sabro Ise. I humbly beseech your generous forgiveness. For I was thinking nothing else but to fulfil my duty of revenge upon my father, while you are still in this world, and I have quite forgotten my greater duty to our illustrious Shogun.

Tosabo, as you hear, I decide to wait everything until von

finish your noble duty to the Shogun.

Tosabo. O, how very grateful I am to you. This is all through the noble kindness of your hon. Mother. How could I thank her ladyship? O yes, here is something.

[Tosabo takes out a parchment from his pocket and

puts it before the mother.

Tosabo. This is the parchment in which Kagiwara signed his name for the agreement with the Taira families. As I told the hon. Sabro Ise, I have secured it at the Palace last night.

The Mother. What could be the better present than this? This parchment itself would save all the trouble of our hon. Lord Yoshitsune, and it would be the greatest honour for my son to present it to our Lord Yoshitsune. I heartily thank you my most noble and thoughtful Tosabo. Until this serious matter of the Shogun is quite settled you and my son will be the great friends and fulfil your duty to the Shogun. If I have life in this world longer, I will meet you again. But my hon. Tosabo, you will not stay in such a place like this any longer, or else you may get suspicion from that spiteful Kagiwara. Go, go now, my noble Samurai.

[The invalid mother with the wife's assistance goes to here here Tosabo. O, how thoughtful is your ladyship! to her bed-room and Sabro Ise sees Tosabo to the

Sabro Ise. The world often has the unexpected climates, and humans often have the the humans often have the unexpected illness, too. Be careful for your own health and all for your of the unexpected illness, too. pourself, for your publicable and ways let me know about yourself.

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Tosabo. Ah, don't worry yourself. I shall be most careful of my life, which belongs to you. When everything is over, we shall have a splendid duel.

Sabro Ise. How glad I am to hear that. Sayonara, then.

Tosabo. Sayonara.

[They part, and Sabro comes back to his seat. His wife comes out from the next room.

The Wife. Our mother is dead.

Perhaps such as Forty-Seven Ronins, Taihei Ki are the good examples of the masterpieces, but there is more than one translation into English published in Japan, so I omit them now.

Here is one good example of the Japanese dramas which the

Westerners may get amazed at for its socialistic spirit.

The scene of the execution of the famous robber Goemon Ishikawa 2 and his pet-child Goroichi who was twelve years old. The robber and his young son were to be boiled to death in a large pot on the fire.

The two executors Hayano and Iwaki take their seats near the dreadful executing pot. Plenty of the wood is thrown into

the fire underneath the pot.

The prison warder brings Goemon and his little boy. Hayano loosens the ropes from the prisoners.

Hayano. Listen Goemon, as you have not yet confessed, you shall have to go through this most dreadful punishment the world has ever had. If you love your child and if you feel sorry for him, why would you not confess and tell us the names of your robber companions and their whereabouts? It is the Government's duty to extinguish all the robbers in the country. Just think of that.

Goemon. It is quite so, my hon. officer. And you may honourably think I am heartless towards my dear little boy if I don't confess. But robbers in the country are just like mice in the house. Do you think you can ever extinguish all of them? If you make only fifty or sixty companions of mine into the prisoners, that will not help the whole matter whatever. The best help for the nation is only to let them be careful themselves. It is their own negligence that gives the chance for the robbers to steal. I, Goemon, have the farewell poetry for you—

The day may come when you can extract all the pebbles in Ishikawa³ Yet the seeds of robbers shall remain in this world for ever.

Ishikawa is the surname of Goemon and its meaning is 'the river of

In Japanese characters the name Goemon in this drama has quite different makes the spelling alike.

But the English translation

This is my last word. And it is useless to question me any more other executor. But, Goemon, your own is is my last word. And to be described in any more any more and the any more any mo as well as your little boy's may afflict many others related to

[Here Iwaki looks towards the gate where Goemon's parents and wife are weeping. Iwaki droops his head and sobs, and suddenly he raises his voice

Be more thoughtful and confess everything in order to meet a

lighter punishment.

Goemon. O, how foolish is your hon. demand. We, a robbers, promised so faithfully in the beginning that we should not leak the news even to our own families. Now how could break my words to them? Even if I confessed, my dear boy's life shall not be spared. When I decide to do the wickedness] must perform it all through to the end. Whether should I be boiled in the oil or burnt in the fire, that would not make no coward enough to betray all my companions. Now, my dear son, your agony could not be more than half an hour. You are my son. Don't lose your self-possession. Just think as if it were a bad nightmare.

> [Here some tragedy happens with Goemon's parents and his wife who came to the gate to rescue the prisoner. The oil in the large pot is boiled and the volume of smoke comes out.

The Two Executors. The time is up! It is ready for the

execution.

Goemon. My hesitation for any longer might make you imagine it as my cowardness.

[He takes his boy in his arms and jumps into the

boiling oil. This brave behaviour makes the executors and everybody most astonished and they all cover their eyes with their hands. For they all believed that Goemon would make the confession at the last moment and everything would be ended without seeing this dreadful scene.

Here I may add that there is one scene before this act, that Goemon was prisoned and brought to the Shogun. Where Shogun calls Goemon 'the worst man in the world.' Where upon Goemon makes argument against the Shogun the robber of the state of the st the robber of the whole country and I am only the robber of sew tyrannical risk few tyrannical rich people; you have committed the greatest robbery for your and I am only the robbery for your and I am robbery for your selfishness, but I have done mine for helping the poor by coatter. the poor by scattering all the money to them. You have billed many innocent scales in the money to them. many innocent souls in the battles for your own pleasure, not desert I have killed only those tyrannical autocrats who did not desert De

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re, but deserre to inherit such fortunes. Now tell me which of us is the worst man in the world?

There has been the question among some English people whether is there any Japanese drama in which the Japanese subjects rebelled against the Mikado. I give you the most positive answer that there are more than one. Ono-no-Michikaze Aoyagi-Suzuri and Imose-Yama Fujyo-no-Niwa-oshiye are two good specimens. In the former drama Tachibana-no-Hayanari banishes the Mikado and calls himself the Emperor Hayanari and he tries to assassinate the real Mikado, which he fails to do. In the latter drama Soga-no-Iruka does the same thing with the same result. They both are the splendid dramas and very popular too, I am glad to say we are too advanced in the taste of the dramas to mix up our real life and the dramas altogether.

These dramas which I have partially quoted must be counted as the specimens of our masterpieces. But among others though so-called masterpieces, I have found many quite disappointing.

Before going any further on criticism, I must mention my own peculiar position where I am standing today. was a little lad I was brought up by the pure Bushido-education of my parents. Certainly that education has become as my unmoveable instinct. At the same time I came out to America' first, then to England while I was half-grown. Since then I have been always inhaling the Western atmosphere for my nourishment both mentally as well as physically. Thus I have received the Western reforming influence quite unconsciously. Today my idea is neither pure Japanese nor pure English. have attained the medium sense between the East and West. From the judgement of this medium sense of mine it is difficult for me to accept many Japanese dramas into my heart.

However, it would be unfair if one should so narrow-mindedly despise all the dramas which did not suit to his own taste. the drama is genuine in its own way, we must recognise it as

the masterpiece.

In Japan, we call the human life 'Michi' or 'the road.' Indeed our daily life is just like to walk on the road. Some roads are made straight and comfortable, while the others are bent and dangerous. It is all depending upon each nation's custom. If we find out any unconveniences on the road we must repair it, but until then we have to walk round that awkward road. There is no other way. Now then to repair the road is the duty of the politicians and not of the Dramatists. On the contrary, the dramatist can often take advantage of bad roads to bring out a vivacious sketch of our daily life.

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Some time ago, my fellow-compatriot K. Tokutomi published Some time ago, my come time ag a novel called Hototogues translation.) In this excellent novel he has described the present translation. It was an immense Japanese life so truthfully. It was an immense success in Japan. But when it was translated into English (or American rather) many American reviewers attacked it strongly 'because it was so unnatural about the mother-in-law.'

Well, well, it must be 'unnatural' to the American idea, but it is only too true to Japanese. For the Japanese have quite a different life-road from the American. Besides, the author so thoughtfully has written a preface in which he explained the present Japanese social life in detail. Most hope. less fools were those American reviewers who made such rash criticism without careful study upon the Japanese life, or at least without reading the preface. Only if those reviewers had attacked the Japanese life itself, I would agree with them. But certainly, it was not the fault of the writer, nay, it was his great triumph.

Now, when I read the Japanese dramas with my 'medium sense' they appear to me as that novel Namiko appeared to the Americans. However, let me study them carefully and discuss how far I should reckon as the dramatist's triumph and how much to count as their failure through their inferior brains.

It must be remembered that at the time of the great dramatist Monzaemon Chikamatsu and his pupils, Japan was gravely degenerating under the over-cautious government of the Tokugawa Shogunate. The nation's 'Life-Road' was in bad state. Even now some dangerous parts of our 'Life-Road' are not repaired yet. Consequently most disastrous immoralities have been befalling upon us. When I was in Paris, I stayed at my French friend's flat. Her husband went to Japan. He wrote to his wife that all his Japanese servants and neighbours seemed to him 'Spies and detectives.' I could not contradict that too strongly for many of them are too curious, too inquisitive and tive and too suspicious. Now, reading the Japanese dramas, I almost all plays. Even that famous Forty-Seven Ronin is covered with that spirit. To some certain degree I must of course admit it was the triumph of the dramatists to carry got skilfully the notion skilfully the national habits at the time upon the stage. But there are many there are many plays which are founded entirely upon that trick.

In some plays the In some plays, the servants turn out to be the lords, and pedlars when they throw are the when they throw off their rags turn out to be the princes in uniform etc. etc. uniform etc. etc. They are no longer the serious dramas, but the poor performance of the poor performance of some inferior jugglers. Then there are Sh

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too many suicides. No matter what it may be, men commit Hara-kiri and women stab the daggers to their throats immediately. They always say 'they die for the sake of their honourable lords.' Of course it is true that Japanese have been very loyal to their own masters and ready to die. But at the same time, we have saying that 'to live is more difficult than to die, and it is our greatest loyalty to perform this difficulty to live for our masters.'

But Bakin, the great novelist, was far more successful in his famous novel called *Hakkenden*. In this novel eight subjects performed most difficult tasks, to save their own lives and serve for their Lord Satomi. Chikamatsu's pupils, nay sometimes even Chikamatsu himself, seem to my mind that they have not quite understood Bushido. In their plays many commit suicide, while the real history says those people did not kill themselves. Some play has no less than six or seven suicides in one act. Suicide in wholesale is simply sickening. And still more it is most disgusting to observe that many plays are adopted to each other without reflection.

Another conspicuous resource of these inferior Japanese dramas is always about either life-long parting or the departure by death between the parents and children. Japanese are very much attached to their children. Whenever the dramatists took the advantage of this weakness, they would succeed to win the auditors' hearts.

If an artist painted Madonna and the Holy Infant, the Christians would kneel down before the picture, and if he painted Buddha all the Buddhists would bow down before it. But that is not the merit of art. So with the dramatist! How cunning, how lazy and how very lukewarm to their own profession were those dramatists who laboured for nothing but to introduce the weakness between the parents and children. I cannot help to underrate these inferior intentions. Of course there are the exceptions in several genuine masterpieces. For instance, Honcho Nijiu-shi-Ko (the twenty-four filialities in our country) has such a poetic scene. The herald from the Shogun comes to the house of a supposed-to-be-traitor called Takeda. The Shogun demands of him the head of his young son Katsuyori. Takeda was out and the wife begs the herald to wait a little while, and by delaying she hopes to find out some excuse to save the son. The sympathetic herald goes to the garden and pulls out the vine of a Morning Glory with many blossoms, and puts them in a flower vase, saying that he will wait until the Morning Glories should wither. (The Japanese Morning Glory withers as soon as it is cut from the root.) The mother is in a great grief,

but to the surprise of everybody the flowers never wither, because resembles so much with Shakespeare's King John. When the gaoler was ordered to blind Arthur with the red-hot poker he gaoler was ordered to stand there was no fire to make found out the poker was cooled and there was no fire to make it hot again. And what a strange coincidence that Katsuyon and Arthur both killed themselves afterwards!

However, talking generally, those too-much detective-like spirits, too many suicides and the departure of the parents and children in most Japanese dramas do not suit my taste. May I add another objection of mine? The dramatists in Japan as well as in the Western country have a certain tendency to show the cause and result too close to each other. That is to say, the good one gets good result and bad one gets bad result to quickly. (I see this fault more among the ancient Japanese dramatists, because they were too much intoxicated with the doctrines of Buddha and Confucius.) Open your eyes and observe this world carefully. You will find out the world is not always in that way. I must reckon this kind of fault as the inferior brains of the dramatists who has not power enough to see through the Truth of the world, and they go on applying their shallow emotion in their own way.

What is the genuine drama anyhow? It is to accurately out-

line the truth of the human life.

And surely Love is one of the best materials for the drama. Because it is common to all the nations in the world and is the same in any epoch! For we humans as well as all the other living things in this world are growing by the biological problem and however may our ideas and customs be changing, Love, the foundation of Biology, shall never cease. It is the ever-lasting fountain springing out from our inner hearts. Japan has had quite many love-dramas. Some of them are very good, but they were often crippled through that religious condemnation. (The Buddhism condemns the romantic love as a sin.) Here I must mention one thing which seems almost paradox. Although the Buddhist dramatists always encouraged the filial piety to the parents and despised the romantic love, they believed, on the other hand, that, according to the Buddha's doctrine, the ties between the many the between the parents and children last only in this world, while the tie between the the tie between the man and wife would continue into the future world. When world. When a couple falls in love they always say, we must have been man and wife would continue into the must have been man and wife would continue into the must have been man and wife would continue into the man and wife would con have been man and wife in our last life, and when they always say, "but dying, they say the dying, they say, they shall be united in the next world.

Certainly Love is much more developed in England, the free rriage country. But marriage country. But even in this free-marriage country I often 1912

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meet the people in some certain Religious sects who condemn the beet the people as those Buddhists, and they refuse to see the love as much simply ignore the essence of Love. These people dramas. They simply ignore the essence of Love. These people dramas. These people are just like the dead trees which shall never have blossoms! On the other hand, there are quite many who mix up the sacred the other the dirty passion, and they go on to the extreme

vulgarity.

When I had a discussion about this matter with my Japanese friend Wakayima he said, 'People often call those vulgar human beings "animals." But that is too much insulting word against the other animals. For the animals never violate their natures as some humans do!' How true was he! About a few weeks ago a very cultured lady modestly signing herself 'a John Bulless' wrote me a long interesting letter, in which she said The English stage often introduces the wine and women as the evils, all because the man cannot see the beast in himself. Is wine an enemy? Ah, no, unless he makes it so. Is woman an enemy? Ah! no, a friend, if he be not a beast, and a monster of selfishness and ingratitude. There are many things which make the heart to ache. . . . 'This may be a good hint to some modern dramatists.

It must be remembered that our life is something like the plants'. Some plants have very tiny stalks and a few leaves upon the ground, but, who knows, they often have large strong roots under the surface! It is often the case that some dramatists observe only the outward appearance of this world and do not dig the ground deeply enough, consequently their dramas are too shallow. When my thoughts come to this point, I cannot help without looking upon Shakespeare as the greatest dramatist. He has observed this world deeply. There are leaves, flowers, fruits, as well as trunks and roots in his plays. And notwithstanding that the woman's position was different at his time, he has already seen the women thoroughly. He did not think of the wine and woman as the evils. Most advanced women of today can accept his dramas without 'aching their hearts.' Such as Merchant of Venice or Merry Wives of Windsor are good specimens for love, humour, tragedy and all.

Nowadays such plays upon the questions of socialism and religion are getting very popular—especially among the young students. Some of them are very cleverly wriften indeed. But they have not much value as the dramas. Do you ask me why? Look at some plays! There are Imperialists, Socialists, Anarchief There are Imperialists, Socialists, Anarchief chists, Roman Catholics, Protestants or free thinkers. They have discussions upon each point of their own view without much action, which would give the chance to the actors to display

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These sort of discussions can be written in a their abilities. magazine article or in a book-form. I dare say they would make and do good in that way. But contain the magazine article of in a good in that way. But certainly they interest the public and do good in that way. But certainly they are unnecessary to be brought upon the stage. Nothing but discussion after discussion on the stage is simply boring to the true playgoer. They are just as bad as those Japanese drams with too many suicides and too many departings between parents

Why are many youths so mad about those discussion-dramas now-adays? Simply because the nations are awaking from the old political and religious ideas. Every individual can no longer bear to be under the old yoke. Yet, there are still many wild bulls who would give (or are actually giving) the public trouble when the old-style yokes are taken off from them. And the youths are generally very keen on those questions. That is all and those young auditors could not be the true playgoers after all. I tell you, whichever way the political and religious question may be settled, surely this excitement will become 'an old story 'some day quite soon—I dare say in our own life time. And the 'cleverness' of those poor dramas shall be laughed over as the old 'idiot.'

I remember when Japan was just going to open her first parliament some twenty years ago, ever so many new novels and dramas about the political questions were born in a year or two. Any books, any plays which contained the words 'Liberalism,' 'Constitutional' or 'Democracy' were most warmly welcomed by the young Japanese students. But today most of those plays are entirely forgotten (except some which have the real value of the drama), and to the great satisfaction of the true playgoers, the public have begun to go back to our old Chikamatsu of two hundred years ago for their appetite of the genuine drama. Indeed, I was astonished to notice that those drama books by Chikamatsu and his pupils are in their 16th of 17th edition within only two or three years' time.

The dramas with no other foundation than the political fever are just like the woman's fashions. Everybody is absolutely med on the latest fashion, but who cares to look at the fashion papers

Nobody would ever get tired to go to the National Gallery of the last year? and see those portraits. Because no matter how old may be the fashions, those years. the fashions, those persons inside the dresses have dignity, and they are painted by they are painted by the great masters.

If you are a portrait artist you may paint any fashion as you, but you must not formally like, but you must not forget to paint out the real personality with your skilful brush with your skilful brush. If you are a dramatist, you may write the I forge

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the political or religious questions as you like, but you must not forget the essence of the true humanity which will be immor-

talised forever.

If you want to know the taste of orange, you must peel it and bite the real fruit inside. Only licking the surface of its peel is not at all the right way. Perhaps there are many people who have tasted the real fruit of the human nature, yet they fail to show that taste to the others. Shakespear of England and Chikamatsu of Japan have so successfully shown this taste upon the stage.

Shakespear was deeply philosophical, while Chikamatsu gave us the essence of human nature. Therefore the former's work is a Bible for us to learn, and the latter's work is a lesson

for us to study.

Now about the actors and actresses, I must say their triumph ought to be absolutely independent from that of the dramatiststhat is to say, the genuine actors can perform their arts successfully in a poor drama and at the same time the genuine dramas can not give poor actors the reputation. However, if the drama itself is shallow it cannot give much variance to the different actors. They all come nearly same to each other, and if the drama is great, every actor acts differently. All because, as I have said before, the great dramatists give the chance to the actors to act, and the actors can show their art freer. can see this more in Shakespear or Chikamatsu than others.

I think Japanese actors are having better time than the English actors. For the playgoers' point of view is different between two countries. I often hear the English people say, '0, I am tired and feel dull. Let's go to the theatre to-night.' They go to the theatre for refreshing. The Japanese would say, '0, I don't feel well enough to go to the theatre today.' They go to the theatre as their hard work all day, and they have the tendency to prefer seeing the same play over and over again than to see new plays, for they can criticise the same acts by the different actors.

I must say some English people in pits and galleries are hard workers. Certainly it is not merely pleasure-seeking for them to stand three, five or even ten hours at the entrance. And they are generally keener critic on the acts. To me the pits are the best seats in the theatre. The distance is more comfortable than the stalls which are too near the stage. By the way, we had a small theatre in my village and I remember those corners where the English 'boxes' stand, were prepared as seats for the police to watch the auditors. No earnest playgoers in Japan

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would go to such awkward seats where you cannot see almost

Before concluding this article, I want to say a little about the English sage. Before concluding this about the Stage Sceneries. People often say the English sceneries are conventional. Of community and the stage Sceneries are conventional. the Stage Scenerics. I soprate are conventional. Of course the reality while those of Japanese are conventional. Of course the reality while those of Japanese are most essential conventional. reality while those of our set in Japan are most essential convention sceneries for 'No' acts in Japan are most essential convention. of which I shall write some other time. Now about those sceneries for the ordinary Japanese dramas I must say they are primitive and not conventional. For they are meant to be real Only the lack of the scientific luxuries failed to bring them out

as they were meant to be.

When I was in Japan there was not a single artist who could paint the stage sceneries in the Western style. All were in the old Japanese style. 'Hills' were painted with the black ink on 'Trees' were made from sticks and poles on yellow papers. which the real leaves and branches were nailed. paper pasted on a round wood and hanged in the air was supposed to be the moon. Old playgoers were quite contented with them, but young students began to be unsatisfied. Now I hear they are introducing the sceneries of the Western style by Japanese artists. But I have little confidence in them at present You may still remember that Anglo-Japanese Exhibition at Shepherd's Bush! O, how hideous and how disgusting were those panoramic views of 'the four seasons in Japan' done by some Japanese artists. They were the very worst parts of that Exhibition. If the artists could not paint any better, I rather wished they had done it in that primitive style.

It is almost useless to say the English stage sceneries are far progressed in the reality. And above all, you have the advantage of introducing the expert electricians. Such as Prof. Reinhardt's productions are the great triumph of its art. However, I am not always satisfied with the English stage sceneries. Some times they are vulgar rather than real, and sometimes they are hideous beyond words. Here I have no space to give you my criticism on each scenery I have seen. But one thing I must mention, that is about the utter ignorance of the astronomy of the English stage. Sometimes I see the curve of the crescent in the opposite way. And O, those 'stars'! painters put them profusely and indiscriminately and make them twinkle too make them twinkle too much altogether. You may paint the pebbles on the sea-shore in any paint the pebbles of the sea-shore in any paint the s the sea-shore, in any way as you like. But the stars should be in order according to in order according to the Astronomy. Even the school children know where should be know where should be the prominent stars such as the Venus, Mercury Juniter Mercury, Jupiter, polar star, or the Great Bear. I don't under stand how the English stand how the English playgoers could bear such ridiculous gai.

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es are dvan-Reinvever, Someey are ou my must my on escent cenery them. les on uld be ildren Venus, undericulous sceneries. I myself always get quite sick of them. It is the unforgivable fault, and far worse than to make mistake on such as architectures or engineers. For we are dwelling under only one sky. To me, those Astronomical errors are just as absurd as to see portraits with two mouths, three noses or one eye. If you call that 'Reality' I rather go back to those primitive Japanese sceneries which are far more comfortable to my eye.

YOSHIO MARKINO.

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THE FUTURE OF SARAWAK

Thou Who of Thy Free Grace Didst Build Up This Brittannick Empire To a Glorious And Enviable Height, With All Her Daughter Ilands Abovt Her, Stay Vs in This Felicitie.—MILTON.

In the East personal rule is the condition of all government, but good government needs a good ruler. People with limited experience of the East are apt to regard unbridled despotism as the form of personal government best adapted to the Asiatic mind. Those who penetrate deeper into the soul of Asia hold another view. Unbiassed native opinion concerning matters relating to the country in which they live is invaluable to the ruler whose work is to endure. Akbar acted on this principle and made an empire: Aurungzib rejected counsel and destroyed an empire.

For seventy years two white Rajahs have governed the State of Sarawak by taking into their confidence their Malay and Dayak subjects. The inhabitants have been consulted on all questions affecting their country; and, carried by enlightened personal rule along the path of progress, Sarawak has travelled quite as fast as Western countries seething in the fierce turnol of democracy and acting on the time-dishonoured system of counting noses to find a Government. The Malay is a proud person; not pushful. He is not always clamouring for rights airing grievances, or asserting himself. Offended, he is difficult to appease; insulted, he is revengeful, implacable, dangerous.

Next to Australia and to New Guinea Borneo is the largest island in the world. The stretch of territory in the North of Borneo called Sarawak has been raised from the Stone Age to one of tranquil prosperity in the space of seven decades. The man built the foundations; his nephew raised the edifice. Was is happy in that it has no history. At all events, so little attention has the building of Sarawak attracted in Britain that not one in a hundred people knows where it is, or whether it is not one in a hundred people knows where it is, or whether it is an island or on the mainland. Many people believe it to be an island or on the mainland. Many people believe it to be a British Colony. It is included in 'Whitaker's Almanack' under the heading of 'Imperial Dominions,' though Sarawak If foreign and independent State as regards internal affairs.

Majesty's Government is expressly debarred by treaty from interference with the internal administration of Sarawak, except by the establishment of British Consular officers, who shall receive exequaturs in the name of the Government of Sarawak.' British Consuls in Sarawak are also entitled to hoist the British flag over their residences and public offices; and British subjects, commerce, and shipping enjoy the same rights, privileges, and advantages as the subjects, commerce, and shipping of the most-favoured nation.

The Agreement signed by the Marquis of Salisbury and Rajah Brooke in 1888 placed the foreign relations of the State under the Protectorate of the Queen of England. The relations between the State of Sarawak and all foreign States are conducted by his Majesty's Ministers; but with that exception and a point relating to the right of succession, to which reference will be made later on, Sarawak, so far as regards internal affairs, is as independent as Portugal, which, under certain contingencies,

is also a Protectorate of Great Britain.

Independence in the administration of the country is a point of paramount importance, because Rajah Brooke is eighty-three years of age, and signs are not wanting that the Colonial Office is once more 'on the pounce.' Now that Sir Charles Aitcheson is dead, Sir William Lee Warner is, perhaps, the highest authority living on the subject of native States. He affirms that: 'Communities whose rulers ordinarily exercise any, even the smallest degree of internal Sovereign authority, are classified in India as native States, and excluded from the territories subject to the King's law.'

'Once a native State always a native State' is a maxim that has almost obtained force of law. The independence of Sarawak is essential to the well-being of its inhabitants, because personal rule of the right kind is inconsistent with the red tape of bureaucracy, with political jobbery, or with the sordid ambitions

of cosmopolitan money-makers.

Rajah Brooke left school at the age of twelve. Entering the Royal Navy, he remained for ten years, and, after obtaining his lieutenancy, received from the Admiralty in 1852 the grant of two years' leave. He then went to Sarawak to join his uncle, the first Rajah. He had gained from ten years' service affoat knowledge of how to obey orders, learned the importance of discipline, and the art of managing men. For ten years Rajah Brooke did not sleep in a bed. His life in Sarawak, in building the State, was one continuous series of concentrated effort, first to conceive and then to establish policies required for the well-being of the natives. As the resources of Sarawak were jealously husbanded, prosperity set in. No wealth was taken out of the

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In the story of Sarawak one is reminded of Froude's country. In the story of House of Russell: 'The inhabitants remarks on Cheneys and the House of Russell: 'The inhabitants of Cheneys live under authority. The voice of the Russells has of Cheneys live under advantage of the emancipator—the hand has been the hand of the ruling noble.'

If solid work well done for mankind be a title to honourable remembrance the Brookes may rank with the Russells.

Had the Government of Sarawak been changed every five years, and had a succession of archangels of varying tempera. ments and different tastes been appointed as governors, it is impossible that Sarawak under archangelic red tape could have reached the state of harmonious well-being at which it has arrived under the rule of a lieutenant (late) R.N. Continuity of purpose is essential to the attainment of great results. To give a free hand to the politicians of Downing Street, who are responsible for the muddle in Ireland, over the destinies of the natives of Sarawak, would be like opening the doors of the cages in the Zoological Gardens to enable the leopards and the lions to arrange their differences with the gazelles and the wapitis, as the carnivores deemed best in their own interests.

Continuity of policy in Sarawak, among other things, means continuity of residence by the ruler as well as personal govern-The reason that impelled the framers of the Bulgarian Constitution to provide that their Prince—now their Tsar-shall reside permanently in the Principality also dictates the rule that the Rajah of Sarawak shall not be a frequent, and never a prolonged, absentee from his State. The Princes of the native States of India are rightly frowned at by the Suzerain Power when they prolong their sojourn in the playground of Europe beyond the period required for recreation or repose. As Sarawak was not built up by the vexatious methods of bureaucratic detail its prosperity cannot be maintained by the decrees of a politician sitting in Downing Street, who has obtained his position, not by close study of government of tropical peoples, but from the inheritance of wealth or from proficiency in the arts of the platform.

The State of Sarawak was built by two resident personalities. If Sarawak is to endure in the state in which Rajah Brooke will leave it, a third personality is indispensable as resident Rajah. An absentee Rajah and an adroit party politician at the Colonial Office is a combination that must play havoc with the interests of Daniel Combination that must play havoc with the interests of Dayak and Malay: it would destroy the results of seventy years' hard work.

In considering the future of Sarawak we must remember the relative value of the four interests concerned. When public affairs are transacted believed to the country affairs are transacted believed to the country of affairs are transacted behind closed doors—especially in a country pd

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without a Second or Revising Chamber—public affairs are quickly converted into the private affairs of the people who transact The four interests referred to, placed in the order of their importance, are, first, the inhabitants of Sarawak; second, the Brooke dynasty; third, the Colonial Office; fourth, the people of England. Hitherto, the question has perhaps been discussed too much as though the welfare and the future of Sarawak alone concerned the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Rajah's heir and their respective friends. It is time to enter a protest against the assumption that the Secretary of State for the Colonies may upset the edifice, founded and built by the first Rajah Brooke and his nephew, without vigorous public protest.

The interests of the natives of Sarawak are of greater importance than the interests of the Brooke family. It is for English public opinion to see that justice is done. The deepest anxiety is felt throughout Sarawak as to the destiny of the State

when Rajah Brooke ceases to reign.

By no means the least of the services rendered by the Earl Grey of 1855 was his recommendation to the first Rajah of Sarawak to establish the 'Supreme Council' or General Council. This body is composed of the Rajah and two of the English senior officers, with four native chiefs of Sarawak proper. also a Council Negri, composed of the chiefs of the various districts under the rule of the Rajah. Through the Council Negri the genial and enlightened despotism of the Rajah is adjusted to the genius of the people. The progress and development of Sarawak have been slow. The process resembles the growth of an oak rather than the stroke of a democratic steam-hammer. culture is the mainstay of every Asiatic country, and the production of food for a long time was the main industry. demand for rubber, however, has tempted many cultivators in Sarawak to replace rice with plantations of rubber trees. Consequently food is imported to redress the balance. The number of young rubber trees in Sarawak is already enormous.

In the Annual Report (1911) of the Treasury and the Post, Customs, and Shipping Department of Sarawak, only 51,324 dollars are credited to the State Revenue under the head of 'Miscellaneous,' which includes the proceeds of licences to tap the Government rubber trees. The future yield from Sarawak rubber will reach high figures, and the prospect of wealth pouring

into the country is practically assured.

The leading characteristic of the Malay of every class, as with most of us, is a disinclination to work. He is never cold, and need never starve. Tapping rubber is easier and more profitable than growing rice; therefore, rubber is partially

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replacing rice, and the presence of a dominant personality as replacing rice, and the past in the future than the past in order Rajah is more necessary in the future than the past in order than the constant of Sarawak from the constant of the constant Rajah is more necessary to Sarawak from the consequences to protect the Malays of Sarawak from the consequences of their own acts. Thirty years ago land had little value in To-day tempting prices are offered by the Western Borneo. To-day temperate a capitalists to the Malay rubber-grower if only land transfer to Non-Malays were facilitated by the Raj; and Radical manipula. Non-Malays were manipulation of the finances of India and of Ireland forbids the hope that any superfluous delicacy will characterise the dealings of Down. ing Street with the State of Sarawak. The process of transfer from Malays to Non-Malays of their holdings in land in Perakis referred to by Mr. Oliver Marks, the British Resident in Malaya, in his report on Perak for 1911. At the end of the year Malays held 541 holdings less than in 1910. The accumulation of land in too few hands, as Mr. R. E. Prothero, M.V.O., has pointed out in his recent work on English Farming Past and Present, is one great cause of trouble in this country of which we are now reaping the results. Human nature is the same all the world over. If you replace landowning peasants by urban cosmopolitan syndicates, whether the peasants are English, French, Russian, Malay, or Dayak, the result is the same-you create the raw material of revolution; more especially if you give modern

education to Orientals with empty stomachs. Rajah Brooke stands for private property in land and a peasant proprietary. The Colonial Office, under the guidance of its political chief, apparently regards landowners as vermin to be exterminated, and the transfer of land from private owners to elected bodies, or even to Semitic syndicates, as a system preferable to that of private property in land.

The Malays are an impulsive people. Sir Frank Swettenham (than whom there is no better authority) says that they are guided more by their hearts than by their heads. The behesis and the injunctions of a Secretary of State who is separated from Sarawak by the shoulder of the world would leave them cold, but they would go to the death for their own Rajah and obey him blindly. In their code to do otherwise would be treason. This fidelity is a characteristic that the Malays share with the best type of dog. Of one dog it is recorded that being ordered by his master to watch a basket of stones on the seashore, he was overtaken by the tide and was drowned at his post. epitaph on this dog was 'He died doing his duty. He knew no better. He was better. He was only a dog.' The Radical Government that does not understand the does not understand Ulster does not understand the Malay. The chivalry the tweet chivalry, the trust, the pride, the fidelity of the Malay require the personal rule of a good resident Rajah.

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THE BROOKE DYNASTY

Mr. Alleyne Ireland, whose work on the 'Far Eastern Tropics' is one of the best descriptions of Sarawak and the Brooke rule yet published, writes me as follows:

The Rajah has, naturally, incurred the enmity of a good many people, from the steady policy he adopted, and to which he has always adhered, of refusing to regard the exploitation of his dominions in the interests of commerce as being consistent with the happiness and welfare of his people.

Rajah Brooke in his own dominions is a great man; to Downing Street he is merely a counter in the great party game. His sons are also counters. In dealing with Downing Street at this juncture Rajah Brooke is omnipotent if he only knew it, but in verbal fence he is a child in the hands of Mr. Harcourt and his expert advisers. In this country we think too much in compartments. At first blush there is nothing to connect the Brooke Dynasty and personal rule in Sarawak with the cost of the Insurance Act or the increase of the wages of the bluejackets. His Majesty's Government, however, are on the alert for new sources of revenue, and, if rumour speaks truly, they have marked down Sarawak and the Brooke Dynasty as a source of future revenue. With the differences of the Brooke family the public is not concerned, except so far as those differences affect the welfare of the inhabitants of Sarawak. Rajah Brooke has publicly announced his intention of forming an Advisory Committee in London for the purpose of securing a continuity of the Brooke policy in Sarawak. What Rajah Brooke sets up, his successor might destroy with one stroke of a pen. The reigning Rajah may make what decrees seem good to him, but unless his decrees are confirmed by his Heir their existence might be contemporaneous with his life.

The three sons of Rajah Brooke are able men. The Rajah Muda has been trained for administration. The second son, the Tuan Muda, is impregnated with the traditions of his family, and is capable of rendering great service to his brother and the State of Sarawak when the time comes for a change of rulers. The same may be said of the third son. Still, a day may come when the reigning Rajah of Sarawak may be a fool, a voluptuary, or an absentee. The only person to guard against the contingency of these dangers is the Rajah himself, who is now in England. The will of Peter the Great and the will of Napoleon, whether genuine or apocryphal, have had a vast effect on human affairs. The will of the Rajah must affect for centuries the people

If the Brooke Dynasty is to continue, and the inhabitants of Sarawak are to be protected from the ambitious capitalists

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with cosmopolitan minds, it is essential that Rajah Brooke shall and the shall are shall and the shall are shall and the shall are with cosmopolitan minds, execute and publish to the world a political will and testament, execute and publish to the world a political will and testament, execute and publish to the world a political will and testament, execute and publish to the setting forth the conditions under which future Rajahs of

The first Rajah made a will which is binding on his successor. In that will is the following clause:

I, James Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak of Burrator in the County of Devon I, James Brooke, Italy of James Brooke, Italy of Devon give devise and bequeath all that my sovereignty of Sarawak aforesaid and all the rights and privileges whatsoever thereto belonging unto my nepher all the rights and privileges whatsoever thereto belonging unto my nepher Charles Johnson Brooke the Tuan Muda of Sarawak son of the Reverend Francis Charles Johnson and the heirs male of his body lawfully issuing and in default of such issue unto my Nephew Stuart Johnson another son of the said Francis Charles Johnson and the heirs male of his body lawfully issuing and in default of such issue I give devise and bequeath the said sovereignty and rights and privileges unto Her Majesty the Queen of England her heirs and assigns for ever and I appoint Miss Angela Georgina Burdett-Coutts of Stratton Street Piccadilly and Thomas Fairbairn of the City of Manchester Esquire and John Abel Smith of Chester Square in the

County of Middlesex Esquire M.P. Trustees of this my Will to see the

purposes aforesaid carried into effect.

Since the first Rajah by his will devised and bequeathed the Sovereignty Rights and Privileges of Sarawak to his successor under such conditions as he thought fit, it is equally competent for the reigning Rajah to make his own provisions for maintaining the continuity of his policy. The three sons of the Rajah are competent and intelligent men who, if ready and willing to defend their country and its people, would naturally be the persons upon whom that duty would fall. The climate of Sarawak being equatorial is trying, especially to English ladies. But if the Rajah's younger sons were entrusted with definite duties the brothers might, if necessary, procure continuity of policy by changing places for the time being with their elder brother when he succeeds to the Raj, thus avoiding the dangers of absenteeism.

The Rajah's three sons are recognised by the people of Sarawak as the Heir apparent and the Heirs presumptive. No one can gainsay the proposition that a weak despot able to parcel out the country to company promoters irrespective of the people's rights would inflict a deadly wound on Sarawak. It would be well the training to company promoters irrespectively be well the training to company promoters irrespectively. would be well that the younger brothers of the Rajah Muda should be be been should be be be been should be be been should be be be be been should be be be been shoul should be known and acknowledged in England under their Sarawak titles. Sarawak titles, in order that their hereditary rights regarding Sarawak should be clearly understood by the public. Garawak add to the security of the country if the championship of Sarawak interests were cornical interests were carried on by men with hereditary right to speak up for their country. up for their country.

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THE COLONIAL OFFICE

In assessing the value of a British Administrator Lord Cromer attributes 75 per cent. to character and 25 per cent. to brains. In assessing the value of the political side of the Colonial Office it would be safe to credit the administration with 75 per cent. of brains. The percentage of character is an unknown quantity. No Government Department is to be trusted in the sense that Rajah Brooke is to be trusted. For that reason the appointment of a Sarawak Council in London, composed of men capable of handling the Colonial Office with firmness and knowledge, and enjoying the confidence of the public, is one essential condition for the future safety of Sarawak. dealings of the Colonial Office with the Federated Malay States, with Trinidad, and with Jamaica make it highly undesirable that Downing Street should finger Sarawak on its own terms. The only barrier against the exploitation of Sarawak is an enlightened public opinion in support of the reigning Rajah. The Colonial Office fears two things, and two only—i.e. questions in Parliament and discussions in the Press. The Secretary of State has not hitherto interfered with the future of Sarawak. The future of Sarawak rests with the builder, whose character and record command respect, and will receive the support of everyone in this country whose support is worth having.

ARNOLD WHITE.

Postscript.—Since the above was in print, I have had the advantage of conferring with those who are best qualified to know the views of the Rajah himself.

So far as the treatment of Sarawak is concerned after the death of the present Rajah, the position is simply this—that what the Rajah is now doing is by way of caution. Of the intentions of the Colonial Office—or even whether Sarawak has ever occupied their thoughts or their time at all-nothing is officially known; but why this question requires caution, and the rights of the people of Sarawak require to be guarded in the future, is because (as we see in the British and Dutch possessions around Sarawak, in the Malay States, in British North Borneo, Sambas, etc., and now in the surroundings of Brunei) the great source of revenue is the land, and that land belongs to the inhabitants. This is the real danger, which must be guarded against in time and not too late; and if the question be closely examined, one can easily find cases now in the East where the natives have been deprived of their land most unjustly, and—poor things—can they ever find a friend in high places who can give them any real satisfaction in the way of justice or recompense for injustice which will injure

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them and their descendants for ever—the loss of their inheritance? them and their descendants. Are their complaints ever heard, or their rights considered, with Are their complaints over the European companies step in with the view to just treatment, when European companies step in with the Government with funds, and to supply capital to supply the Government with funds, and to supply share. capital to supply the dovot half to supply share. holders with what they seek—a dividend? No. 'Let the stricken holders with what they seek—a dividend? No. 'Let the stricken holders with what they seek—a dividend? No. 'Let the stricken holders with what they seek—a dividend? No. 'Let the stricken holders with what they seek—a dividend? No. 'Let the stricken holders with what they seek—a dividend? No. 'Let the stricken holders with what they seek—a dividend? No. 'Let the stricken holders with what they seek—a dividend? No. 'Let the stricken holders with what they seek—a dividend? No. 'Let the stricken holders with what they seek—a dividend? No. 'Let the stricken holders with what they seek—a dividend? No. 'Let the stricken holders with what they seek—a dividend? No. 'Let the stricken holders with what they seek whether they are the seek whether they are they are the seek whether they are they are the seek whether they are the seek whether they are the seek whether they are they are the seek whether the seek whether they are the seek whether the seek whether they are the seek whether the seek whether they are the seek whether they are the seek whether they are the seek whether the seek whether the seek whether they are the seek whether the seek whethe deer go weep, the hart unwounded play.' These are the points deer go weep, and to be placed on a footier to be placed on a deer go weep, the hat require adjustment, and to be placed on a footing of security while yet there is time.

In regard to the future of Sarawak, one point of the compassion guides all companies, and also, unfortunately, through the power ful influence of the capitalists, leads the Colonial Office and Governments to a great degree at the present time—it is money money—money—the curse of man's moral sense and existence, The sale of such lands to foreigners is a mercenary transaction,

and not worthy of a highly civilised Government.

These are the clogs-les pierres d'achoppement-that the

Rajah foresees as inimical to Sarawak's future safety.

The Sarawak Administration does not wish to blame anyonefrom the Secretary of State downwards-but the evil is present. The natives' protests are invariably put on the shelf, and the blind eye of bureaucracy turned to them, while the other eye, that sees and glitters with the vision of pence in the pocket, looks to the City men. They are eagerly listened to, and land sold wholesale, as was done in South and East Africa. Was it not this which led to the resignation of Sir Charles Eliot?

The capitalist is the monarch that rules the world. It may again be repeated, that is the reason for caution in Sarawak's future. We see the examples before us taking place almost every day; and naturally the Singapore or Straits Government would like to haul Sarawak in, and put her under the same category as other protected States in the Eastern Archipelago.

The Dreadnought that is to be so generously given to the British Government will be principally paid for out of rubber estates planted on the lands of the native inhabitants.

ARNOLD WHITE.

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THE LISTENER SPEAKS

THE last half-century has opened new horizons. Take the prehistoric past: sixty years since all that we needed to know, or could know, was it not revealed? Then came Darwin. Nobody under middle age can realise the altered outlook. For one thing, we are at liberty to admit the facts. Some storied windows have suffered, and the inrush of clean sunlight is bewildering. Ascertained truths teem in upon us by the thousand; fresh material, the output of new sciences; old lore known for a century past to nurse and surgeon, who had not recognised its drift; and, best of all, the rediscovered lifework of neglected worthies, such as Mendel, who wrought and died in the shadow. It all fits in. The ever-growing mass of it overwhelms. It is vain to call a halt, but will nobody co-ordinate the facts, even provisionally?

Our pre-human, or semi-human, or proto-human ancestor of the dim, red dawn, what was his outward seeming? Almost anything is possible except that primal pair of well-tubbed Caucasian youths in a thornless, rainless garden. Not quite anything—we never flew until A.D. 1910; but it seems evident that we swam and breathed as fishes breathe; for the looped arteries of our necks imply gills. Later we went upon all fours; the erect posture still tries the plantar ligaments, and certain parts of our venous system have a difficulty in accommodating themselves to its exigencies: hence we get flat-foot, varicose veins, &c. We had tails in that distant past; we have them still antenatally. In recent times, geologically speaking, we were covered with fur from head to foot; each of us is still so clothed up to the sixth month of his intra-uterine life. At some period of our family history when the perambulator was not, our mothers expected us to cling to them as they swung from bough to bough: an obligation which has left memories, as anyone will admit who has watched a ten-minute-old baby grapple to a walking-stick and swing clear of the coverlet self-sustained. Evidences of queer vicissitudes in our past confuse us by their abundance. Students of human anatomy point to nearly seventy Vestigial survivals of organs, muscles, membranes, and whatnot,

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human ear, examine its shaping, hair-growths, and movements, we may find ourselves led to unexpected conclusions.

The outer rim, which is rolled like the collar of a coat, shows a whitish, gristly thickening at one point of its incurved margin. When Darwin suggested that this might be the last vestige of a pointed ear-tip, he was 'unmercifully laughed at' (his words to the writer). Yet twenty years later the suggestion—it had been no more—had gained general acceptance, though unsupported by any attesting fact. The last few weeks of the great man's life were cheered by an interesting discovery. It was pointed out to him that the ears of some new-born infants were covered with hairs. It was further noticed that these hairs have a determinate direction, or grain, that instead of radiating from the edge of the ear like a fringe, or pursuing one another around its circumference like the sloping teeth of a ratchet, they are thickest upon the back of the ear, and all start with the same general direction, but presently divide into two streams, one of which makes for the rim of the upper half of the ear, the other for the lower. This lower stream of hairs, however, presently executes a countermarch, turning abruptly upon itself, converging upon the upper stream, and both come curving over the rolled edge of the ear as though endowed with intelligence and seeking something; and it is at 'Darwin's Point' that the two streams meet, and where in well-marked cases they entwine in a tuft of longer and darker hairs which may project as much as a quarter of an inch from either side of the head. Remember, I am describing the ear of a baby of a week; by the month's end most, or all, of its characteristic growth will have been shed. These hairs formed the attesting fact so long awaited, and as such the Father of Evolution joyfully hailed them; for if this gristly nodule were not an atrophied ear-tip, why should they make for it? But if his identification were correct both phenomena would be explicable, and the hair-growth recognisably a survival in man of one of those black ear-tufts which are believed to form the signalling apparatus of so many animals (lynxes, antelopes, squirrels, &c.).

Obviously in the wilds silence is of the first importance to both hunter and hunted. The tigress drawing up to her point, and the mother hare aware of a footfall, convey their knowledge to the cubs, or leverets, behind them not by growls or squeals, which would advertise their presence, but by the motions of ears, the backs of which are conspicuously marked with somewhat similar patterns of black, white, and russet. know of other animals leads us to assume that our ancestor used his ears for this purpose. Nor does the clue break here; this is no cul-de-sac but an avenue which widens as we advance.

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Questions press forward for solution, and the answers are already Questions press for ward out that a signalling apparatus in sight. Thus, it will be pointed out that a signalling apparatus in sight. Thus, it will be properties apparatus must be conspicuous, which the human ear is not, and we shall must be conspicuous. must be conspicuous, which is the ancestral organ having been erect and be asked for evidence of the ancestral organ having been erect and prominent.

minent.

Let us first deal with the testimony telling against these the state of th assumptions. It is chiefly negative. History is silent: the pictured walls of Nineveh and Karnak give no support to the theory. The classic faun is too elusive a witness. No anthropoid ape has an ear which is mobile, or prominent, or pointed, or which carries a tuft, deficiencies which would be germane if it could be shown that the line of human ascent has come through the apes. It is practically certain that it did not. They have degraded from a higher plane, have gone down as we have gone up. A gorilla is most human when a baby, man is most ape-like in infancy. That man and the anthropoids had a common ancestor with an erect and pointed ear is probable. though we should hardly have suspected it from theirs. To judge from appearances the external ear was a dwindling feature in the time of this common ancestor, and since the stocks parted diminution (degradation, in the jargon of science) has gone farther in the simian than in the human ear. We are consider ing an organ peculiarly apt to degrade. Probably from partial disuse the ears of many domestic animals tend to lop or droop (dogs, rabbits, asses, goats, swine, &c.). The erect ear of the cat is a suggestive exception; puss hunts by night and does not accept our help.

Leaving the negative evidence let us get back to our thesis and see where it lands us. We are compelled to believe that this erect ear, primarily an acoustic organ, but pointed and tufted for signalling, sat high upon the head, and was larger in proportion than is ours to-day. It is evident that such a feature could get no shelter from overhanging tresses, as do the ears of savages and some apes (those of the gorilla and the gibbon are embedded in thick fur). A prominent ear must have carried its own coat or gone wet and cold. (Animals detest wet ears.) Does not the hair upon the back of the baby ear suggest that the ancestral human ear had such a covering? It implies more An ear sitting close to the head, as does ours, and as do the hairless correct hairless ears of apes and gibbons, needs no special coat of its own, and if it own last and if it ever had one would have tended to have lost it. As to diminished size. diminished size, the foldings and crumplings of the feature, as to which there to which there is much variability, in themselves suggest shripting, age, as do the present age, as do the present positions of the 'point' and its tuft; that it was anciently of the point' and its tuft; the it was anciently of much larger extent is indicated by diverted distortion of the lines of hair-growths upon the back, diverted Dec.

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by the contractions of the surface upon which they grow. May we not concede, provisionally at all events, a leaf-shaped, prominent ear, a semaphore, in short? But such an organ must have had mobility, a thesis supported by a mass of evidence. The human ear is still partially mobile. Most of us have friends who can move their ears—the accomplishment is ungraceful, it is useless, there is no record of its ever having been cultivated or admired, yet it persists, and is far too general to rank as an abnormal freak. As a matter of fact the faculty rests upon a secure physical basis: the external ear of each of us, whether moveable or not, is supplied with a considerable area of muscle lying around and behind it. There are also two sets of small muscles in the conch itself. These last are almost obsolete, for whilst many can move, and some can erect their ears, very few can vibrate their tips. (One such case has been recorded.) A fourth muscle persists around the orifice of the internal ear. aurist tells the writer of slight, involuntary movements of this little-known, unnamed sphincter which add to his difficulties when diagnosing. This last points us a very long way back; far beyond our tree-dwelling ancestor we may descry a semiaquatic creature, with some such automatic valve for closing the ear when diving as is possessed by the otter. We may liken this to a flint arrowhead among the denarii, it throws our portrait out of shape.

Am I leaning too trustfully upon minutiæ? When one sees a narrow, triangular slip of black silk stitched to the back of a Breton's jacket from the collar down, does not one know that the man's grandfather wore the queue? And when one finds an organ without power of movement, furnished with three or four sets of useless muscles, what inferences as to the past of that organ must one draw?

Let us sum up. The testimony is not merely cumulative, but mutually supporting. There is evidence of a definite phase in our past history, during which our forefather, a hairy, treehaunting quadruped, had developed a large, prominent, pointed ear set high upon the head, an ear which could be erected, laid and shaken at need, an organ which was covered with hair, and bore a black, spirally-twisted tuft at its tip. This feature must have been no mere ornament, but of vital importance, or why should our constitution still preserve its memory and make blind efforts to reproduce it? Æons must have elapsed since its function ceased. During countless generations no baby has pulled through the troubles of infancy by virtue of a tuft, nor is it conceivable that any of our race since pliocene days has won a fight, or a wife, by wagging or twitching his ears. No record exists, I believe, of any savage or civilised people admiring these

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peculiarities in their children or 'breeding for points.' peculiarities in their characteristics. The next question is, under what circumphenomena persist. The next question is, under what circumphenomena persist. phenomena persist. The best phenomena persist. The best phenomena persist. The phenomena persist. The best phenomena persist phenomena persist phenomena persist. The best phenomena persist phe stances came we to part an answer we must interrogate eye and sense-organs? To get an answer we must interrogate eye and

At the inner angle of our eyes is the last vestige of the nictitating membrane, an arrangement for protecting from the glare of the sun a retina more sensitive to daylight than is our to-day. This indication of nocturnal habits is borne out by the tendency of young babies to sleep all day and crow half the night; nature at that stage reminds them of their forest homes and bids them be up and about. Fear of the dark, of 'bears,' will come four years later, an impulse due less to the tree than to the cave. Thus in his own person, ante- or post-natally, does each one of us live through the experiences of the race!

What testimony has the nose to offer? At the back of our faces is a large cavity lavishly supplied with nerves, the seat of the olfactory apparatus, now, and for a long time past, of comparatively small importance though essential for tasting: machinery which has almost survived its uses, and bulks out of proportion to its present value. Many of the lower animals constantly appeal to the nose for warning or information: it is more useful than the eye to them; but no living race of savages relies upon the sense of smell in war or the chase, nor is there any record of such use in the past. We have here a survival, for we are no longer so constituted that we can believe that man's large and complicated sense-organ was created by rote, or developed in imitation of the lower animals, or to enable him to distinguish burgundy from hock, or a violet from a rose. In its present state this cavity is of dubious advantage to many of us; it is the breeding-ground of adenoids, catarrh, &c. Here is marvellous machinery which we see our fellow animals employ. but which we have almost lost the art of using. It must, one thinks, be assumed that delicacy of nostril was once a matter of life and death to our ante-human ancestor as it is to hosts of creatures to-day.

If this be so, the concurrent testimonies of eye, ear, and nose not are beautiful. point us back to a nocturnal quadruped peering short-sightedly and interrogating every tainted twig and flake of bark with his pointed muzzle, his great flexible, ever-moving ears meanwhile guaranteeing his safety. Racial advance was impossible along

¹ To be able to recall the history and to give its right value to every passing of must have been of parameters and to give its right value to every passing of the new parameters. scent must have been of paramount importance to us in our past. Odours still appeal to our memories and emotions. appeal to our memories and emotions; the register is there, and is writed up, but we don't use it: 'tis as superfluous as is a reference library to at illiterate.

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these lines. The creature had specialised to its limit as a lemuroid: a heritage awaited him—upon conditions: he must descend from his branch, hunt by day, develop his eyes and hind limbs. In what form necessity appealed to him we can but surmise. We can see that while one of his cousin-races hung back (as the Gepid 'bided behind,' when the Goth marched upon Rome) and deteriorated into the Madagascan aye-aye, our father took the first step, he came down from his tree.

Once upon the ground, and in daylight, the comparative values of his senses shifted: eyes were trumps: the nose gives no warning of a wheeling eagle: he began to detect silent and scentless enemies from afar. His eyes which had been microscopes became telescopes, but asked for a clear field. Finding his prone posture a drawback, and that herbage blocked his outlook, he began to lift his forequarters and then to go erect, not commercing with the skies as yet, but for the same reason that whip at the covert-corner rises in his stirrups to view the fox away. But a nose habitually carried 5 feet from the ground lost 50 per cent. of its sense impressions, and grew careless and inaccurate. As it diminished in importance the muzzle shortened. Meanwhile the neglected ear was growing comparatively untrustworthy; the muscles for erecting it were weakening, its conch drooped, curled upon itself and shrank. The far-piercing eyes were growing discriminating, receptive: the brain behind them enlarged in response to novel needs. Fresh impressions had to be stored: the cranium rose leaving the ears below it. The fore limbs, liberated by the new erect attitude, armed themselves with staff and stone. The teeth ceased to be weapons, and diminished in size. The jaw shortened and weakened, its enfeebled muscles relaxed their pressure upon the cranium, permitting the brain to broaden. The mouth no longer went to its food, the food was brought to the mouth, and the head, released from sordid duties, was held continually erect, and became more and more the watch-tower of the sentinel eyes.

Step by step, with long pauses and periods of almost imperceptible progression, the transition was effected from a nocturnal, purblind, wide-eared, spider-armed, snuffling, timorous, quadrumanous tree-dweller to the up-standing Pithecanthropus erectus, the lowest form of humanity of which we have any fossil evidence at present. This way, at least, the phenomena seem to point. Piece by piece the evidence steps forth and attests. The distance traversed seems prodigious, but the result was still in doubt. Homo sapiens was yet afar. Pithecanthropus, though a fellow of magnificent legs and massive jaw, was all to seek in the matter of forehead. In this respect he was better furnished than any known ape, if worse than any recorded savage. Such as he

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was he was a marvellous achievement for evolution. We can was he was a marvened what circumstances dimly descry the successive steps, but under what circumstances dimly descry the successive steps, but under what circumstances dimly descry the successive start with something they were taken we shall never know. We start with something nobler they lower than a lemur, we attain to something nobler than an ape An arboreal animal would never have left the trees whilst there An arboreal annual there was forest to hold him. One surmises that from physical was forest to hold him. I and a continuous formation of the land a continuo changes in the surface of the land a continuous forest-area was broken up, and scattered remnants of high timber were isolated by dryer areas whereon the trees stood too sparsely to provide a continuous overhead road. In such conditions a variety of species would be produced; the ancestral form, confined to limited patches of forest, would dwindle and degrade. There would be competing races less and less arboreal in habit, which, as the country grew more open, would tend to become ground-dwelling bipeds of approximately upright carriage. It may have been from one of these forms that the existing anthropoid ages broke away back, as opportunities of resuming a strictly forest life occurred at the eastern and western edges of the area occupied by the proto-human form. These retrogressions may have taken place somewhat late in the ascent. The strata in which the oldest human, or semi-human, remains have been found give colour to the idea of a drying-up country succeeding forest. The fossil remains of the Javan Pithecanthropus were associated with those of the African elephant and Pangolin, creatures long extinct in the East Indies, and associated to-day with small timber and an open, park-like country interspersed with patches of veldt, South African conditions, in a word, where an animal must be prepared to travel far for water. The next ascent registered by fossils is the Nuremberg Man, hulking and heavy-jawed, with limited powers of speech, if the chin is rightly interpreted. All that we know of him is that he met his death in a sandy waste country into which anthropoid apes do not venture; by his time the transition must have been effected, our ancestor had definitely broken with his past.

Behold, then, our palimpsest, conjecturally deciphered, pieced together, letter by letter, word by word. Lines may have failed here and there, but the story recommences and may be carried through after a sort. One makes sense of it. We lift dazed eyes from the perusal, thinking of our far-away sire as of that payments. of that pawn we once saw a Master mark with a collar of thread:
'T will mate a collar of thread: 'I will mate you, sir, with this.' He did. We threw knights, rooks, hishans rooks, bishops, aye Royalty Herself against that pawn, vainty.

As by enchantment As by enchantment he plodded across the board square by square, miraculously improved the product of the produc miraculously immune, touched base, 'Mate in five moves, if you please!' So, for some please!' So, for some purpose inscrutable, the Master of Life seems to have singled seems to have singled out from his brute children (and among

them were beasts stately and huge and terrible to see) one that was meanly aspected, skulking, blinking, and small, 'Behold your future master . . . Do your worst!' Since then has not the Lord God in very sooth pushed His creature across the waste places of His world? Stern-faced angels, Hunger and Fear, paced behind the wanderer, warning him on from this and from that green resting-place along dwindling vistas of little centuries, while unnamed constellations changed above him and unsailed oceans deepened and dried. One muses with shaken heart upon those long years of the right hand of the Most High, as to which History lays her hand upon her mouth, and the voice of Legend is as the pipe of the wind beneath the stars. Long was the march and many fell by the way, many hung back to stagnate in the low-browed bestialities of wood-devil, ogre and troll, the Manof-the-rocks (bogey of Teuton nurseries), hideous autochthonoi of the Upper Nile, whose mis-shapen, steatopygic nudity amazed Old Egypt, yes, and the recently extinct Tasmanian of our fathers.' days, and the Bushmen and forest dwarfs of our own. The head of the column pushed on, touched its goal-Manhood; the beast has become human.

H. M. WALLIS (Ashton Hilliers).

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CROMWELL AT DROGHEDA:

A REPLY TO MR. J. B. WILLIAMS

In the September number of this Review Mr. J. B. Williams alleges that he brings 'fresh' light on Cromwell at Drogheda, This episode in the career of the Protector is among the best known, for the evidence relating to it has been carefully examined by many investigators. Now, it is always possible that the discovery of a contemporary memoir or of a series of letters at the time may modify judgment upon an event in the past. Tocqueville's magnum opus upon L'Ancien Régime reversed the views of men, by his use of the cahiers and other documents. upon the state of France in the years immediately preceding the revolution of 1789. So much material, however, has been published in the last twenty years that it is difficult to repeat the feat of the French historian. In Irish history it is more possible than in the story of most other countries to reverse traditional views, for there have been few investigators at first hand in an almost virgin field. When we enumerate the names of W. E. H. Lecky, C. Litton Falkiner, Dr. J. P. Mahaffy, Mr. R. Bagwell, and Mr. R. Dunlop we have practically given the whole list of workers at later Irish history. We therefore turned to the article of Mr. Williams with the earnest hope that he had really given additional information on the siege of Drogheda, but that hope has been falsified. The writer uses no new evidence, and, like so many other authors on Irish matters, proceeds to abuse Oliver Cromwell, his biographer, Thomas Carlyle, and his historian C. D. C. T. historian, S. R. Gardiner. When we saw the evidence was not new way are a see if new we re-read the article with the utmost care in order to see if the work of Cromwell was interpreted from a novel point of view, but here too. but here too we were disappointed. Indeed, our most serious charge against M charge against Mr. Williams is that he fails to elucidate the facts of the city. facts of the situation in 1649. Historical details of the siege of Drogheda are well all the siege of the sie Drogheda are valuable, but we desire to have a background for them. Narrative them. Narrative without this background seems trivial, worthy of serious attained to have a background seems trivial, who doings worthy of serious attention. Mr. Williams isolates the doings of Cromwell from what is the doings and the doings are the doings and the company of the doings are the doings and the company and the company are the doings and the company are the doings are the doings and the company are the company and the company are the company and the company are of Cromwell from what happened in Ireland before 1649, and ams

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In order to comprehend the meaning of events, it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that until the Second Civil War in 1648 no one thought of cutting off the King's head. The Second Civil War altered the course of affairs not only in England but also in Ireland. In May 1648 Lord Inchiquin and the Protestants of the South of Ireland expressed their horror at the suggestion of the King's execution and forsook their obedience to Parliament. In January 1649 the Duke of Ormonde completed the work begun by Lord Inchiquin. Ormonde was the greatest nobleman in Ireland, and Macaulay justly described him as 'the most illustrious of the cavaliers of the great Civil War.' Blindly as Thomas Carlyle worshipped Cromwell, yet he perceived the 'distinguished integrity, patience, activity, and talent' of the chief supporter of the Royal cause in Ireland; and Lord Morley regards him as 'one of the most admirably steadfast, patient, clear-sighted, and honourable men in the list of British statesmen.' The leading feature of his character and policy is the unswerving loyalty which permeated every fibre of his nature. In spite of the harsh treatment his family had received from James the First, he ardently served James's son. Heavy as was his heart at the death of his beloved son, Lord Ossory, it was yet with perfect sincerity that he could say, in reply to the condolences of an acquaintance, that 'since he could bear the death of his great and good master, Charles the First, he could bear anything.' His high sense of loyalty led him to negotiate with the Anglo-Irish Royalists and the Confederated Roman Catholics in a league against the supporters of the Parliamentary cause. The Papal Nuncio in Ireland, Rinuccini, opposed the new combination, but his opposition was fruitless. The freedom and equality promised to the Roman Catholic religion, the independence promised to the Irish Parliament, attracted many supporters to Ormonde's standard. Some of the Duke's family belonged to the faith of the majority, and he himself was exceedingly tolerant. The policy of the Irish Lords Justices had alienated many of the gentry, and, with the significant exception of religion, their attitude during the Rebellion of 1641 would correspond with that of their descendants who extorted the independence of the Parliament of Ireland in 1782. The parish priests rallied their flocks to the support of the representative of the King.

Twice during the seventeenth century Ireland was prosperous, and each period of prosperity was signalised by an outbreak of rebellion against England. To an Englishman Ireland

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seemed to support the tyranny of the Stuarts at home and to Bourbons abroad. In 1641 she rebelled seemed to support the system and that of the Bourbons abroad. In 1641 she rebelled, and that of the Bourbons down to the landing of Crommits aid that of the Doubles continued her rebellion down to the landing of Cromwell. In continued her repelled, and for two years furthered the European the Fourteenth and hindered those of Tropean plans of Louis the Fourteenth and hindered those of William the Third. During the former period Strafford had encouraged the linen manufacture and the industry of the country, and it During the latter period Ormonde himself pursued the same policy with the same results. Strafford and Ormonde developed the industrial resources of the land they ruled, and in each case the development meant danger to England. The English realised that they must avert such a risk, and the plain way seemed to be the systematic depression of industrial Ireland, if her interests in any wise conflicted with those of the mother country. Charles the First used the daughter country as a means of promoting the system of 'Thorough,' and James the Second imitated his father's example. As Strafford is to Charles the First, so is Tyrconnel to James the Second. These general considerations help us to understand the attitude of the Puritans when they impeached the despotic Viceroy in 1641. The charge that moved them most deeply was the belief that Strafford had threatened to employ his Irish army against Englishmen. As a matter of fact, part of this army proceeded to England, and the skirmishes of Nantwich and Northwich demonstrated the possibilities of the scheme.

Oliver Cromwell thought the struggle national. That the Puritan movement should be checked by either the Irish or the Scots was a thought that he could not bear. Ormonde stood for the Royalist cause in Ireland, while Scotland proclaimed Charles the Second. 'Your old enemies,' Cromwell informed the officers of the army, 'are again uniting against you.' It seemed to him that in Dublin all parties were uniting 'to root out the English interest there and set up the Prince of Wales.' He burst into a passion when he saw the cause he had so much at heart hindered by the Particularism of the day. The Clarke Papers, so admirably edited by Professor C. H. Firth, shed much light on the state of his mind. Cromwell dislikes the idea of throwing the Constitution into the melting-pot, and with much insight shows the inevitable results.

And if so [he demands], what do you think the consequence of that all be? Would it not be seen a good think the consequence of the last the confusion! would be? Would it not be confusion? Would it not be utter confusion!
Would it not make England it. Would it not make England like Switzerland, one country against another, as one canton of the Switzerland, one country against would as one canton of the Swiss is against another? And if so, what would that produce but an absolute 1 that produce but an absolute desolation—an absolute desolation to the nation? One great means of bringing about this absolute desolation

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was the disaffection in Ireland and Scotland. On this matter the Clarke Papers are of the utmost value.

And truly, this is really believed [maintains the Protector], if we do not endeavour to make good our interest there [i.e. in Ireland], and that timely, we shall not only have (as I said before) our interest rooted out there, but they will in a very short time be able to land forces in England and to put us to trouble here. I confess I have had these thoughts with myself that perhaps may be carnal and foolish. I had rather be overrun with a cavalierish interest than a Scotch interest, than an Irish interest; and I think of all this is most dangerous. If they shall be able to carry on their work they will make this the most miserable people in the earth, for all the world knows their barbarism—not of any religion, almost any of them, but in a manner as bad as Papists—and you see how considerable therein they are at this time. Truly it is come thus far that the quarrel is brought to this state that we can hardly return unto that tyranny that formerly we were under the yoke of, which through the mercy of God hath been lately broken, but we must be at the same time subject to the kingdom of Scotland, or the kingdom of Ireland, for the bringing in of the King. Now it should awaken all Englishmen, who are perhaps willing he should have come in upon an accommodation, but see now that he must come from Ireland or Scotland.

It is quite obvious that at least one Englishman was awake to the fact that Ireland was attempting to dominate England, and it is equally clear that he would never tolerate the attempt. Was another Stuart to be seated upon the throne by Irishmen or Scotsmen, and was the cause of liberty therefore to be undone? If the army remained faithful to him this could never happen.

There is more cause [he remarks] of danger from disunion amongst ourselves than by anything from our enemies. . . . I am confident we doing our duty and waiting upon the Lord, we shall find He will be as a wall of brass round about us, till we have finished that work that He has for us to do.

Nationally, then, Cromwell resented the outbreak of the Second Civil War in Ireland. Moreover, he dreaded the power of the Pope, for he perceived its might in the sword and pike of the Roman Catholic in Ireland and on the Continent. The allegiance Roman Catholics owed the Pope proved a determining cause of the strong attempts made to keep them in political subjection. No doubt the colonists wanted to seize the estates of these unfortunate men, but the correspondence of their governors demonstrates that purely religious motives played little or no part in the repressive policy. Cardinal Richelieu assisted the Irish rebels in 1641, and his premature death, from their point of view, dealt a serious blow to the conspirators. The French

in the Franciscan MSS. in the Sixteenth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission (Cd. 2867). On March 4, 1642, Edmond Duier, at Avignon, wrote to Luke

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monarch was the trusted ally of these men, the French monarch catholic: therefore by an easy process of remonarch was the trusted monarch was a Roman Catholic; therefore by an easy process of reasoning was a Roman Catholic was their was a Roman Catholic, the Cardinal Pamphili, the Papal Secretary Political Pamphilis, the Papal Secretary Political Pamphilis P enemy. In 1646 Cardinal Pamphili, the Papal Secretary of

The Holy See never can by any positive act approve of the civil allege. The Holy See never can a heretical prince. . . . It had been the one ance of Catholic subjects to a heretical prince. . . . It had been the one stant and uninterrupted practice of the Holy See never to allow its ministers stant and uninterrupted practice of Catholic subjects for the stant and uninterrupted public edict of Catholic subjects for the defence to make or consent to any public edict of Catholic subjects for the defence of the Crown and person of a heretical prince.2

The recent treatment, too, of the Huguenots by Cardinal Richelieu convinced the Puritans that a war of extermination was to be waged against Protestants everywhere. Huguenot, a native of the Vaudois, a Protestant, wherever he lived, was a friend, and a Roman Catholic must inevitably be an enemy.

The dominant feeling of the seventeenth century was that the gravest heresy of the Roman Catholic Church was the claim it put forth on behalf of the Papacy to hold a political supremacy over all princes and potentates. Its erroneous doctrines, its corrupt practices were but as dust in the balance compared with its claim to use the deposing power. If the reader scans any pamphlet of those days he is sure, before he turns over many leaves, to see a reference to the Pope or his supporter, the great Cardinal Bellarmine. The Puritans had been trained to look upon the Pope as the head of an alien jurisdiction menacing the real independence of the country. There was, moreover, opportunity for men to hear such views. The 5th of November furnished to the clergy a suitable occasion for inveighing against

Wadding at Rome: 'He (the Nuntius) told me that Richelieu would permit underhand to sould be a light of the second to sould be a second underhand to send help to our country (i.e. Ireland); also that there is present need to send man thith need to send men thither, and that he wrote to that effect to F. (Barberin). On April 1 1642 Decimal of England April 1, 1642, Duier wrote again to Wadding: 'The Ambassador of England sought to hinder the departure of our captains by referring they were to go help the rebels; but the Cardinal took no notice of his speech.' On October 17, 1642, Matthew O'Hartegan wrote to Wadding: 'The Capucin father, who came thither among other agents, took carether Energy Capucin with him, and went thither among other agents, took another French Capucin with him, and west both where the Lord Candinal of The Capucin with him, and west both where the Lord Candinal of The Capucin with him proceedings both where the Lord Cardinal of Richelieu was, for to prevent the proceedings of my negotiations and sounds of of my negotiations and sought for succour for Ireland and told the letters gent to his Eminence and the King. to his Eminence and the King were delivered to the Secretaries of State. What they asked (as the Trishman toll) they asked (as the Irishman tells me) was but like an alms: the matter of four five thousand pounds' mouth so small a or five thousand pounds' worth of ammunition, which was thought so small a thought so sma State, who should give them content. To such a shameful period our negotiation is brought, with such a strange like the stran is brought, with such a strange disparagement of our country his name, begins such a poor matter: where such a poor matter; where, as I am told, men thought I should have an equipast for twenty thousand men. I must have patience.' I sought for Richelest letters in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Paris, but so far, even though I had the kind assistance of M. Hanotaux, I have been unable to find them.

2 Carte, Life of Ormond, vol. i p. 578 Dec.

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Papal interference in the life of the State. Sober political philosophers dreaded the power of Rome almost as much as did the people. Filmer opens his Patriarcha with an elaborate attack upon Bellarmine's position. Even Hobbes devotes a whole book of The Leviathan to the 'Kingdom of Darkness,' signifying thereby the Roman Catholic Church. It was not to be borne by a Puritan, especially by one of the character of Cromwell, that a Church should exist as a political body, claiming universal empire, and dissolving the bonds of national allegiance. He applied two parts of the famous sneer of Voltaire against the Holy Roman Empire, for he affirmed that its holiness was at all events doubtful, and that it could by no means pretend to be an empire. Not for nothing had he imbibed the spirit of Henry the Second. He saw the spirit of Thomas Becket in the followers of Ignatius Loyola, for no men defended the political power of the Papacy more ably than the Jesuits. Andrewes and Bramhall, Taylor and Jackson denounced in their pulpits what they believed to be the evils and dishonesty of Jesuitry, but it was not from a doctrinal standpoint. No English Pascal declaims against their casuistry as does every line of the Lettres écrites à un Provincial. But they set out the Jesuits as objects of public scorn, as traitors against the nation, seeking to hamper its free life. Filmer, in his Preface to The Anarchy of a Mixed Monarchy, informs us that 'the main, and indeed the only, point of Popery is the alienating and withdrawing of subjects from their obedience to their Prince. The evidence is cumulative in showing it to be the common conviction that since Popery involved a belief in the deposing power it was necessarily a disloyal doctrine.' 3

On national and theological grounds Oliver Cromwell had strong reason for executing reprisals upon the Irish. To these weighty grounds was added the desire to avenge his countrymen slaughtered during the rebellion of 1641. The massacres at Portadown and at Shrule Bridge, for example, aroused English public feeling to an intense degree. The depositions of these massacres are preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, and we cite from the thirty-two volumes of manuscripts the sworn testimony of Elizabeth Price of the former place ⁴:

But as to this deponent's five children [she witnesses], and about forty more, these were sent away with passes from the said Sir Phelim (O'Neill),

the Penal Laws; and unless we grasp it, these laws appear as an absolutely tyrannical code, having no other ground than religious bigotry pure and simple; whereas, in point of fact, mere theological antipathies were of little effect as compared with political apprehensions in producing the severities of the penal code.

Watson, Henry Brereton, and William Aldrich. Two exaggerated accounts of

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together with about threescore and fifteen more Protestants . Who would be safely conveyed and sent over to their the safely conveyed and sent over to their their terms of the safely conveyed and sent over to their terms of the safely conveyed and sent over to their terms of the safely conveyed and sent over to their terms of the safely conveyed and sent over to the safely conveyed and sent over the safely con together with about threescore and sent over to their inequal promised they would be safely conveyed and sent over to their inequal their commander or conductor for that purpose all promised they would be safely in England; their commander or conductor for that purpose in England; their commander or conductor for that purpose in England; their friends Captain Manus O'Cane; and his soldiers having broad in England; their commander.

. . . by name Captain Manus O'Cane; and his soldiers having brought, or like sheep or beasts to a market place, those poor poor not be a second or like sheep or beasts to a market place, those poor not be a second or like sheep or beasts to a market place, those poor not be a second or like sheep or beasts to a market place, those poor not be a second or like sheep or beasts to a market place, those poor not be a second or like sheep or beasts to a market place, those poor not be a second or like sheep or beasts to a market place, those poor not be a second or like sheep or beasts to a market place, those poor not be a second or like sheep or beasts to a market place, those poor not be a second or like sheep or beasts to a market place, those poor not be a second or like sheep or beasts to a market place, those poor not be a second or like sheep or beasts to a market place, those poor not be a second or like sheep or beasts to a market place, those poor not be a second or like sheep or beasts to a market place, those poor not be a second or like sheep or beasts to a market place and the second or like sheep or like s rather driven like sheep or beasts to a market place, those poor prisoner, bundred and fifteen, to the bridge of Portadown rather driven like sneep of better, to the bridge of Portadown, the said being about one hundred and fifteen, to the bridge of Portadown, the said being about one hundred and there forced and drove all those are said being about one numered and there forced and drove all those prisonen captain and rebels then and there forced and drove all those prisonen captain and rebels then and there forced and drove all those prisonen captain and rebeis then and deponent's five children, by name Adam, John and amongst them this deponent's five children, by name Adam, John and Tane Price, off the bridge into the water and the state of the bridge into the bridge into the state of the bridge int Anne, Mary, and Jane Price, off the bridge into the water, and then and most barbarously drowned the most of the Anne, Mary, and Jane 1 then and then an those that could swim and came to the shore they knocked on the head and so after drowned them, or else shot them to death in the water. And one of them was a Scottish minister, swimming below the bridge, to or her one of them was a School the rebels pursued so far, and then are the school to t shot him to death. And as for this deponent and many others that were stayed behind, divers tortures were used upon them, to make them conless their hidden monies and means, and many were murdered after they had confessed all their means left to them, and this deponent and others were often affrighted with a block and a hatchet, which, to put them more in fear, was always left near them as engines of death; and this deponent for her own part was thrice hanged up to confess to money, and afterwards let down, and had the soles of her feet fried and burnt at the fire, and was often scourged and whipped; and she and the most of the rest of the prisoners so pined and hunger starved that some of them died, and lar a week unburied, and this deponent and others that survived were forced to eat grass and weeds, and when they asked for liberty to go out and gather their sustenance it was denied, so that hunger forced them to burst open the window in their prison chamber, and to scrape and rake the weeds, moss, or anything that they could possibly take from the walk And in that or the like and worse distress they continued, and were tossed and haled from place to place, in the most miserable manner, for fourteen or fifteen months together.

Mrs. Price's deposition is typical, for it gives an adequate indication of the other depositions in the thirty-two volumes of manuscripts. Doubtless many of these are exaggerated and some untrue. There were less than a million souls living in the whole country,5 and of that number the Jesuit Cornelius O'Mahony, writing in 1645, writes exultingly that over 150,000 heretics had been killed. Of course, this estimate is absurd, but the cautious Warner estimated the number at 8000, an estimate that Lecky was inclined to endorse. The number of victims cannot, it is obvious, be estimated, but there is no doubt that several thought sand Protestants were massacred. The gravity and magnitude of these outres are described as of these outrages have of late been as absurdly minimised as they were at one time scandalously exaggerated. the very lowest estimate, they were quite numerous enough to

the massacres were to be found in Sir J. Temple's Irish Rebellion, published in 1646, and in May's History 2647

1646, and in May's History of the Parliament, published in 1647.

⁵ W. Lloyd's Common Place Book, 1709 (K 4, 10, Trinity College, 1034,102 people gives reasons for thinking that on January 10, 1695-6, there were 1,034,102 people in Ireland. in Ireland.

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Dublin). 102 people excite the liveliest alarm in an age to which the notion of a religious massacre was not unknown, though Mr. Williams ignores it. Whether these tales were true or false, their influence upon the Puritans was the same. Mr. Williams does not know the profound truth of R. L. Stevenson's aphorism, 'the actual is not the true.' 'however much some of the incidents recorded in the depositions may be inaccurate, they affected Cromwell as if they were veritable truth. Not for the first time in the annals of men have the facts of history been governed by its fictions. Of the slaughter at Drogheda Cromwell wrote:

I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon those barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future; which are the satisfactory grounds of such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret.

It was his work to avenge the slaughtered saints of God, and it would have been useless to point out that there was no proof that the soldiers at Drogheda were concerned in the massacres of 1641. They were defending an Irish town, and they were therefore hindering the cause of God—that was enough for him.

Mr. Williams quotes a great deal from the despatches of the Protector, but he nowhere refers to the fact that the man whose character he attempts to blacken believed the truth of the story that thousands, tens of thousands, of Puritans had been treacherously murdered. It is not too much to say that an Englishman of those times viewed an Irishman in the same light as an Englishman of the year 1857 looked upon a Hindoo. The Irish fugitives no doubt told the tale of their hardships, and the tale did not lose in the telling. The story ran in England that in Munster the rebels had filled a quarry with both the living and the dead, and had left all to rot together. More Protestants were massacred in 1641 than English in 1857. There are evil spirits which it is easier, as German legend tells us, to raise than to lay, and the spirit of revenge is of them. That there was no foundation for the belief that 150,000 had been massacred is beyond all doubt, but such rumours produced grave consequences. When carburetted hydrogen and air in certain proportions exist in a mine, no great harm ensues so long as they are left alone. But if a miner enters with a lighted candle an explosion at once takes place. That is what happened to Cromwell when he heard the dreadful rumours, and he went to Ireland resolved to punish the doers of these terrible deeds. Unless the effect of these rumours upon the Puritan mind is taken into account it is useless to try to understand the career of

Letter to J M. Barrie; Letters, ed. Sir Sidney Colvin, ii. 277.

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Protector in Ireland; yet Mr. Williams does not vouchsale to Protector in Ireland, you a single thought. Such a consideration give these considerations a single exception of Basing P. give these considerations a bulling the single exception of Basing House helps to explain why, with the single exception of Basing House helps to explain why, with the had been merciful in one country and merciless in another.

Cropwell is an utter brute, and here.

To Mr. Williams, Cromwell is an utter brute, and his conduction of the conduction of He asks, indeed, if history records any parallel and many parallel and unexampled. instance. History does record many parallel, and worse, in stances, and we give him one. The Thirty Years' War lasted to 1648, and we quote from Schiller one episode therein. After the capture of Magdeburg

Neither innocent childhood nor helpless old age; neither youth, set rank, nor beauty, could disarm the fury of the conquerors. Wives were abused in the arms of their husbands, daughters at the feet of their parents; and the defenceless sex exposed to the double sacrifice of virtue and life No situation, however obscure, or however sacred, escaped the rapacity of the enemy. In a single church fifty-three women were found beheaded The Croats amused themselves with throwing children into the flame. Pappenheim's Walloons with stabbing infants at the mother's breast. Some officers of the League, horror-struck at this dreadful scene, ventured to remind Tilly that he had it in his power to stop the carnage. 'Return in an hour,' was his answer,' I will see what I can do; the soldier must have some reward for his danger and toils.' These horrors lasted with unabated fury, till at last the smoke and flames proved a check to the plunderers. . . . Scarcely had the fury of the flames abated, when the Imperialists returned to renew the pillage amid the ruins and ashes of the town. Many were suffocated by the smoke; many found rich booty in the cellars, where the citizens had concealed their more valuable effects. On the 13th of May. Tilly himself appeared in the town, after the streets had been cleared of ashes and dead bodies. Horrible and revolting to humanity was the scene that presented itself. The living crawling from under the dead, children wandering about with heart-rending cries, calling for their parents; and infants still sucking the breasts of their lifeless mothers. More than 600 bodies were thrown into the Elbe to clear the streets; a much greater number The whole number of the slain was had been consumed by the flames. reckoned at not less than 30,000.7

Cromwell was thirty-two years of age when the Roman Catholic army captured the Maiden City of Germany, the vaunted bulwark of the Protestant faith. For over two days the massacre of the garrison, and of armed and unarmed citizens, lasted, and Dr. A. W. Ward concludes that 'the nameless deeds of horror committed are an armed and unarmed citizens, later who committed are only too well authenticated.'s Pappenheim, who greatly underestimated the loss of life in this sack, expressed his opinion to Maria it. opinion to Maximilian that no such awful visitation of God had been witnessed. been witnessed since the destruction of Jerusalem.

Mr. Williams assails S. R. Gardiner's account, and it is therefore right to place some facts before the reader. British 8th of November 1856 Gardiner was admitted to the British

^{&#}x27; History of the Thirty Years' War, pp. 143.4. ³ Cambridge Modern History, vol. iv. p. 202.

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Museum, and on the 1st of July 1858 to the Record Office. From that time to his death, on the 23rd of February 1902, he worked incessantly at the Puritan revolution, and he studied in the archives of the different European capitals. In the Dictionary of National Biography Professor Firth gives his verdict:

In his narrative minute accuracy and wide research was combined with sound judgment, keen insight, and a certain power of imagination.

He sought to interest his readers by his lucid exposition of facts and the justice of his reflections rather than by giving history the charms of fiction, and was content with the distinction of being the most trustworthy of nineteenth-century historians.

It is superfluous to say that this distinguished historian knows the seventeenth century as well as Gardiner himself, and therefore his testimony is peculiarly valuable. Professor Firth, Mr. Bagwell, and Mr. Dunlop have all used the original sources, and they all agree that Gardiner's version is accurate. Now the citing of names is not an argument, but it becomes one when the authorities cited have consulted the documents and papers of the period in question. In considering the details of Gardiner's narrative we are dealing with a man who spent his whole literary life on the matter, and who showed himself conspicuously open to hear the opinion of others.

When Cromwell landed in Dublin he proceeded to face the confederation organised by Ormonde. At once he perceived that Drogheda must be taken, for it commanded the road along which the Ulster Scots would advance to join Ormonde. Wellington said of Marlborough in Flanders that 'he was the government,'10 and this remark applies with justice to the Protector. He combined the powers of Lord Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief, and he had an army of twelve thousand men, well officered and well equipped. On the 2nd of August 1649 Jones surprised and defeated Ormonde at Rathmines, with the result that the latter had not enough men to face the enemy in the field. Into Drogheda he threw 'the flower of his army, both of soldiers and officers, most of them English, to the number of 3000 foot, and two or three good troops of horse, provided with all things.' This is a case where Mr. Williams's use of evidence demands attention. He rightly concludes that the garrison was largely Irish, 11 but he omits to mention that Ormonde's opinion was different. According to him, when evidence he does not like is found 'unreliable in such material points, we are at liberty to say that (it) . . . bears the stamp of falsehood on the face of

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Dict. Nat. Biog. Second Supplement, vol. ii.

Stanhope, Miscellanies, p. 102.
 Moderate Intelligence, E. 573, p. 19.
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it.' Ormonde's evidence, then, is to be rejected; yet we that he persists in using it. Thomas I was that it.' Ormonde's evidence, that he persists in using it. Thomas a Wood to our surprise, that he persists in using it. Thomas a Wood to our surprise, that the garrison was English agrees with Ormonde that the garrison was English. williams justly rejects Wood's testimony in this matter, and Williams justly receives it when it supports some details of the massacre.

The commander of the garrison was Sir Arthur Aston, and who at the commander of the garrience and who at the commander of th officer 'of great name and experience, and who at the time made little doubt of defending it against all the power of Cromwell.

The geographical position of Drogheda explains the import. ance of the town. The wide estuary of the Boyne presents an easy entrance into Ireland from the east, and the port forms the key to the strongholds of the interior. The possession of the town controlled the ancient kingdom of Meath and gave a convenient landward approach to Ulster. Moreover, it was no more than thirty miles of level country from the Metropolis. The work was urgent, and on the 3rd of September the Puritan army was before Drogheda. The efficiency of the eleven batter ing-pieces of large size was soon to become evident. Williams thinks it 'surprising to find that explosive shells were used thus early.' If he turns to Robert Norton's book The Gunner, showing the whole Practice of Artillerie, published 1628, and to Robert Ward's book Animadversions of War, published 1639, he can read careful treatises on military art. The latter is familiar with cannons of battery and the more powerful culverins used in siege trains. The mortar class included 'square murtherers,' 'petards,' 'tortles,' and 'short gunnes.' The prejectiles fired by this class consisted of 'granadoes' (or shell). stone shot up to 350 pounds in weight. Hand grenades were only a smaller kind of the ordinary 'granado' or shell. According to Ward (p. 363) the 'granado' was of two kinds, one for mortars and the other for hand use. Under the head of 'granado' Ward also mentions fire-balls and fire-pots. But in the literature of war the term 'granado' was usually used to indicate the ordinary bursting shell furnished with a fuse. At the sieges of Abbottsbury House, 12 of Westbury House, 13 and of Winchester, 4 'granadoes' were employed.

On the 9th of September the batteries began to play, and the owing down the september the batteries began to play, and the following day this letter was despatched to the Governor, Sir

SIR,—Having brought the army belonging to the Parliament of England ore this place to reduce the property of blood before this place, to reduce it to obedience, to the end effusion of blod may be prevented, I thought fit to summon you to deliver the same into my hands to their use. If this he referred my hands to their use. If this be refused, you will have no cause to blank me. I expect your answer and

¹⁴ Sprigge, Anglia Rediviva, Pp. 95, 134. ¹² Christie, Life of Shaftesbury, vol. i. ¹³ Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis, p. 93.

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No answer came, and a perusal of the Carte correspondence reveals the reason. The officers were confident that they could sustain a siege. On the 9th of September Sir Edmund Verney wrote to Ormonde of his

Great hopes and expectation that the service I am at present engaged in will receive a happy issue, and the chief ground of this confidence is the unity, right understanding, and indeed entire friendship between ourselves. Warren and Wall are my most intimate comrades, and indeed I have not in my life known more of diligence and circumspection than in these two gentlemen. . . . Their men are all in heart and courage, having still had good success in our sallies, and we do little fear what the enemy can do forcibly against us. The enemy hath no forces on the north side of the Boyne. 15

A glance at the plan will show the serious drawback of this state of affairs to the Puritans. Drogheda, like Athlone and Limerick, was divided into two parts, separated by the Boyne, and joined by a single bridge. Cromwell could not assail it on both sides and could not prevent the entrance of supplies. Acre stood between Napoleon and supremacy, and Drogheda stood between Cromwell and the triumph of his cause. On the nonreceipt of a reply from Aston he removed the white flag which waved over his quarters and substituted a red ensign. His battering pieces of large size and his mortars played vigorously upon the wall on the south side. For, like York and Chester, the besieged town possessed walled defences. Mill Mount and St. Mary's Church, behind the southern wall, assisted the work of defence, and in those days defence was easier than attack. The optimism of the garrison continued. On the 10th of September Ormonde wrote to Colonel Mark Trevor:

I have received a letter from Sir Arthur Aston intimating his great success upon the enemy on several late sallies, and that all will come to nothing if his wants of ammunition and other provisions be not suddenly supplied. I therefore desire you to furnish him immediately with all the powder, match, and lead you can spare and what other relief of provisions you can possibly procure. 16

The same day Aston wrote to Ormonde: 'At eight in the morning the summons came. . . . A very great breach near the church and I am confident these resolutions are to gain it immediately by assault.' The supplies from Colonel Trevor did not arrive, and the postscript to this letter sadly announces 'my ammunition decays apace and I cannot help it.' The two batteries playing on the south-eastern corner and the church behind it were proving effective, and by the evening of the 10th

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Carte Papers, xxv. 312 (Record Office, Dublin).
 Ibid. p. 318.

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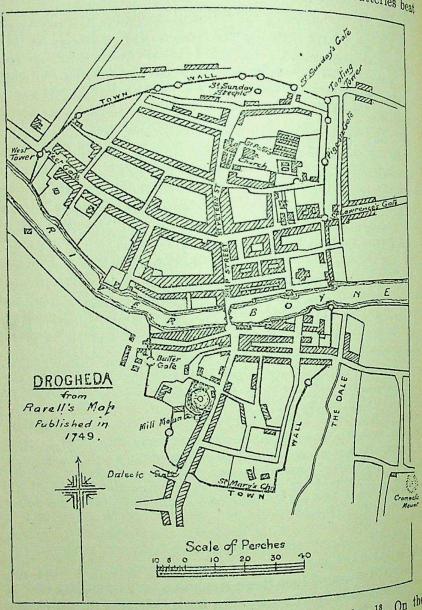
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they had demolished the steeple of St. Mary's Church, and had been been in the wall: the latter was about twenty they had demonstred the wall: the latter was about twenty feet made two breaches in the wall: the latter was about twenty feet high and from four to six feet thick. Meanwhile the enemy were high and from four to sha triple line of entrenchments from St. not idle. They raised a triple line of entrenchments from St. Mary's Church to Duleek Gate, and from the east end of this Mary's Church to batteries beat church to the town hall. The guns from the two batteries beat



down the corner tower and enlarged the breaches. 18 On the 11th of September Ormonde wrote to Prince Rupert:

Within the above (i.e. Drogheda) 2000 effective foot and about 30 reasonably well provided horse reasonably well provided considering the short time I had to furnish

Perfect Occurrences, E. 533, p. 15; The Kingdom's Faithful and Impartid Scout, E. 533, p. 16.

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it, and if I can keep but one side of the river as open as it is, it is possible he may miss that town and weaken his army before it.

The postscript, in view of Mr. Williams's contention that the town did not fall on the 11th, deserves attention: 'Cromwell shot above 200 shot of cannon at Drogheda, and I believe has by this time stormed the breach.' 19

All the early letters of the Viceroy have been optimistic, and is it unfair to say that by his pessimistic postscript he was breaking the bad news gently to Prince Rupert? This is confirmed by the fact that on the 12th of September Ormonde wrote to Owen Roe O'Neill of what had happened 'after the taking of Drogheda.' 20 In a letter dated the 15th of September the 11th is the day given for the storming. 21

At five in the afternoon of the 11th Cromwell ordered the storming of the town. The Irish always fight well behind a wall; the siege of Derry and the two sieges of Limerick in after days demonstrate this, and the present siege afforded a demonstration. 'After some hot dispute we entered, about seven or eight thousand men, the enemy disputing it very stiffly with us.' The garrison stoutly repulsed the regiments of Ewer, Hewson, and Castle, which were obliged to retreat. Then Cromwell went to the breach with a fresh reserve of Colonel Ewer's men, and the day was won.²² The breach and the triple line of entrenchments were gained after a stubborn fight. The town, however, had not fallen, for the brave Irish soldiers occupied the Millmount 'exceedingly high and strongly palisadoed.' ²³

Perhaps, as Gardiner conjectures, the prospect of the renewed struggle enraged Cromwell, for at the foot of the Millmount he ordered that all should be put to the sword. He had warned the garrison of their fate if they resisted: he had replaced his white flag by a red one. The laws of war then and long afterwards authorised him to refuse quarter when a garrison tried to defend an indefensible post. In this connexion we quote the letter written by the Duke of Wellington to Canning on the 3rd of February 1820:

I believe it has always been understood that the defenders of a fortress stormed have no claim to quarter; and the practice which prevailed during the last century of surrendering a fortress when a breach was opened in the body of the place, and the counterscarp had been blown in, was founded on this understanding. Of late years the French have availed themselves of the humanity of modern warfare, and have made a new regulation that a breach should stand one assault at least. The consequence of this regulation was to me the loss of the flower of the army in the assaults of Ciudad Rodrigo and of Badajoz. I certainly should have thought myself

Carte Papers, xxv. p. 323 (Record Office, Dublin).

²¹ Cromwelliana, p. 64. Gilbert, Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland, vol. ii. p. 271. Cf. Perfect Diurnal, E. 553, p. 17.

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justified in putting both garrisons to the sword; and if I had done so by justified in putting both garried have saved 5000 men in the assault of the first, it is probable I should have saved 5000 men in the assault of I mention this in order to show you that the practice of the second. I mention this the stands an assault is not a useless offusion of blood.24

This was the attitude of the Protector after the obstacle presented by the resistance at the Millmount. In its defenders he beheld the men who had taken part in the massacres of 1641 Despite the biblical command vengeance was his and he took it. All who 'were in arms in the town' were put to the sword. Aston with his gallant officers and men were ruthlessly cut down.25 The rest of the garrison fled across the narrow bridge, with the Ironsides hot in pursuit. They hurried up Ship Street and St. Peter's Street to St. Peter's Church and the towers 'Divers of the officers and soldiers,' reads the beside it. despatch, 'being fled over the bridge into the other part of the town, where about a hundred of them possessed St. Peter's church-steeple, some the west gate, others a strong round tower next the gate called St. Sunday's. These being summoned to yield to mercy, refused, whereupon I ordered the steeple of the St. Peter's Church to be fired, when one of them was heard to say in the midst of the flames, "God damn me, God confound me, I burn, I burn." Beside this passage we may place an extract from 'A Brief Relation of that Bloody Storm at Drogheda, in Ireland, and the Doctor's (i.e. Dean Bernard) Sufferings by Oliver Cromwell in it, and after it, with his Preservation.' 26 It runs as follows:

Not long after came Colonel Hewson, and told the Doctor he had order to blow up the steeple (which stood between the choir and the body of the church), where about threescore men were run up for refuge, but the three barrels of powder which he caused to be put under it for that end blew up only the body of the church, and the next night Hewson caused the seats of the church to be broken up, and made a great pile of them under the steeple, which firing, it took the lofts wherein five great bells hung, and from thence it flowed to the lofts wherein five great bells and from thence it flamed up to the top, and so at once men and bells and roof came all down to the roof came all down together, the most hideous sight and terrible cry 21 that ever he was witness of at once.

Perfect Occurrences informs us that 'they refusing to come down, the steeple was fired, and then fifty of them got out at the top of the church, but the enraged soldiers put them all to the sword, and thirty of them were burnt in the fire, some of them cursing and them cursing and crying out "God damn them!" and cursed their souls as the their souls as they were burning.'28 Colonel Hewson hears

Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of Arthur, pult of ellington, vol. i. p. 93. Professor Firth was good enough to give me a copy of Dean Bernard's track.

20 Gardiner omits the word to give me a copy of Dean Bernard's track. Wellington, vol. i. p. 93.

²⁷ Gardiner omits the word 'cry,' but it is in Dr. Firth's copy.

²⁸ E. 533, p. 15.

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a cry, Perfect Occurrences and Cromwell's despatch give details of it, yet Mr. Williams asks us to disbelieve the cry. They are all independent witnesses, and they agree. We are informed that 'Cromwell, who certainly shared Hewson's antipathies, watered down this statement into "One of them was heard to say 'God damn me,' &c.'' Now two men may share antipathies—which means that both were Puritans and still be able to testify correctly to what they hear. But Mr. Williams has another way of getting rid of the cry. A number of the men were 'presumably Irish, and therefore not speaking English.' It is true the majority of the men were Irish, but some of the Irish could speak English. Moreover, Ormonde's regiment had some English soldiers, and Colonel Byrne's had many such soldiers; there were therefore English-speaking men in the garrison. Our plan indicates towers near St. Peter's Church, and in these some fugitives had concealed themselves. The Kingdom's Faithful and Impartial Scout for the 5th of October says that 'some fled to the towers of the wall and others to the church, where they were all killed and taken. The Commanders were rich in money and apparel, there was in all about 3000 slain and what was found became free booty.' Walker's Perfect Occurrences for the same day contains a letter from John Hewson; it states that 'those in the towers, being about 200, did yield to the General's mercy, where most of them have their lives and be sent to the Barbadoes.' 29 'In this slaughter there was, by my observation, at least 3000 dead bodies lay in the fort and streets, whereof there could not be 150 of them of our army, for I lost more than any other regiment, and there was not sixty killed outright of my men.' 30 According to Mr. Williams the bulk of the garrison was killed in the fort and streets, not in the church. But Gardiner never said they were killed in the church. His exact words are 'A thousand were slain in or around St. Peter's Church at the top of the hill.' Let any unprejudiced reader study the plan, and he will see that St. Sunday Steeple is a hundred yards from St. Peter's Church, Tooting Tower is one hundred and fifty, and Pigeon Tower is only a hundred. These are around St. Peter's Church, and we therefore maintain that the evidence completely supports Gardiner's statement. It is to be noted that it is a statement in the sense that it sums up all the evidence that precedes it.

There is no evidence that they were sold as slaves, though their lot as servants was severe. There was no exportation of Irish slaves to Barbados. Some Irish were transported there, partly as reprieved individuals, partly under the pretext of vagabondage.

In an undated letter to the King, Ormonde reports: 'It is said that forty-five of their officers were killed and above 1000 common soldiers, some say more.' Mr. Williams does not discredit Ormonde on account of this inaccuracy.

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Cromwell and Hewson, who were present, say that the steeple or Tuesday night, the letter of the lett of St. Peter's Church was burnt on Tuesday night, the lith of St. Peter's Church was and that the towers were taken on the 12th. Mr. Williams and adduces a letter of Lord Inchigning and that the towers and adduces a letter of Lord Inchiquin, stating contradicts them, and adduces a letter of Lord Inchiquin, stating that the towers were defended till the 15th of September. When we ask on what grounds he denies the accuracy of two eye. witnesses we are given the authority of Lord Inchiquin, who was not in Drogheda when the events took place. The per was not in Diogram was in Castle Jordan, in King's County, some fifty miles from the captured town. We certainly prefer the testimony of two eyes witnesses to that of one who was not present.

The use Mr. Williams makes of his authorities puzzles us exceedingly. Indeed, we are strongly of opinion that he has no idea of the value of evidence, and that he believes anything he sees in print which suits the case he presents. He refers to Ormonde's letter to Inchiquin on the 20th of September, wherein occur the oft-quoted words 'The cruelty exercised there for five days after the town was taken would make as many several pictures of inhumanity as are to be found in the book of martyrs or in the relation of Amboyna.' To understand the historical value of this letter it is necessary to quote more of it.

Thus, my Lord [it runs], you have a confused relation such as my memory and time will give me leave to make of the successes God for our sins hath permitted the rebels to gain over us.

In the last lines of the letter this confused relation becomes apparent, for he reduces the slaughter from the five days he had allotted to it:

and of those that were killed, the better half were butchered an hour after quarter given them, and some after they were brought within the walls of the town.

From five days we come to a period of an hour. Another curious example of the method Mr. Williams employs in dealing with evidence occurs in the case of the letter of Thomas Wood:

He told them [he writes] that 3000 at least, besides women and children, were, after the assailants had taken part and afterwards all the town put to the sword on September 11 31 and 12, 1649 . . . that when they were to make ther way was a supposed to make they way and the sword on the sword of the sword on the sword of the swo to make ther way up to the lofts and galleries in the church and up to the tower where the court is the church and up to the tower where the enemy had fled, each of the assailants would take up a child and use (it) and the steps. child and use (it) as a buckler of defence when they ascended the steps to keep themselves from buckler of defence when they ascended to keep themselves from buckler of defence when they ascended to keep themselves from buckler of defence when they ascended to keep themselves from buckler of defence when they ascended to keep themselves from the control of the control of the assailants would take the steps. to keep themselves from being shot or brained. After they had killed all in the church, they want to keep themselves from being shot or brained. in the church, they went into the vaults underneath, where all the flower and choicest of the and choicest of the women and ladies had hid themselves. One of these a most handsome viscoit a most handsome virgin, kneeled down to Thomas Wood with tears and prayers to save her life. prayers to save her life; and, being stricken with a profound pity, her under his arm work with a profound pity. her under his arm, went with her out of the church, with intentions to

It is worth noticing that Wood gives the 11th as the date of the fall of town; we do not, however, placed gives the 11th as the date of the fall of the town; we do not, however, place any trust in his word.

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tions to ne fall of put her over the works to shift for herself; but a soldier, perceiving his intentions, he ran his sword up her belly . . . whereupon Mr. Wood, seeing her gasping, took away her money, jewels, &c., and flung her down over the works, &c.

Such a letter immediately strikes the trained investigator as suspicious, and when he asks a few questions he sees its worthlessness. Is it usual for mothers to allow their children in time of danger to remain in the church while they were in the vaults? Is it usual for a handsome virgin to wear jewels when the town where she lives is being assaulted by soldiers? Is it probable that Thomas Wood climbed a wall twenty feet high in order to drop a corpse over it? Moved by these considerations, Gardiner refuses to place any credence in this letter, but Mr. Williams says 'Thomas à Wood's account is too well known, and indeed too horrible to quote.' There is not a hint that the letter was a fable invented by Thomas to make his brother Anthony's flesh creep.

Mr. Williams tries many means of showing that the capture did not take place on the 11th, but the eye-witnesses are unanimous that it did. The date of the 11th is corroborated by the authoritative account given in 'A History or Brief Chronicle of the Chief Matters of the Irish Wars. With a Perfect Table or List of all the Victories obtained by the Lord General Cromwell, Governor General of Ireland, and the Parliament's Forces under his Command there. From Wednesday, the 1st of August, 1649, to the 26th of this present July, 1650. London, 1650. . . Hen: Scobel. Cleric: Parliamenti':

On September 11 Drogheda was taken by storm.

On the 12th of September his Excellency reduced the garrison of Trim. He also took Dundalk.

In the interim Colonel Venables took Carlingford, in the North of Ireland.

The Lord Lieutenant in this month of September took Killingbericke.

Took Arklow Passage, Esmond House, Castle of Ferns, Fort at Slane

Passage, Castle of Enniscorthy.

32October 1 marched to Wexford.

October 11 his Excellency took Wexford.

October 18 he reduced Ross.

This business-like list does not suggest that five days were spent in massacring the soldiers and inhabitants of the ill-fated town. Perhaps we may add that there is no good evidence that there was any slaughter of persons not in arms; but there is no doubt that some of the inhabitants had taken arms and were killed with the garrison. The priests probably fought—it was the most sensible thing for them to do—and were taken in arms or killed fighting.

toward Wexford. Cromwelliana, p. 65.

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According to Mr. Williams the term 'Drogheda quarter' became proverblat in Itotalian we ever heard of this phrase is no evidence furnished. The only occasion we ever heard of this phrase is furnished. The only constraint November 1649. It is with at the siege of Carrick-on-Suir in November 1649. It is with at the siege of Carrier sincere regret we find that no quarter was given to so gallant a sincere regret we find that no quarter was given to so gallant a sincere regret we have some soldier, for example, as Sir Edmund Verney. He and his conpanions were slain twenty-four hours after the cessation of the panions were stand panions were stand a dastardly deed. James Buck thus describes poor Verney's death:

Your brother and my dear friend Sir Edmund Verney-who behaved himself with the greatest gallantry that could be—he was slain three days after quarter was given him as he was walking with Cromwell by way of protection. One Ropier, who is brother to Lord Ropier, called him aside in a pretence to speak with him, being formerly of acquaintance, and instead of some friendly office which Sir Edmund might expect from him, he barbarously ran him through with a tuck; but I am confident to see this act once highly revenged.33

According to Mr. Williams this letter has never been transcribed by any historian, yet it appears in Lady Verney's Memoirs, to which Gardiner himself contributed an Introduction.33 In the case of Verney's death there was no excuse for Cromwell, but this lamentable incident was entirely exceptional. Cromwell did not 'revenge' it, and his attitude contrasts strongly with Major-General Ireton's at the siege of Limerick during July 1651. There about a dozen Irish soldiers were put to the sword, after quarter had been promised them. Ireton was justly angry, and as a partial reparation released a certain number of Insh prisoners. The commander, Colonel Tothill, was tried by a court of war, but in view of the evidence, no more could be done than to cashier him and his ensign. Tothill, we are glad to say, was never employed again.

Our investigation confirms the accuracy of Cromwell's despatch of the 17th of September 1649. When he did not conceal the fact that a general massacre had taken place we do not think it probable that he would alter the date when he stormed the town or when the two towers surrendered. should be sorry to call the bulletins of Napoleon trustworthy, but we have no hesitation in thus describing Cromwell's. Mr. Lomas edits with conspicuous ability his despatches contained in Thomas Carlet in Thomas Carlyle's well-known book, and her footnotes reveal the fact that charge the fact that she is dealing with an accurate authority. If Cropped well concealed the dealing with an accurate authority. well concealed the truth so much as Mr. Williams supposes

Gardiner is criticised on Mrs. Lomas is unaware of the fact. the ground that he ignores the petition of the men of Wexford,

33 Lady Verney, Memoirs, vol. i. pp. 413.4.

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cised on /exford, but his footnotes, as even Mr. Williams admits, show that he had read it and taken its worth into account. The letter of the Governor of Wexford, Colonel David Synott, to Ormonde, the 30th of September, shows the effects of the capture of Drogheda:

I find [he writes] no resolution in the townsmen to defend the town, but, to speak truth nakedly, I find and perceive them rather inclined to capitulate and take conditions of the enemy.

PS.—Their inclination to deliver it to Cromwell, apprehensive of the same usage that the town of Drogheda had. 34

If the people surrendered Wexford, Cromwell offered to protect the lives and property of the inhabitants and give quarter to the officers, and to allow the private soldiers to return to their homes on engaging never again to take arms against Parliament. The people and the garrison resisted and the town was stormed. Another massacre took place. We agree with Mr. Williams that 'to kill unarmed men, women, and children brands Cromwell as a savage, outside the pale of decent human beings.' But did he? Townsmen were killed, but they had fought against the Puritans, and their fate was the fortune of war. In the rush for boats we have no doubt that men and women were drowned, but this was accidental, not deliberate.35 Mr. Williams surely does not intend us to believe the story that three hundred women were slaughtered round the cross. It first appears in 1763—that is, 114 years after the event. No contemporary writer gives a hint of it. Above all, if women and children were deliberately killed, why does Ormonde never mention the fact? He wrote thousands of letters, and in them he gives many details of the doings of Cromwell, yet never once does he refer to the deliberate massacre of women at Wexford. Bruodinus is only a rhetorician, and he mixes up the losses by drowning with those due to the Puritan soldiery. Mr. Williams has not given a particle of evidence proving that the death of the unarmed men, women, and children was other than accidental.

Cromwell's opposition to Roman Catholicism was far more political than theological. In Dublin he associated with Father Nicholas Netterville, a Jesuit. The latter often dined at the Protector's table and played chess with him. Captain Foulkes accused him of saying Mass, and he replied, 'I am a priest, and the Lord General knows it. And tell all the town of it, and that I will say Mass here every day.' 36 To the Roman Catholic peasants Cromwell gave protection. Thus on his way to Drogheda he ordered two of his private soldiers to be put to death in the face of the whole army for stealing two hens from a poor Irish-

³⁴ Carte Papers, vol. xxv. p. 393 (Record Office, Dublin).

Gilbert, History of the City of Dublin, vol. i. p. 56.

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woman.37 Three more were condemned to die for plundering bastened to supply his army with plentiful woman. Three more supply his army with plentiful Property fact, they contributed more abundantly property. The farmers hastened to say their fellow-countrymen at their fellow-countrymen at Puritan army than to that of their fellow-countrymen and the declines of ordinary people of Puritan army man compared to the feelings of ordinary people. On the private letter discloses the feelings of ordinary people. On the private letter discloses the feelings of ordinary people. On the private letter discloses the feelings of ordinary people. private letter discloses 1122nd of September 1649 Nicholas Loftus wrote to Pieto

They [i.e. the people of Wexford] need not fear any violence of the those which they find in arms against English soldiers unless it be those which they find in arms against the for all other must not be hurt nor touched in their bodies nor their god and to this end there is now a proclamation put out here [i.e. in Dubling that on pain of death no soldier shall take from any man whatsoever to the value of one penny.39

The Earl of Castlehaven wrote to Ormonde on the 30th of September:

You may perceive by the enclosure 40 how Cromwell permits his friends to tamper with the people of the country; he is most kind unto the Last night he gave 51. in the house where he lay.41

Another Royalist supporter, Sir Lewis Dyves, wrote to the Marquis of Newcastle that he

Observed how fast (notwithstanding the admonition declared of all the [Roman Catholic] Bishops from Clonmacnoise to the contrary) the people being alienated with ravaging, and disorder of their own armies, and allured with the successes, and smooth invitations of Cromwell, ran hadlong into him for protection, and under contribution; as also, how great numbers of the Irish soldiers, some frightened with the plague, which now began to spread into the other provinces of the kingdom, and others from want of livelihood, as having neither meat, nor pay, flocked in unto the enemy.

Letters like these show the impression the Protector undoubtedly made, and compel genuine regret that the massacres of Drogheda and of Wexford have dimmed the memory of his kindly actions. From a military point of view their effects were transient, while from a political point of view they were absolutely deplorable They widened most sensibly the two races in the country, and the evils of this policy remain to the present moment. Still be could instly say 'G' justly say: 'Give us an instance of one man, since my coming into Trales ! into Ireland, not in arms, massacred, destroyed, or banished, concerning the concerning the massacre or the destruction of whom justice has not been done or endeavoured to be done.' This challenge was addressed to the addressed to the Roman Catholic clergy in 1649, and they did not attempt to not attempt to meet it.

37 Curry, Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland, vol. ii. p. 14.

38 Carte, Life of Ormond, vol. ii. p. 90.

29 Carte Papers, vol. xxv. p. 358 (Record Office, Dublin).

Cf. Perfect " Carte Papers, vol. xxv. p. 395 (Record Office, Dublin). 40 There is no enclosure. Occurrences, October 5 to 12. Cromwelliana, p. 65.

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'The great puritan, Baxter's, words in praise of Cromwell,' runs the last sentence in Mr. Williams's article, 'have often been quoted in modern times, but no one has ever cited the phrase with which Baxter qualified all that he said of Cromwell: 'He thought secrecy a virtue and dissimulation no vice, and simulation, that is, in plain English, a lie, or perfidiousness to be a tolerable fault in case of necessity.''

It is an easy matter to supply more quotations of this character. To Clarendon Cromwell was a 'brave, bad man,' though the staunch Royalist cannot help adding he was 'not a man of blood.'42 'In all his changes,' concluded the Republican Ludlow, 'he designed nothing but to advance himself.' To the Anabaptists he was a 'grand impostor,' a 'loathsome hypocrite,' and a 'sink of sin.' Writers of the eighteenth century condemned him. According to Pope he was 'damned to everlasting fame.' According to Voltaire he was half knave, half fanatic, and Hume deemed him a hypocritical fanatic. To Landor he lived a hypocrite and died a traitor. It never seemed to occur to these people that they had taken an inadequate view of his character. Could a mere hypocrite and liar influence England as he did? In 1845 Carlyle's collection of Cromwell's letters and speeches demonstrated the historian's conclusion to the world that he was 'not a man of falsehoods, but a man of truths.' He is not quite a hero and he is not almost a saint. Carlyle, says Professor Firth, 'effectually dispelled the theory of Cromwell's hypocrisy.' Is not the estimate, the result of the lifelong labours of the Regius Professor of History, with which we conclude, far more in accordance with the truth of the case than that of Mr. Williams?

Either as soldier or as statesman Cromwell was far greater than any Englishman of his time; and he was both soldier and statesman in one. We must look to Cæsar or Napoleon to find a parallel for this union of high political and military ability in one man. Cromwell was not as great a man as Cæsar or Napoleon, and he played his part on a smaller stage; but he 'bestrode the narrow world of Puritan England like a Colossus.' As a soldier he not only won great victories, but created the instrument with which he won them. Out of the military chaos which existed when the war began he organised the force which made Puritanism victorious.⁴³

ROBERT H. MURRAY.

f. Perfect

voltaire said that we could confidently believe only the evil which a party writer tells of his own side and the good which he recognises in his opponents.
Firth, Oliver Cromwell, p. 467.

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JAMES, MARQUIS OF MONTROSE

A TERCENTENARY TRIBUTE

... I desire you to lay aside prejudice, and consider me as a Christian in relation to the justice of the quarrel; as a subject, in relation to my royal master's command; and as your neighbour, in relation to the many of your lives I have preserved in battle: And be not too rash, but let me be judged by the laws of God, the laws of nature and nations, and the laws of this land. If otherwise I do here appeal from you, to the righteen Judge of the world, who one day must be your Judge and mine, and who always gives out righteous judgments.

When these words were uttered Montrose was face to face at last with a Covenanting Tribunal in the Parliament Hall of Edinburgh. Sentence of death had already been agreed upon though not formally pronounced, and none knew better than that 'excommunicated traitor, James Graham,' the futility and face of pleading in his own defence before Argyle and his faction. But if he had done with life he had not yet done with fame. He knew that his Apologia pro vita sua, though ignored by that court, would outlive him.

Hence the tone of grave counsel running through the speech. It was a covert challenge to posterity. Like St. Paul of old, Montrose was appealing from Festus to Caesar—from the heated verdict of contemporary opinion to the deliberate judgment of the future. Many victims of the scaffold have cherished the same pathetic hope of ultimate vindication: none needed it more than Montrose at that hour.

To him Fame had been more than a spur—it had been his lodestar and passion. He had 'put it to the touch to win or lose it all,' and he had apparently lost. It was but five years since he had written in the hour of triumph Finis coronat opus, and the finis was now at hand in the shape of a felon's death upon the gallows and the public exhibition of his head and limbs.

But in coronat flour.

But in some men the spark of hope is inextinguishable this side of the grave. In Montrose it manifested itself at the eleventh hour in this conviction of ultimate justification hands of posterity, and as one who 'loved the name of home more than he feared death,' it carried him confident to his end.

Looking back on the occasion of his tercentenary, may we not safely affirm that Montrose's hopes of ultimate vindication

have been made good?

Since his day there has been a fresh arraignment at the bar. Judgments have been reversed, sentences revised. Party passion has been ruled out of court, and each prominent figure in that stormy arena is judged to-day upon his own merits—not upon the merits of the cause he was led to espouse.

Montrose's case stands in special need of such discrimination, for, as the Cavalier par excellence—the prototype of those who championed the royal cause by force of arms—he has been the mark of much execration on the one hand and extravagant praise

on the other.

For the details of Montrose's meteoric career, we would refer the reader to Napier's exhaustive memorials of the great Marquis, and to the contemporary narrative of Bishop Wishart. Our object in this brief sketch is to give some idea of the man's personality, and with this end in view, certain critical and outstanding periods only of his life will be touched upon.

I

Our first glimpse of Montrose, then, has the year 1629 for its The brush of Jamesone portrays him for us as a youth of seventeen, in a rich doublet of the period, slashed with white satin; with fair hair parted and falling nearly to the collar; long and finely-chiselled features, lips characteristically together, and wide-open self-confident eyes.

The date finds him a student at St. Andrews University, an orphan; the only brother of five sisters, and the possessor of various baronies in the midlands of Scotland, including Old

Montrose, Kincardine, and Mugdock.

The breezy self-confidence of the portrait bears out what is told of the boy elsewhere. We know him to be a fine horseman, a fencer, archer, and golfer. He tries his hand occasionally at billiards, and goes hawking. He has some knowledge of Latin and the Classics, and an intimate acquaintance with the beautiful Scottish scenery in which his boyhood has been passed. He loves the open air and the open road, as his own lines bear witness:

> The misty mounts, the smoking lake, The rocks' resounding echo, The whistling winds, the woods that shake, Shall all with me sing hey-ho!

Like others of his age, he is careless and impulsive in his liberality. The shillings thrown to beggars at the door, who Watch 'my Lord's on-loupine,' and on drummers and pipers,

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hired to play him to his various destinations, are constant items

his expenditure.
In all this there are hints of the man that is to be: the 'Hero 'Regard things gallantly.' Possibly 'Regard the Beautiful Beautif In all this there are the Cavalier, who will do 'great things gallantly.' Possibly a lonely other boys, has helped to foster the Cavalier, who will do great the strain childhood, apart from other boys, has helped to foster the strain childhood, apart from other boys, has helped to foster the strain of romantic mediævalism running through his character. The heroic in history and literature appeals to him passionately. Sin Walter Raleigh's History goes with him when all other books are left behind. Plutarch's heroes challenge him to rivalry. In his copy of Lucan he compares himself in laborious strains of school-boy verse to Alexander the Great: 'My mind desires as his, and soars as he.' And not content with this, he must needs write an ode to his favourite hero, in which he makes the bold prediction:

So great attempts, heroic ventures shall Advance my fortune and renown my fall.

'The fiery ambition and unyielding purpose' that Sir Walter Scott describes as startling inferior minds at a later day was

already astir.

We see him, then, at this early stage in life-still rather and unformed—about to wed Mistress Magdalene Carnegie, daughter of the neighbouring Earl of Southesk. Doubtless Montrose's worthy curators had met in conference and settled that an early marriage would have a steadying effect upon their young and high-spirited charge, and the boy, straight from college, had acquiesced in the same light-hearted spirit in which he entered on his archery contests. But if the bold, fresh face in this wedding portrait reveals aught, it is that domesticity under the eye of his father-in-law at Kinnaird will not long content the

bridegroom.

And meanwhile, our pity goes to Mistress Magdalene, who is to know but three years of matrimonial happiness. Then follows for Montrose the 'Grand Tour,' and 'the crowded hour of glorious life ': for her, obscurity under the paternal roof. She is destined to bear no further part in her husband's triumphs or vicissitudes. Her sympathies would seem to have inclined, with her father with her father's, to the side of the Covenant, for we find her later apparently in favour with the Committee of Estates and allowed the allowed the guardianship of her youngest son. She died shortly after the battle of Philiphaugh, when Montrose's star was already on the already on the wane. A leader without a following, their pressed by his opponents, it was all he could do to escape their vigilance and attend to vigilance and attend the burial of the wife who had long been so only in name Who it was who inspired those fierce passionate lines of

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Montrose's to 'his dear and only love' we know not; but we can hardly believe it to have been the colourless, irresponsive lady, who should by rights have shared 'the empire of his heart.'

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We have seen Montrose about to depart 'in the flower and

bravery of his youth' for the Continent.

There is a portrait at Buchanan Castle painted about 1644 and attributed by some to Dobson, by others to Van Dyck, which is certainly the finest representation in existence of the Great Marquis. This depicts him at the turning-point He confronts us in armour with his head in his career. The hair, instead of being parted, as in the thrown back. wedding portrait, is cut irregularly across the forehead and hangs long on either side of the face. A light brown moustache and suggestion of imperial proclaim the full-grown man. The light in the picture falls strongly on the high-bridged nose and full chin, and on the same compressed lips that we met with in Jamesone's portrait. The complexion is fresh and that of a man in the perfection of health and vigour-indeed, the whole portrait breathes force and virility.

Saint-Serf, a devoted follower of Montrose's, provides us with a supplementary pen-portrait.

He was of middle stature [he writes] and most exquisitely proportioned limbs; his hair of a light chestnut . . . his eye most penetrating, though inclined to gray . . . As he was strong of body and limbs, so was he most agile. . . . In riding the great horse, and making use of his arms, he came short of none. . . .

As regards his bearing, we have this too from Montrose Redivivus: 'He was a man of very princely carriage and excellent address. A complete horseman, and had a singular grace in riding.'

Cardinal de Retz, in paying tribute to his foreign contemporary, describes him as 'le seul homme du monde qui m'ait jamais rappelé l'idée de certains héros que l'on ne voit plus que dans les vies de Plutarque. . . . '

Lastly, we would add the testimony of Patrick Gordon of Ruthven, partial though it be, for it proceeds from one well acquainted with his subject:

Of a stayed, grave, and solid look; . . . of speech slow, but witty and full of sense: a presence graitfull (graceful?), courtly, and so winning upon the beholder, as it seemed to claim reverence without suing for it; for he was so affable, so courteous, so benign, as seemed verily to scorn estentation and the keeping of state; and therefore he quickly made a conquest of the hearts of all his followers, so as when he list, he could have led them in a chain to have followed him with cheerfulness in all his enterprises. . . .

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These, of course, are the tributes of friends. We do by These, of course, are proposed to quote the opinions of opponents as prejudiced as the propose to quote the opinions of opponents as prejudiced as the propose to quote the optimized as the historian George Brodie, who exhibits Montrose as a monster the following criticisms passed by of depravity; but the following criticisms passed by content of depravity; but the least of it, were not partial to the great poraries who, to say the least of it, were not partial to the great Royalist throw another light upon his character.

'He was,' says Bishop Burnet, 'a young man well-learned, who had travelled, but had taken upon him the part of a hero too much, and lived as in a romance: for his whole manner was stately to affectation.' The Marquis of Hamilton corroborates this view of Montrose's character in a letter to Charles the First, written in 1638. 'None,' he says (commenting upon the Covenanting nobles) 'more vainly foolish than Montrose.'

Again, Clarendon, though not altogether inimical to Mon. trose, observes that he 'had always . . . a great contempt of the Marquis of Argyle, as he was too apt to condemn those he did not love.' The Covenanting Minister, Baillie, alludes to Montrose as one 'whose pride long ago was intolerable.'

The Grand Tour had perhaps something to do with these accusations of arrogance, for we learn from Saint-Serf that 'Montrose had made it his business whilst abroad to pick up the qualities necessary for a person of honour: . . . to render himself perfect in the Academies . . . and to improve his intel-The courtly manner, the polish acquired in foreign parts, so galling to Bishop Burnet, were not altogether displeasing to the fair sex, if we may judge from Guthrie's account of letters found later 'from ladies to him in his younger years,

flowered with Arcadian compliments.'

Such were the outward characteristics of the man who was fast achieving notoriety. On his return from the Continent in 1636, his co-operation had been sought by his fellow-peers in the promulgation of the Covenant. Rumour has it that 'pique' was at the bottom of the young man's acquiescence in this move against Charles and Episcopacy, in consequence of the cold reception accorded him by the King on his first appearing at court. From what has been said, it can readily be imagined that Montrose was not accustomed to rebuffs. He had come prepared to bestow on Charles the impetuous worship he had hitherto given to his heroes. He was too inexperienced a courtier to discert, behind the Viver behind the King's manner, the jealous policy of Hamilton, who feared a rivel and its manner. feared a rival; and it may well be that he left the court wounded in his most considerable. in his most sensitive feelings.

The flattery and solicitations of the promoters of the recorded Covenant would be balsam to his wounded pride. It is recorded that at his first arms. that at his first appearance at a Convention Yea, the Bishops

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were somewhat affrighted having that esteem of his parts that they thought it time to prepare for a storm when he engaged.' There was a good deal in the grievances of his countrymen at that time with which he would be in sympathy. He had no special liking for Laud and his Episcopalian innovations. 'Bishops,' he said later at his trial, 'I cared not for them. I never intended to advance their interest.'

He was athirst for adventure and renown. Hence the spectacle of this scion of aristocracy associating himself with the cause of democracy against all the traditions of his house, subscribing to the popular Covenant, and taking command, at the invitation of 'the Tables,' of the forces operating against loyal Huntly in the North. The incongruity of his position could not fail to strike him ere long, and it then behove him to choose between inward or outward inconsistency.

In a letter to a friend, written during this period of mental struggle-' wrestling betwixt extremities' . . . and 'not daring to make shipwreck of conscience,' as he himself describes ithe delivers himself as follows of his views on Sovereign Power. From the premise that a nation at the outset is at liberty to adopt the form of government which suits it best, he goes on to argue that having adopted monarchy, it becomes an integral part of the Constitution: not to be 'meddled with at all by subjects; who can never handle it, though never so warily, but it is thereby wounded, and the public peace disturbed.' He acknowledges that there are limitations to the King's power, but asserts on the other hand that if the Sovereign suffer his authority to be encroached upon by his subjects, the effect is seen in 'the most fierce, insatiable and insupportable tyranny in the world.' (This is no doubt an indirect reference to the all-powerful Committee of Estates which, by this time, had practically superseded Parliament and was dictating terms to the King himself.)

The course pursued by Montrose as the result of this mental struggle is best recorded by himself in his Remonstrance of 1645:

Our progress with them [i.e. the party of the Covenant] . . . was so far that we could not go further with a safe conscience, when we perceived their unlawful designs. For settling of our Religion, and the peace of our disturbed Nation, we gave way to more than was warrantable, but, having obtained what was for the benefit of the Church and Country, could not choose but . . . suffer them to deviate without us, together with the multitude misled by them. . . . And there we left them. . . .

The Pacification of Berwick marked the parting of the ways. There Charles reluctantly conceded all that the Covenant was originally framed to secure, and set its signatories and supporters free to reconsider their position.

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The choice now lay between a king with his back to the was to hold all sand The choice now lay something at a despotism that was to hold all Scotland and a kirk aiming at a despotism that was to hold all Scotland in its inexorable grip.

If we have so far read Montrose's character aright, we cannot be the temperament would sooner or let If we have so far road doubt to which side his temperament would sooner or later have

Impetuous, ambitious, he may have been—extravagant in his idealism and his hero-worship, but at least it was no pose. It needed but a losing cause and a king in extremity of need to fan that smouldering and devouring passion for heroic action into flame.

From thenceforth, as he wrote later to the younger Charles, I never had passion upon earth so strong as that to do the King,

your father, service.'

We behold him, then, in the spring of 1644, amidst the motley crowd of politicians, intriguers, and adventurers who form the Court at Oxford, awaiting his commission as lieutenant general of the royal forces in Scotland. This granted, Montrose will trouble the court no more. The venture on which he is bent is one 'very desperate for ourselves'; but it is the fulfilment of his boyhood's dreams: the proving of his mettle.

TTT

Twelve months of peril, hardly surmounted, and of heroic hazard elapse, and we view Montrose again, upon the eve of

Inverlochy, the 2nd of February 1645.

Moonlight plays over Argyle's army, encamped at the fool of Ben Nevis, over the waters of Lochs Linnhe and Lochiel, and over the snowy region of Lochaber. Argyle for once is sharing the fortunes of camp life with his followers, emboldened thereto by the intelligence that James Graham and his men are a twodays' march to the north-east, safely located at Fort Augustus. The next few days are to behold 'the rogues' crushed between Seaforth's army barring their advance and Argyle's army in their rear. A free pardon to rebels and criminals and twenty thousand pounds Scots are promised by the Committee of Estates to 'whoever will take and apprehend the said Earl of Montrocce and apprehend the said Earl of their Montrose, and exhibit him alive before the Parliament, or their Committee, or, if he should happen to be slain in the taking, shall exhibit his head.'

At this moment, high up on the glistening shoulder of Ben vis. the Complete in the shoulder of Ben vis. Nevis, the Campbells' quarry stands surveying the battlefield of the morrow. These stands surveying the battlefield of the morrow. the morrow. Those who think to catch James Graham like a trapped beast between trapped beast between converging forces, have yet to know their master in strategy.

On receiving word of the enemy's approach from both sides, the Royalist leader, without a moment's hesitation, resolved to 'discuss Argyle's army first.' As he wrote to Charles subsequently, in the buoyant strain peculiarly his own: 'I was willing to let the world see that Argyle was not the man his Highlandmen believed him to be, and that it was possible to beat him in his own highlands . . .'

Avoiding the high road down the valley, Montrose led his men over the mountain-ridges that lie between Fort Augustus and Ben Nevis, by wild, untrodden passes, known only to the deer and a few cowherds and huntsmen, and arrived with his vanguard on the heights above Inverlochy on the evening of

the following day.

'His men marched,' says Patrick Gordon, 'two days through the mountains, in great extremity of cold, want of victuals, and in necessity of all things, yet their great courage and patience did bravely sustain it.' May we not add that here, as elsewhere, the personal magnetism of their leader stood between them and disaster? It was at Tippermuir that the Irishmen and Highlanders first fought shoulder to shoulder, ill-armed, unknown to one another, and outnumbered by the enemy, but dominated by the genius and enthusiasm of their new General. Since that day, Montrose's grip held them, controlled them, and inspired them. They had the usual failings of guerilla troops. They were cruel in the hour of triumph, greedy of plunder, prone to vanish without warning and to reappear when it suited them, easily disheartened, yet as easily inflamed, and it required something more than military skill—a touch of the knight of chivalry and romance—to appeal to these primitive soldiers of childlike intellect and imagination. This Cavalier of the blue 'Whimsies' and the fiery spirit, of the quick eye and foot and the resourceful brain, was the leader for such men, and he was to prove it again and again, but never more triumphantly than on this occasion.

Of a sudden the camp below bestirs itself. The outposts have wind of the presence of the enemy; the alarm is given, and the Campbell host prepares itself for battle. Argyle, on the pretext of a dislocated shoulder, betakes himself to a ship in the bay, and, from this place of safety, looks on at the fate of his clansmen and adherents.

When Montrose [says Wishart] perceived them (the enemy) to be in a posture so quickly, he stood still a little while till his Rear, being tired with so hard a march, could come up unto his Front. It was night, but the moon shone so clearly that it was almost as light as day: All night they stood to their arms.

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It was such a pause as Shakespeare depicts before Agincount From camp to camp, through the foul womb of night, The hum of either army stilly sounds, That the fixed sentinels almost receive The secret whispers of each other's watch: Fire answers fire, and through their paly flames Each battle sees the other's umber'd face. . . .

In the grey dawn of the Sunday morning, Montrose shares a rough breakfast with Lord Airlie.

These two noblemen had no more to break their fast, before they went to battle, but a little meal mixed with cold water; which, out of a holler dish, they did pick up with their knives for want of spoons. . . . One may judge what wants the rest of the army must suffer—the most of them had not tasted a bit of bread these two days, marching over high mountains in knee-deep snow, and wading brooks and rivers up to their girdle....

The trumpeters of Montrose But their hour has come. salute the Royal Standard and announce the opening of battle, and the war-cry of the hungry Camerons: 'Come to me and I will give you flesh!' strikes with a premonitory chill upon the hearts of the Covenanting forces drawn up to receive the onslaught.

So dawns the day of Inverlochy-a day long to be remembered by the Campbell clan, who lost 1500 brave men on the

field and many captured in the final rout.

In the full flush of success, the Lieutenant-General hastens to give his Sovereign tidings of victory.

A little after the sun was up, both armies met [he writes], and the rebels fought for some time with great bravery, the prime of the Campbells giving the first onset, as men that deserved to fight in a better cause. Our men . . . did wonders, and came immediately to push of pike, and dim of sword after their first firing. The rebels . . . we pursued for nine miles together, making a great slaughter, which I would have hindered, if possible. . . . I have saved and taken prisoners several of them (gentlemen of the name of Campbell) . . . some . . . fled into the old Castle, and upon their surrounds. upon their surrender I have treated them honourably and taken their parole.

It seems only fair to lay stress on these expressions of clemency, as Montrose has not escaped the charge of cruelty. There is no doubt that at least on one occasion—that of the taking of Aband taking of Aberdeen—the Royalist troops were guilty of wanton brutality, but whether their leader could, if he would, have checked the clavely checked the slaughter of civilians in the street is a moot point.

When confront When confronted with the charge of inhumanity on the end of his execution of his execution, Montrose pointed out, with good show of reason, that soldiers are reason, that soldiers who wanted pay could not be restrained from spoil, nor was it from spoil, nor was it possible to keep them under such strict

discipline as regular troops. He might have added, in further extenuation, that, from the first, his enemies refused him the ordinary courtesies of civilised warfare. They did not scruple to fire upon his flag of truce or to murder Royalist prisoners in cold blood; and it is at least to Montrose's credit that, notwithstanding provocation, no evidence of similar retaliation on his part has come to light.

But to return to Montrose's despatch. After recording, with much feeling, the mortal wounds received in action by Sir Thomas Ogilvy, son of old Lord Airlie, the General proceeds to

give full rein to his optimism.

I am in the fairest hopes [he writes] of reducing this kingdom to your Majesty's obedience. And if the measures I have concerted with your other loyal subjects fail me not, which they hardly can, I doubt not before the end of this summer I shall be able to come to your Majesty's assistance with a brave army. . . . Only give me leave [we can almost hear the pæan of exultation ringing in the words]-only give me leave, after I have reduced the country to your Majesty's obedience, and conquered from Dan to Beersheba, to say to your Majesty then, as David's General did to his master, 'Come thou thyself, lest this country be called by my name. . . .'

IV

Inverlochy, Dundee, Auldearn, Alford, Kilsyth-one unbroken sequence of successes, and then the fatal field of Philip-

It was in attempting the impossible that Montrose met at last with defeat. It was all very well for Digby (the Micawber of the Royalist Councils) and Culpepper to write, urging the victor of Kilsyth to make all speed southwards and bring his genius and his forces to the aid of the hard-pressed King; but the fact was that Montrose's genius had done all that was humanly possible with the material at his disposal. His Highlanders and Irishmen, matchless though they were for raids, forays, desperate marches and yet more desperate charges, on their own ground and with loot in place of pay, were not the troops to take south of the Border, and they knew it, if their commander did not. Whilst Montrose still lay in the neighbourhood of Kilsyth, preparing for his march to the Border, his Highlanders quietly decamped, under pretext of depositing their booty at home and securing their families from the approach of winter. They were pledged to a speedy return, under Alastair McDonald, that doughty comrade whom Montrose had promoted Captain of the Clans, but, whether of set purpose or not, they failed their leader in his hour of need.

At this juncture Aboyne, too, 'unstable as water,' must needs betake himself home with his Gordon cavalry, leaving

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Montrose to face the hazards of a march to England with Border Montrose to face the hand scarcely more reliable than their liege.

Boxburgh and Traquair, with whom he was to levies, newly raised, and Traquair, with whom he was directed

You little imagine [wrote Sir Robert Spottiswoode from Montroet] with. The overcoming of the enemy is the least of them; he hath more with. He was forced to dismiss him more with. The overcoming friends. . . . He was forced to dismiss his High-to do with his seeming friends. . . . He was forced to dismiss his Highlanders for a season, who would needs return home. . . . Aboyne took a caprice and had away with him the greatest strength he had of horse caprice and had and, the caprice and had and the caprice and had and the caprice and had and the caprice a nothing of the kind can amaze. . . .

Three days after that letter was written, and whilst it still lay in the writer's pocket, Montrose's force was surprised by five or six thousand men under David Leslie and utterly defeated.

In that sudden 'wreck of nobly-pitched designs' we are told that the Royalist leader thought of nothing more for a space than to die honourably and not unrevenged.

And while these thoughts were in his head [says Wishart] by good han came in the Marquis Douglasse and Sir John Dalzell, with some friends (not many but faithful and gallant men) who with tears in their eyes (out of the abundance of their affection) beseech . . . him for his former achievements, for his friends' sakes, for his ancestors, for his sweet wife and children's sakes, nay for his King's . . . that he would look to the preservation of his person.

'For the King's sake . . .' We have Wishart's evidence that even at such a juncture, Montrose's optimism did not altogether fail him. He bethought him that with his own death the King's cause in Scotland must inevitably die; with his life it might yet be revived. The course before him was plain again. Putting his horse at the enemy, Montrose, with about thirty companions, cut his way through their ranks and escaped north wards. Those of his troops who were not killed in action, or in cold blood afterwards, rejoined him immediately, and with this remnant of a once invincible army the defeated leader sought the unfailing shelter of the Highland hills.

Success to a man of Montrose's temperament would seem almost essential to self-respect. Failure was not admitted not allowed for in the included allowed for in his plan of campaign. Patience was not included in his category of virtues.

That which in mean men we entitle patience,

We may say, therefore, that nothing in our hero's life ame him like his hard became him like his bearing in adversity.

We have a glimpse of him at this juncture with the Atholl country for a background. With a few faithful Ogilvys and Atholl-men about him, he tries with infinite patience and forbearance to gain the support and co-operation of old Lord Huntly. This nobleman can neither forget nor forgive the part his Royalist rival played in 1639 as leader of the Covenanting forces, and now, when he has it in his power to help his Sovereign's cause and, indirectly, to save the lives of Montrose's friends captured at Philiphaugh and awaiting execution, he sulks. All that Montrose can do to propitiate the revengeful old nobleman he does, as witness the following quotation from a letter:

I must acknowledge . . . your Lordship's favourable respects to myself, and the course you wish to be taken in business for hereafter. . . I am absolutely resolved to observe the way you propose, and in everything, upon my honour, to witness myself as your son and faithful servant. . . .

This from the King's appointed Governor of Scotland, 'and one whose pride long ago was intolerable,' is no small condescension! As news of the wholesale butchery in Glasgow reaches him, his correspondence with Huntly takes on a more passionate note of entreaty:

I hope I need not inculcate to your remembrance the danger the King and kingdom at present are in, and the misery that hangs over his, and all faithful subjects' heads. Blame me not, my lord, if I can lay the fault on none but yourself and son; first for hindering the supplies which the King sent, and next for the loss of those gallant and faithful men lately . . . butchered. . . .

It is indeed a desperate plight in which the King's Governor finds himself. The grave has just closed over his wife; his eldest surviving son is a prisoner in the enemy's hands; and his revered friend and relative, Lord Napier, is dying as the result of hardships sustained during the flight from Philiphaugh. The King's condition cries for help, yet Huntly remains obdurate, and Seaforth and the northern chiefs, taking their cue from him, beguile the precious moments with specious promises. Plan after plan, conceived in the busy brain of the Royalist leader, is thwarted in execution and brought to nought by the apathy of these false friends.

It says much for Montrose's self-control that we find in the letters and records of this period few traces of the exasperation natural to a man of his vehement temperament. On the contrary, though urged to avenge the wholesale execution of the Philiphaugh victims upon his own prisoners at Blair, he refuses; maintaining that 'the faith passed unto them was a most sacred thing . . . to be kept inviolate.' History depicts

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him for us reasoning with Huntly; formulating plans; blind to murmurs; unwearied and undaunted. him for us reasoning with the control obstacles, deaf to murmurs; unwearied and undaunted; giving obstacles, deaf to murmurs; the forebodings that must weigh the control of the forebodings that must be control of the forebodings that must weigh the control of the no hint outwardly of the forebodings that must weigh the more big mind for their repression.

Montrose [says Wishart], being busic about his designe, on the law of May there came unto him a herald with commands from the King:

May there came unto him a horses [so runs the fateful missive] and of You must disband your forces [so runs the fateful missive] and so you shall have my further directions. 'You must dispand your there my further directions. This at first into France, where you shall have my further directions. This at first into France, where you shall have my further directions. This at first into France, where you shall have my further directions. may justly startle you; but I assure you that if, for the present, I should not do so much, and that you all should may justly startle you, said not do so much, and that you shall always offer to do more for you I could not do so much, and that you shall always find me your most assured, constant, real and faithful friend, Charles R.

These commands are the death-warrant of Royalist endeavour in Scotland, and they draw from the King's champion a reluctant acquiescence.

'As for present disbanding,' he writes, '... I am in all humility to render obedience: as never having had, nor having anything earthly before my eyes, but your Majesty's service . . .'

And so closes that venture, 'very desperate for ourselves,' on which great issues were staked and lost. And the adventurer? Outlawed, ruined, exiled-what has he for his pains? But one thing, beyond the power of Covenanting confiscation or recall: the renown he coveted.

One more glimpse and the last.

The crowds of Edinburgh are out on this May evening of the year 1650 to assist at the final stage of the Royalist's career -his public entry into the city where his doom awaits him.

It is known vaguely by the populace that the once notorious Cavalier, James Graham, late Marquis of Montrose, landed recently in Caithness with troops from foreign parts, and met with a prompt and crushing defeat at Corbiesdale, at the hands of a Covenanting force under David Leslie. It is reported that he was found wounded and half starved, by MacLeod of Assynt, some days after the battle, in so pitiable a plight that he had eaten a portion of his leather glove. His captor delivered him over to the army of the Covenanting Estates on payment of four hundred bolls of meal.

So much is common knowledge, but the why and wherefore James Graham, of James Graham's coming is an enigma to the populace.

Rumour has it that the prisoner quotes his Majesty's hority for his attacked 2 authority for his attempted invasion of the Highlands, and bear his commission as G his commission as Governor of Scotland and Commander in Chief of his Majorta, and Commander in the Chief of his Majorta, and Chief o Chief of his Majesty's forces in this country. How this is the reconciled with the be reconciled with the news of the negotiations between his 1)

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him. otorious Majesty and the Scottish Commissioners, initiated as far back as the month of January, and now brought to a successful conclusion by the Treaty of Breda, does not trouble the populace.

Theirs is to be the spectacle to-day of a strange reversal of

the fortune of war.

Already the country of Auldearn and Alford has beheld its former conqueror led southwards as a captive, mounted on a wretched pony with a saddle made of rags and straw, and with his feet tied below the girth with ropes. Now he is come to the end of the Canongate, under the Nether Bow, where the Edinburgh magistrates and the hangman with his cart await

In this vehicle, upon a chair, the prisoner is placed with his arms firmly bound to his sides, so that he may prove a passive target for the stones of the expectant populace. But at sight

of the prisoner the crowds are otherwise moved.

M. de Graymont, French Resident in Edinburgh, in reporting the scene to Cardinal Mazarin, says:

Regarding the spectators on either side of him with a majestic air . . . his (Montrose's) countenance bore witness that he gloried in his sufferings. ... We may say of him 'deliberata morte ferocior.' Few were there present that did not sympathise; or who forbore to express, by their murmurs, how their hearts were touched by the nobility of his bearing amid such a complication of miseries!

One more insult—the most odious to the prisoner's feelings must be faced before the shelter of the Tolbooth is reached. The procession is made to halt before the Earl of Moray's house, that Argyle may contemplate from the safe vantage-ground of a balcony the foe he dared not face on the field of battle. the words of an eye-witness: 'He, Montrose, suspecting the business, turned his face towards them' (Warriston and the Chancellor being also of the party) 'whereupon they presently crept in at the windows.' Though it is past seven o'clock at night when the procession reaches the Tolbooth, a deputation from Parliament hies itself with all speed to harass the exhausted prisoner with questions. One topic only interests Montrose: the state of the relations between King and Parliament. On being informed that an agreement has been reached, he refuses further to be questioned, and desires to be left in peace. A spark of the old spirit flares up and impels him to add, with a mock stateliness that 'the compliment they had put upon him that day was something tedious."

The following day, Sunday, is no day of rest for the condemned man. The Black Brethren of the Kirk flock to the Tolbooth wilth the avowed intention of bringing the condemned man to a sense of guilt; and, having met with a repulse at the

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first onset, they return, nothing daunted, to the attack, at eight

The sins of Montrose's private life are first thoroughly The sins of Montages and the sins of Montages examined. He was, as we already know, at little pains to conceal examined. the contempt he entertained for those he did not love, and his manner, 'a little too airy and volage,' calls forth a reproof from one of his examiners. The retort is prompt and pointed from one of his example from one of the ministers 'He granted,' says the Rev. Patrick Simson, one of the ministers present, 'that God had made men of several tempers and dispositions: some slow and dull, others more sprightly and active. We can imagine the growing tartness of tone on either side as

the inquisition proceeds!

The prisoner carries the attack into the enemy's camp, and cross-examines the examiners themselves. He charges them with the responsibility for the late King's death and overturning of the Government. To this they refuse to plead guilty, accusing, in their turn, 'a sectarian party that rose up and carried things beyond the true and first intent of them.' 'Error is infinite,' is the prisoner's cryptic rejoinder. The plans of the Brethren are brought to naught. Not to them will fall the distinction of publishing to the world the prisoner's peccari or of removing the sentence of excommunication resting upon Montrose is obdurate. 'Since,' he says, 'I cannot obtain it ' (reconciliation with the Church) ' . . . unless I call that my sin which I account to have been my duty, I cannot . . . for all the reason and conscience in the world."

No doubt the sentence of excommunication lies the lighter upon Montrose's conscience for its long standing. It dates from Tippermuir, and since then the fulminations of the Kirk against 'that detestable bloody murderer and excommunicated traitor,

James Graham' have grown stale with reiteration.

The first proposition laid by the Scottish Commissioners before the young King Charles at the Hague was 'that His Majesty should abandon the Marquis of Montrose, as a man unworthy to come near his person, or into the society of any good men, because he is excommunicated by their Kirk. Wing's proceeded to heap the usual vituperation on the late King's champion as a man accursed, 'whose scandalous carriage, pernicious counsels and contagious company cannot fail, so long as he remains in a contagious company cannot fail, so long and as he remains in his obstinate impenitency, to dishonour and pollute all places of the anger pollute all places of his familiar access, and provoke the anger of the most high God against the same.'

Montrose had seen this personal attack, and had refrained m comment thereon from comment thereon at the time. Now, with vaster issues brooding over him he is the time. brooding over him, he is not likely to give great heed to the railings of a few fareti

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The persecution, the cross-examination, the abuse proceed without respite. At ten o'clock that same Monday morning the prisoner is brought into the Parliament Hall to receive sentence. The picture we have of him here is characteristic of the man we saw in the past. He desires to meet contumely dressed as befits one of his descent and station if he can have it so. Though he is refused a razor, lest he should balk his captors of their ceremony of the morrow, he is allowed to dress in the apparel provided by friends.

'He presented himself,' says Sir James Balfour, 'in a suit of black cloth, and a scarlet coat to his knee, trimmed with silver galoons, lined with crimson tafta; on his head a beaver hat and silver band. He looked somewhat pale, lank-faced and

hairy.

His captors are to note that the proud spirit of James Graham is not crushed yet, and the note of defiance sounded in the sumptuousness of his dress is manifest in his whole demeanour, and in the address he delivers before his peers, a portion of which we have already quoted. Dignity and deliberation are not lacking here, nor a touch of eloquence—creditable when we think on the narrow margin of peace and solitude allowed him in the Tolbooth.

The Covenant, he admits, he took and was faithful to it. As for the Solemn League and Covenant, he had no part in it, thank God! and so could not break it. His late Majesty's commands to him appeared just and such as he conceived himself bound in conscience and duty to obey. As he came in upon his late Majesty's Warrant, so upon his letters he retired.

And as for my coming at this time [he continues], it was by his Majesty's just commands, in order to the accelerating the treaty betwixt him and you; his Majesty knowing that whenever he had ended with you, I was ready to retire upon his call. . . . Never subject acted upon more honourable grounds, nor by so lawful a power, as I did in these services. . . .

Montrose might have spared himself this brave falsehood! His judges have information of their own that his Majesty intended no more with his 'just commands' than to treat his envoy as a pawn in a game of chess—as a tool to be thrown aside when no longer required. The young King had urged his envoy upon his desperate errand with the following assurances:

I will not determine anything touching the affairs of that kingdom [Scotland] without having your advice thereupon. . . . I will not do anything prejudicial to your commission. . . . I entreat you to go on vigorously. . . .

And Montrose, acknowledging his Sovereign's commands and gracious bestowal of the Garter, had assured him that 'With

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the more alacrity and bensell shall I abandon still my life to the more alacrity and been to profit by M. search my death for the interests of your Majesty's honour and search my death for the interests of your Majesty's honour and search my death for the interests of your Majesty's honour and search my death for the interests of your Majesty's honour and search my death for the interests of your Majesty's honour and search my death for the interests of your Majesty's honour and search my death for the interests of your Majesty's honour and search my death for the interests of your Majesty's honour and search my death for the interests of your Majesty's honour and search my death for the interests of your Majesty's honour and search my death for the interests of your Majesty's honour and search my death for the interests of your Majesty's honour and search my death for the interests of your Majesty's honour and search my death for the interests of your Majesty's honour and search my death for the interests of your Majesty's honour and search my death for the interest of your Majesty's honour and your my death for the interest of your my death for the your my death fo search my death for the service. Charles' intention had been to profit by Montrose's service. venture if successful, to repudiate it if it failed; and no doubt he counted on the loyalty that had never yet faltered to carry his victim silent to his end. In the matter of good faith, the his victim shell to his subject more correctly than the subject King had appraised his subject more correctly than the subject his King.

The reply of the Lord Chancellor, Loudoun, to Montrose's speech, deals largely in invective, but its closing words contain a venomed shaft intended to strike the prisoner in the most vulnerable quarter. He refers to Montrose as 'one whose bound. less pride and ambition had lost the father and done what in

him lay to destroy the son likewise.'

Montrose's attempt at a rejoinder is checked. Instead he is commanded to kneel in the place of delinquents and receive sentence from Archibald Johnston, Lord Clerk Register; which sentence decrees that James Graham be hanged on a gibbet at the cross of Edinburgh with his history and declaration hung about his neck, and hang three hours thereafter in the view of the people; that he be thereafter beheaded and quartered; his head to be affixed at the prison house of Edinburgh and his legs and arms to be fixed at the ports of the towns of Stirling, Glasgow, Perth, and Aberdeen; and the body buried by the hangman's men in the Borough muir.

We shall quote Sir J. Balfour's note of the proceedings again:

Immediately arising from off his knees without speaking one word, he [Montrose] was removed thence to prison. He behaved himself all the time in the house with a great deal of courage and modesty, unmoved and undaunted . . . only, he sighed two several times and rolled his eyes alongst all the corners of the house, and at the reading of the sentence he lifted up his face without any words speaking. . . .

For a moment we see beneath the surface and have a hint

of the struggle taking place below.

The effort to school soul and body into submission and to have done with life is revealed to us yet further in the Wigton Manuscript.

'It is acknowledged,' says this document, commenting on the prisoner's last hours in the Tolbooth, 'that he rested kindly those nights except sometimes when at prayers.

Here we will take our leave of Montrose. The sordid details the scaffold the pride of the scaffold. of the scaffold, the pride brought low at last by force of circumstances—these have no production of the scaffold, the pride brought low at last by force of circumstances—these have no production of the scaffold of the sca stances—these have no real place in the portrait we have attempted to trace. There are no real place in the portrait we have attempted to trace. attempted to trace. They are foreign to Montrose's personality.

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It is not as the passive victim in the hands of the executioner that he lives for us, but as the undaunted, indomitable leader of a temper 'aspiring and lofty,' 'very hard to be guided.'

He elected to follow

The high that proved too high, the heroic for earth too hard,

and he followed it with a passionate enthusiasm that makes our pity superfluous and the word 'failure' seem inapplicable to his career.

It is true that, judged by the standard of material results, his triumph was transitory, and his heroism availed little in the end. Yet to-day, when the bitter fanaticism of the Covenanters seems remote and alien, the glamour of Montrose's name retains its hold upon our imagination.

He has had his full share of honour at the hands of this generation, but it has been left to an old Highland ghillie on the banks of the river Beauly to pay to Montrose the tribute that he himself would most have prized. The late Mr. Andrew Lang, in a footnote to his History of Scotland, has placed on record the reply made by the old man to the stranger who accosted him.

'My name,' he said—and the words, simple enough in themselves, are yet charged with all the feeling that Highland and clan tradition can give them—'my name is Campbell, but my heart is with the great Montrose.'

HELEN GRAHAM.

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THE UNIVERSITIES AND THE PUBLIC SERVICE

THE University is, or ought to be, a place of study where all the knowledge of the time is pursued. It is thus a place for the training of professional men—doctors, surgeons, engineers, lawyers, cultivators, schoolmasters, divines. It is also a place for those specialists whose profession is learning, whose primary function is to drive back some little way the frontiers of ignorance, to advance the frontiers of knowledge; with these classes this paper is not concerned.

But there are other classes of professional men who cannot acquire their speciality at a University. No Economics Tripos, no school of business, can teach a man to manage a factory, to extend the credit and the sales of a commercial house, to direct the currents of finance. These arts can only be learnt in the school of life. It is a doubtful point whether a man is a better business man for having studied at a University. hold that a man who intends to devote himself to business had better start quite young and serve a full apprenticeship. But there is no doubt that a business man should be a completer man for having followed liberal studies in his earlier manhood. He should have a wider knowledge of the meaning and interrelations of human life; the simplest daily function should bear for him a larger significance; he may even be able to hear the music of the spheres while he is totting up the books. To hear that music without losing hold upon everyday life is the highest gift of education.

The man of commerce and industry should gain as a man through the wide education that can be obtained at a University; but it is not there that he will learn the rudiments of his business. But there is another class of whom it may almost be said that they serve their apprenticeship in the University. Every year about a hundred of our best young men, when they leave the Universities, pass into the administrative service of the Empire in India, in the Far East, in the public departments at Empire in India, in the Far East, in the public departments at service. Perhaps an even larger number devote the whole or service. Perhaps an even larger number devote the work, or to some of part of their time to Parliament, to municipal work, or to some of

the multifarious public activities which our social life encourages. Others become journalists—the free-lances of public life. What should the University do for the young men who come to her to

be prepared for public life?

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In the first place, they may expect that she will sharpen their wits. That she can hardly fail to do, if they have any wits to sharpen. Social intercourse, the play and fence of eager minds, debating societies, long talks in the late hours of all the mysteries of God and man, these form a stadium in which youth is trained to run, without knowing that it is being trained. Beyond this, almost any course of study affords a training for the mind. Mathematics afford one kind of training, the Natural Sciences another, the Classics a different one, the Law yet another; the difference in the value of these studies depends not so much on the amount of mental training afforded as on the varying degree in which they illuminate the imagination, extend the field of thought, and provide a working basis for a sane conception of life in the round. For the public man and the public servant the education given by the University should be wide, not desultory; solid, not abstract; it should not neglect the material world, but it should be principally concerned with humanity. Any knowledge that is incidentally acquired will be useful; but knowledge is not the object of education. On the other hand, there are some accomplishments so useful to the public man that any education would be for him incomplete which did not deliberately aim at developing them. Chief among these accomplishments is the mastery of the written and the spoken word.

I leave aside those preliminary studies which should be completed at school. It would be a good thing for this country if no man were admitted to a University unless he could produce a leaving certificate, setting forth that he had pursued his studies at an efficient school for an approved period, and had followed prescribed courses and passed prescribed tests in English, history, geography, one foreign language, mathematics, and one experimental science. But we are a long way from such an ideal at present, and our Universities must be content to do their best with the material, not infrequently half-prepared, which the schools send to them. They should not devote themselves to

making good the deficiencies of secondary education.

The education intended for our public men and public servants should be solid, not abstract. I do not wish to depreciate mathematics, which have done more to enlarge the field of human knowledge than any other branch of science. But our public man must not lose touch, even for a moment, with human nature. If he imagines that men can be governed by a formula, indicated by

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a series of symbols, or explained in any adequate sense by none. Again, if he a series of symbols, or carries and figures, he must go wrong at once. Again, if he acquires bers and figures, he must go infallible, and that safe deductions bers and figures, he made so infallible, and that safe deductions the belief that reasoning is infallible, and that safe deductions as to human conduct can be drawn from the most carefully con. structed premisses, he falls at once into another set of errors. The structed premisses, he talk structed premisses attitudes of structed premisses attitudes attitudes of structed premisses attitudes The intellectual functions of statesmanship are under standing, imagination, sympathy, intuition, rather than ratiogical rathermatics strengths. nation. A good grounding in mathematics strengthens the mind but an exclusive attention to mathematics keeps the student in an unreal world where reason reigns supreme.

Similarly, the danger of the public servant is that he lives in a realm of written and printed papers, and he is apt to lose sight of the realities which these papers record. Mathematics encour. age this tendency; the best education for civil servants would be

that which supplied the most efficacious corrective.

That corrective is not to be found in the natural sciences, Here we come into touch with realities; but they are the realities of matter, not the realities of humanity, which are above all emotional and spiritual. The public man and the public servant should have learnt enough about the physical sciences to know at what point he should invite the assistance of the expert. The champions of scientific education often speak as if the errors and inequities of public government and social systems were due to ignorance of scientific facts, methods, and laws. On the contrary, no greater error can be made in approaching the study of human nature than to imagine that it can be explained by scientific analysis, apprehended by scientific observation, usefully studied by scientific methods, or in any way brought within the four corners of a science. The study of science is useful to the public man or public servant by increasing the range of his information; all knowledge, of whatever kind, will or may be useful to the public man; but the study of the natural sciences does not in itself tend to develop the most valuable mental faculties, the most propitious attitude of mind.

On the borderland between the natural sciences and the studies which are approached through literature lie the study of law and

the study of philosophy.

On the face of it, the study of law should be very useful to the public man and the public servant. And so much of legal education as will assist the student to understand, interpret, apply, and co-ordinate. and co-ordinate laws will be of great value to all public men and public servants. public servants. Such persons should not be in the presence of a lawyer as a l a lawyer as a layman before a specialist, an ignoramus before a pundit. But an education pundit. But an education based exclusively or mainly on the study of law is not the study of law is not the best preparation for public life.

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lawyer has also his errors of the cave. He also does not deal with human nature direct, but through the medium of rules, formulæ, and principles. The lawyer in Parliament is apt to lack something that the true statesman must have; the lawyer in the public office is apt to lay too much stress on regulations and precedents, and forget that as a rule administration is essentially different from the interpretation of the law. The administrator is often at liberty to deal with the special case upon its merits; the lawyer or the judge rarely or never.

Philosophy is a very useful whetstone for youthful wits. Moreover, it tends to supply the universal view, the comprehensive outlook, which is necessary to fill out that ample and rounded intuition of the concrete multiplicity to which the statesman should aspire. Pursued too far, however, it is a danger. Some abstraction is necessary to correlate and co-ordinate our apprehensions of the concrete; philosophy wedded to knowledge of the world, to knowledge of human nature, to experience, and to practical ability, is a great strength, as well as a great consolation; it is, above all, useful in assisting to create that just sense of proportion between the obvious and the more remote but not less important elements of a problem which is needed for a wise, broad, and sane policy: But too much philosophy dulls our interest in the individual and the concrete; it encourages the purblind arrogance of intellect; and it is not without cause that we expect the philosopher to be an unpractical man.

Political economy is a branch of philosophy. It is perhaps the most dangerous branch of philosophy. Too exclusively honoured, it induces that dull veneration of the material which is such a gloomy characteristic of our age. A light top-dressing of political economy stimulates the weeds and chokes the crops. It supplies the student with false laws, misleading half-truths, and erroneous views of human nature, which will either disgust him with this so-called science, or blind his eyes to the truths of life, perhaps But a thorough and a critical study of abstract economics, corrected by a practical and intelligent observation of human nature and human affairs, gives to the independent mind a largeness and clearness of vision on the material side of man's life which can hardly be acquired by any other way. Young men, however, are not fit to learn political economy; a mature and independent mind and experience of affairs are needed as a corrective; the young will get their education on this side best from the economic side of history, which should not, however, be divorced

from all the other sides of history.

And now we come to those studies which are approached through literature, the studies which are properly termed humane. Here, if anywhere, we shall find the studies most

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valuable in preparation for a public life, for there are only two ways by which we can extend our knowledge of human nature, ways by which ways and develop our intuitions ways by which we can extend develop our intuitions. One is by quicken our sympathies, and develop our intuitions. One is by quicken our sympathics, under some is by intercourse with human beings of every sort, in their most intercourse with human beings and revelations; the other is the other intercourse. mate and actual relations and revelations; the other is by litera mate and actual relations the University may and does in some measure ture. The first the University may fixed curriculum: the measure facilitate, though not by any fixed curriculum; the second it is the proper function of the University to throw wide open.

The humane education which is the best preparation for public life embraces history, poetry, the drama, rhetoric, and, to some extent, law, politics, and philosophy. It should be intimately concerned with some countries other than our own. It should be wide, but systematic; it should be confined to the best, for time is limited, and the greatest writers are those who have the deepest insight into human nature. It should be attractive, and at the same time severe. It should fire enthusiasm and test endurance

History should be the main thread on which the pearls are strung. But the history should be approached in large measure through literary masterpieces. For instance, the Elizabethans should be approached through Shakespeare, the Puritans through Milton, the society of Louis the Fourteenth through Molière. We might well sacrifice some of the detail of historical fact which the students at our University now acquire for the more real and solid knowledge that comes from a study of the literature. Original documents are very well, but they are best when they

are masterpieces. The kind of history that I mean is not scientific. Scientific history is one of two things; either the systematic collection, verification, collation, and arrangement of historical data, or the attempt to deduce laws and principles from history as we know The first is not a task for youthful minds; the second is a waste of time. The value of history to young minds is that it is experience at second-hand. A man of years and experience is wise and resourceful because no new set of circumstances can be wholly unfamiliar to him, because he has known all sorts of men and seen many complications unravelled, because the instincts and intuitions of his mind have been trained by constant Through history and literature the young man can acquire vicarious experience; he can live many lives, and commune with commune with many souls. When he goes out into the world he will have to come will have to correct many impressions; things will look different to him, but nothing to him, but nothing will be altogether new.

The young man should travel through the predestined succession of the ages, have a state of the ages, and the ages, have a state of the ages, and the ages, have a state of the ages, and the ages, have a state of the ages, and the ages, are agreed as a second and the ages, are ages, and the ages, and the ages, and the ages, and t sion of the ages; he should learn the measure of our debt to Athens and to Roman debt Athens and to Rome; he should form some clear conception of the construction. of the construction, the system, and the demolition of Imperial

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He should traverse the dark winter and the seed time of the Middle Ages, when the modern world was in germination. He should know how our modern Europe was framed, and when and how the Great Men lived and worked. All this should be laid before him in its broad organic unity till he feels European society and civilisation as a single living whole.

He should pass in like manner, but with somewhat closer inspection, through the history of our native islands. special study should be of certain periods in this and foreign countries when literary masterpieces were abundant. Athens in the time of Pericles and Plato; Rome in the late Republic and the early Empire; Italy from Dante to Ariosto; England in the times of Chaucer, of Shakespeare, of Milton, of Swift, and Steele; France from Louis the Fourteenth to the Revolution. He cannot, of course, study all the periods that are worth studying from this aspect, but he might well study two foreign periods and two English periods.

I deprecate from the point of view of education the separation of political, constitutional, economic, literary history. All these are one; and the young student can claim to have won his footing, to have done something to prepare himself for public life, when he begins to perceive these several elements as distinct but intermingling manifestations of the one informing spirit. estimate the various pressures and reactions, to interpret the movements of the forces that are disclosed, to understand the unity in multiplicity, the multiplicity in unity, that is the gift of history; and young men are well capable of receiving it.

I have postulated but two main subjects of University education for public life: literature and history. But these include poetry, the drama, law, rhetoric, politics, and philosophy. different periods some one or more of these will have greater or less importance; but the texts on which our instruction is chiefly based will afford opportunities to illustrate and comment on each of these in turn; and the texts should be chosen partly for this

purpose.

One more thing is necessary: systematic education in language and in expression. It is much to be desired, and, indeed, probable, that many of our young men will come to the University knowing two languages besides their own. But the scholarly pursuit of the accurate use and interpretation of words should not be intermitted at the University. And this not only as affording the key to literature and history, but also for its own sake. Man has many instruments and engines; but words are the most lowerful of all his tools. The public man must largely rely on the written and the spoken word. The public man should be pable of action; and action, I think, cannot be directly taught

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at the University. But as a means to action he must be able to persuade. For persuasion no education is sufficient for his persuade. For persuasion no education is sufficient for his persuade. For persuasion no education is sufficient for his persuade. And the study of foreign languages are some of the best ways of perfecting the knowledge and master of the mother-tongue.

Now where, it may be asked, are we to find such a University course as is here described? Nowhere, to be sure; otherwise it would not have been worth while to set forth my ideals. I need only have pointed to the model, and said: That is the exemplar. But there are certain approximations.

The best history schools in England are good; I am not going to enlarge upon their defects; but they all lapse into the error of separating history into water-tight compartments, they none of them use literature sufficiently as an instrument of historical instruction, and, above all, they none of them enforce the scholarly study of language as an integral part of the training.

The nearest approach to my ideal is in the great classical schools of our Universities. Some of them are better than others, but all are based on the scholarly study of language, all approach the study of history through the literary masterpieces. and all by this means in some measure bring into their some poetry, the drama, law, rhetoric, politics, and philosophy. This system has been elaborated for four hundred years; it is linked up with the schools; and the Universities are secure in the knowledge that those who follow the classical instruction will not need to be taught the elements. It is the best system we have now; but it does not follow that we could not have a better. course itself might with advantage be linked up more closely with modern life. I do not myself see that it matters when you are studying history whether you study the history of the fifth century B.C. or the history of the nineteenth century A.D., provided you study it in the right way, principally through the masterpieces. But as the study of modern times needs to be linked up with the past, so the study of ancient times needs to be brought into relation with the present. The young man who after taking a good classical school takes a good historical school, which he can do with his training in one year, gets, I should say nearly as a will be a solution of the will say nearly as a solution of the will be a good distorted to the will be a good di say, nearly as good an education as he need wish for. He will brobably have probably have read English literature for himself.

But the youth whose interests lie in modern languages and literature has nothing so good accessible to him. If he takes a modern language course in honours he will find himself sucked into philology and the antiquarian study of language; the books he gets to read will not be for the most part masterpieces; he will get little insight into the history and politics and manners of the

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countries whose languages he is learning. If he takes an historical school he will find that the language side is ignored; if he knows languages he will get no help in perfecting his knowledge; if he does not know any he will have to do without them.

It is not my present purpose to talk about secondary schools, but I must point out that there is a similar defect in present-day school education in modern subjects. The modern languages are taught, but the literature, the history, the law, the manners of the countries, are not taught as they are taught on classical sides. Some day, perhaps, the teaching of modern languages in schools will be systematised on lines that improve upon the classical teaching; and a good sound all-round education will be provided based upon literature, history, and languages.

Then perhaps one of our modern Universities, or even perhaps one of our old Universities, will furnish for students of modern things a general education in modern subjects and languages as good as is provided by *Literae Humaniores* at Oxford, or the two parts of the Classical Tripos at Cambridge. It might even be better, in some ways.

STANLEY LEATHES.

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STATE INSPECTION OF CONVENTS. A REJOINDER

I HAVE to thank Mr. Kindersley for his courteous reply to my article advocating the inspection of convents which appeared in the October number of this Review. I am gratified to find (1) that he is in agreement with me on certain points, (2) that his contentions strengthen the position of those who advocate inspection, (3) that I can meet his charges of inaccuracy and misstatement.

First, let me say that my plea for inspection is not based on any anti-Catholic bias. Recognising and honouring the convictions and the spirituality of the majority of the members of this Church, realising that convent life has sometimes afforded a refuge for women, and knowing that a great deal of splendid work is done by nuns for the alleviation of the sufferings and sorrows of humanity, I yet maintain that convents, whether Roman Catholic, Church of England, or any other denomination. like all other institutions in Great Britain should be freely opened to inspection. And the demand for inspection should be seriously considered by Catholics as well as Protestants, if only on account of the immense importance of the hygienic aspects of this question.

Let us take these hygienic considerations first and deal with

few practical points. The mortality in convents is greatly above the average owing to the prevalence of tuberculosis. Kindersley acknowledges that it is 'undoubtedly a fact' that the death-rate from pulmonary affections has been high in convenis. If any State campaign against tuberculosis is to be effective it is surely essential that statistics of the prevalence of this disease in every institution is all every institution in the country be available. Consumption is a infectious discountry by a variable. infectious disease which is at the same time preventible. need of State increase. need of State inspection of convents is illustrated by the fact that the proportion of deaths due to tubercular disease was found on investigation to be on investigation to be nearly 63 per cent., whilst the ordinal death-rate from tubout land to the ordinal death-rate from tubout land tubo death-rate from tuberculosis is 10 per cent. Whilst the old the frequency of contract the frequency of contract to be death-rate from tuberculosis is 10 per cent. the frequency of consumption in nunneries was due to but ventilation and the redont ventilation and the sedentary, unhealthy life led by the public le S:

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and declared that a girl entering a sisterhood at seventeen dies twenty-one years earlier than a girl equally healthy who remains in the world outside. 'In some cloisters more than three-fourths of the deaths are from this disease.' (Osler's Practice of Medicine, p. 266.)

Mr. Kindersley says that it is only within recent years that the remedy for consumption has been discovered, and that it is not surprising that the nuns shared ignorance of the nature of tubercular disease with the rest of the world. I reply, that in the last fifty years the general death-rate from consumption has been reduced 50 per cent. What are the statistics of decline of mortality in convents where, Mr. Kindersley declares, up-todate methods of dealing with this disease are utilised? Were these statistics available they would be sufficient in themselves to make the demand for inspection of conventual and monastic institutions irresistible.

Roman Catholic countries have recognised the dangers of the prevalence of tuberculosis in convents, and in reply to Mr. Kindersley's denial of my statement from the Daily Chronicle of the 12th of December 1906, 'that the Pope had decreed the abolition of conventual law of strict enclosure,' I refer him to the Italian paper La Tribuna of the 11th of December of that year, which states that 'Pope Pius the Tenth has ordained the abandonment (abbandono) of the enclosure law for those Sisterhoods who are engaged in the work of education in their own convents, ordering that they shall accompany the pupils for walks at least twice a week. This ordinance is motived by highly praiseworthy reasons of hygiene.'

Severe criticism had appeared in print about that time respecting the ravages of tubercular disease and the high rate of general mortality in convents of women. The Papal decision in question was widely commented upon in the Italian press as a most timely reform.

There are other health aspects of this question. Kindersley acknowledges that there 'may also be cases of insanity,' but every doctor knows that the mode of life in the closed Orders at least predisposes women to melancholia or depression, and to other manifestations of morbid psychology. Whilst a true and philosophical religion and a healthy physical life elevate the mind, and give stability and moral strength, an unhygienic mode of life, combined with exaggerations and emotionalism and the unnatural suppression of human instincts and affections, will tend to the development of religious insanity. Here again we have no statistics as to the effect of convent life on women. Every convent may have its medical man, but it must be remembered that the physician cannot enter the enclosure

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of a convent without the permission of the Superior. of a convent without the convents, like other institutions, efficiently inspected, improved convents, like other institution, and the early diagnosis and hygiene, better sanitation, and the early diagnosis and treatment the incentive cancer, and other diseases would hygiene, better samuation, and other diseases would result of tuberculosis, insanity, cancer, and other diseases would result.

State inspection is imperative, in the second place, because it is the duty of the State to ensure that all individuals living under is the duty of the state to the state of action and of will. How are we its protection have freedom of action and of will. How are we to know that these women who have taken lifelong vows as girls, physically, mentally, and morally immature, are not suffer. ing because they cannot free themselves from what has become death in life to them? The vows are taken before physiological adult life is attained, at an age when self-knowledge and experience are insufficient to form a proper estimate of the value of the liberty renounced. Mr. Kindersley maintains that if my plea for inspection 'means that adult women are not to be allowed to choose a mode of life which is neither seditious nor injurious to others without State interference' it would be 'a blow to personal freedom.' This is, of course, a misapprehension, almost an absurdity, my contention merely being that those nuns who wish to leave the life should have the opportunity of doing so. and that if the nuns were enabled to talk with a woman who is a representative of the State without espionage of any kind, English women would at least be assured that no woman could be confined against her will in any such institution in this country.

Mr. Kindersley says that if a nun wishes to withdraw from an Order there is a 'simple method' by which her desires can be effected. But he gives no information on this point; whereas St. Alphonse de Liguori, author of The True Spouse of Christ, writes (p. 551): 'Grant that what you state is true: now that you are professed in a convent and that it is impossible for you to leave it, tell me what you wish to do? If you have entered religion against your inclinations, you must now remain with cheerfulness. . . You must then make a virtue of necessity. How can relatives even know if a nun is detained against her will in these buildings, provided with every appearance and condition of a prison—locked doors, barred windows, high walls. whole thing is contrary to the principles of the British constitution, and indicate the principles of the British constitution. tion, and indicates the need of State protection for these women such as is given to the inmates of asylums and factories. Abuses are made possible are made possible in any irresponsible and uninspected community not under the munity not under the regulations of British law, and not inquired into by responsible. Descriptions into by responsible British authority. Convents are inspected in Roman Catholic in Roman Catholic countries. In France the law requires that all authorised congressions. all authorised congregations shall supply the Government with copy of their rules and copy of their rules and regulations, particulars of their property. Dag.

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and periodically an account of their income. Mr. Kindersley considers that 'it would puzzle anyone to say' what the legislation regarding religious houses in Italy amounts to. He has only to refer to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (vol. xviii. p. 691, 1911 edition), which says 'were dissolved in Italy in 1866,' to find confirmation of my statement.

Mr. Kindersley says, again, that he is unable to verify what I say about Belgium, but he can do so by referring, not as he did to 'two Belgians' unacquainted with the law, but to the Parliamentary Report on Monastic Institutions presented to the House

of Commons in 1875.

There are people who declare that convents are 'homes' and not institutions, but this can hardly be maintained in face of the commercial undertakings associated with many of them; and, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that inspection of ordinary households by the medical officer of health would make for improved household sanitation and health, for the better care and protection of children, and for the growth of parental responsibility.

Mr. Kindersley states that he has 'positive evidence for the belief that the Roman Catholic body would have been pleased if all institutions (schools and orphanages) had been placed under a Governmental department to be inspected by his Majesty's Inspectors in the same way as are the certified schools,' and I accept the admission as being in agreement with my assertion that, not only the 'certified schools,' but all schools and orphanages should be efficiently and regularly inspected. I cannot agree with Mr. Kindersley in his assertion that my plea for inspection of convent schools and orphanages has already been met by legislation. What of the schools and orphanages which, having no 'children of the State' attending them, do not come under the Government at all? Many of these places are satisfactorily managed, no doubt, but there are schools where the children are handicapped by the fact that the teaching is far from answering educational requirements, and where charges of cruelty and neglect could be brought against those in charge. State supervision and medical inspection of all convent schools would help to ensure good nurture and kindly treatment, medical care, and the opportunity for healthy development for children in all such institutions in England.

Mr. Kindersley, in saying that he has 'no knowledge of the case,' appears to include amongst my 'inaccurate statements' my reference to an inquiry into the conditions at a convent school in 1902. Reference to the daily Press of the 15th of August of that year will convince him of the truth of my statements, that the children were not only suffering from infectious

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ophthalmic diseases previously noted, but that they were in a ophthalmic diseases provided in a suffering from sorter and other skin eruptions. This filthy, neglected condition, and other skin eruptions. This convent and abrasions, ringworm, and other skin eruptions. This convent and abrasions, ring worth, and a foreign Order, who were was at that time under the nuns of a foreign Order, who were was at that time under the replaced by an English sisterhood of a very different type. The fact, however, that foreign Orders can settle in England and be fact, however, that lotted and supervision they have to undergo in their own country should be emphasised.

Further, Mr. Kindersley declares that all Roman Catholic laundries and workshops are under the same inspection as are commercial laundries, and subject to the same regulations of the Factory Acts. He concludes the sentence, however, with these significant words: 'with a few unimportant concessions made on account of their different circumstances.' That is a very important point. There should be no difference between conventual and commercial factories and laundries, and Mr. Kindersley's statement that the foreign Orders who come over to us pay their rates and taxes should be modified, because convent laundries are taxed as charitable institutions, they have not to pay the income tax borne by traders, and they have thus an advantage over other laundries with which they are in commercial competition. Mr. Kindersley charges me with inaccuracy in alleging that the competition of convents is injurious to other workers, and states that the prices charged at convent laundries are higher than at commercial ones. This is not the case, and every woman knows that underclothing and white embroidered needle-work are offered cheaply, at sales especially, as 'convent work.'

In the latter part of his article Mr. Kindersley accuses me of other 'inaccurate statements' which I should like to deal with. In reference to my contention that cloistered nuns are cut of from their relations, he gives his own 'personal experience,' and describes the freedom with which social intercourse, even telephonic communication, is carried on with a near relative in a cloistered Order. He does not, however, state what position this person holds in the Roman Catholic Church. If a Mother-Superior, she would be a privileged person. On the other hand, possibly Mr. Kindersley can command favour. But no one can deny that the rules issued to ordinary nuns discourage and even forbid their agent is forbid their association with kindred, that a system of espionage is rigidly enforced. is rigidly enforced which extends to the correspondence of the nuns. The nuns. nuns. The nun must yield unquestioning obedience. Kindersley declares that the Vow of Obedience 'simply means obedience to all lambel obedience to all lawful commands.' My 'inaccuracy' on this point can be dispressed by the commands of the company of the compa point can be disproved by the following quotations: blindly in all things blindly in all things your present director, even if he should

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order you to leave your cell' (The True Spouse of Christ, vol. ii. p. 431). Whilst the Rev. Arthur Devine, in writing of Convent Life or the Duties of Nuns, says (p. 165) 'the retention of any portion of their own will is a denial of their vocation.' 'Let obedience be internal, universal, and uniform.' 'Let us remember that in doing the will of the Superior we do the will of God.' The Superior may or may not be a woman of high type. A Roman Catholic paper, in reviewing a book on convents, says: 'It is admitted that petty tyranny may exist in some communities. Some Superiors may be harsh and overbearing.' Instances of worse than harshness and petty tyranny are on record in the annals of the Church. See the Bishop of Nancy's Report to Rome as a result of inquiry into the conditions of an Order of the Good Shepherd in France.

The convent question is a woman's question, and it is not until women form public opinion that legislation for the inspection of convents can be anticipated. I do not care to deal with the moral aspect of the problem, but I recognise that it exists. It is sufficient to state that the various foreign Orders which have been compelled to leave other countries as a result of inquiry and exposure of a hideous condition of affairs, are permitted without question to settle in England, secure that they are free from inspection and supervision by the State. Let us give the women in our convents simply the same protection that Roman Catholic States have found it necessary to provide. Why should the Roman Catholic Church resist so moderate a demand if convents are so well organised as they are stated to be? are told that these institutions are inspected by the Ordinary of the Diocese or his delegate, but Episcopal inspection has in the past proved inadequate, and it does not meet the needs of the case. We must ask for State jurisdiction, State supervision and State protection for all conventual and monastic institutions. Nothing less can satisfy a humanitarian demand which ought to meet with the sympathy of Catholics as well as Protestants, because the question should be above denominational bitterness and party strife.

Mr. Kindersley's concluding words infer that I suggest that differential treatment is to be extended to nuns as distinct from priests. But he is mistaken. Any legislation will necessarily deal with the inspection of monastic institutions as well as convents, but the convent question is especially a woman's question, and should compel the attention of all women interested in the welfare of their sex and in the protection of those who are unable to prove

unable to protect themselves.

ELIZABETH SLOAN CHESSER.

THE MESSAGE OF HOPE FOR INDIA

In a recent letter to The Times I drew attention to the unique opportunity afforded by the removal of the Imperial capital from Calcutta to Delhi for establishing a sounder principle of archi. tectural design in Government buildings throughout India. The importance of this question for the future development of Indian art and craft will, I think, be obvious to most people. The example set by the Imperial Government in public buildings must always have a potent influence for good or evil, not only with all Indian craftsmen engaged in the construction of them, but with all the Indian aristocracy who look to Government for correct models of taste and fashion. And the close connexion between craft and architectural style need not be enlarged upon. If architectural styles in India are wholly based upon the more or less mechanical imitation of foreign models, it follows as the night the day that the same Philistine influence will permeate all the crafts directly or indirectly connected with architecture and tend to destroy their artistic vitality. It is useless to declaim against the injury done to Indian art by the Ruling Princes building their palaces in debased Western styles and upholstering them according to the catalogues of Tottenham Court Road and the Bon Marché, when by doing so they are only following the example set by the highest representatives of the Imperial and local Governments. Neither is the mischief in any way diminished by sending our best architects to provide better models for Indian builders to copy.

But the very obvious artistic principle here involved is only one aspect of a much larger sociological and economic question in which the whole policy of British administration is deeply concerned. Is British rule in India, as a tremendous sociological experiment, only to stand for those modern economic and industrial developments which overspread the West in the nineteenth trial developments which overspread the West in the nineteenth century? Are we, ignoring their concomitant evils with which all the energies of modern statesmen and sociologists are trying all the energies of modern statesmen and sociologists are trying to grapple, and the risk of propagating those evils on a vastly greater scale in the fecund soil of the tropics, to continue to use these same developments as a battering ram for pulverising

the effete social and industrial organisation of Hinduism? Are we to regard our present economic system, represented by the great industrial cities of Europe and America—the product of a new experimental science which is constantly changing the basis of its action, still investigating unknown forces and creating new social problems—as a solid and permanent foundation on which we can safely build up the future of our Indian Empire?

To those who have followed closely the economic and industrial policy of Indian administration since Calcutta became the seat of the Imperial Government it must indeed seem that this is the case. Just as in educational matters the Macaulay view of Oriental learning has dominated the whole scheme of the Anglo-Indian universities, so the views of the enterprising merchants who control the trade of the great Indian seaports have dominated the councils of the Government of India in all matters relating to Indian commerce and industry. In many departments of the Civil Service, especially those connected with the revenue and courts of justice, the long experience gained by district officers in close touch with the people—an intimacy, unfortunately, much less close now than in former days-has created an administrative tradition more or less in harmony with Indian social customs and ways of thinking. In matters relating to trade and industry a tradition has also been created; but it is a tradition in which the predominance of Western commercialism has been overwhelming. Indian commerce, in a departmental sense, means only the trade between Europe and India. Indian industry means the adaptation of Western machinery and the methods of modern capitalism to the exploitation of Indian labour. Technical education means not the application of scientific and artistic knowledge to the organisation and development of indigenous handicrafts, but the effort to supersede Eastern handicraft by Western machinery. Art education means not the development of the creative faculties and the revival of Indian culture, but the teaching of freehand and model drawing, geometry, perspective, anatomy and design according to the formularies of South Kensington.

Theoretically, of course, departmentalism takes a deep paternal interest in indigenous industries and in Indian art. There have been commissions, conferences, committees, exhibitions, despatches, Government resolutions and orders on the subject. But the net result of these discussions has been to confirm the official mind in the belief that Indian handicraft is useless and out of date, that Indian art is based upon wrong principles, that everything that could be reasonably expected of a paternal Government is being done, and that it is best to leave well alone. Still, in order that the official

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conscience and the public mind may be quite at ease, of late years the departmental machinery has been strengthened by the years the departmental macro European experts, who make sure appointment of many more European experts, who make sure that the old policy is continued on the most approved European principles. Any attempt on their part to vary the departmental principles. Any attempt of the cause of things is tradition by going a little deeper into the cause of things is promptly suppressed, as no doubt it should be—from a depart.

There is, however, another side of the question, and a more excellent way which the Imperial Government, in their new environment among the historic traditions of the ancient capital Hindustan, might well take into consideration. Here in Europe legislators and social reformers are made too well aware of the dark side of modern industrialism to look upon it as an unmitigated blessing to humanity at large, as the administrators of India are inclined to regard it from the cool heights of Simla and Darjeeling and among the luxuries of Calcutta society. For the last fifty years the aim of most European legislation has been directed towards mitigating the evils, the waste of human life, the moral and spiritual degradation, and the physical suffering which have accompanied the growth of capitalism and improvements in mechanical science. The struggle between capital and labour, which sometimes seems to threaten the very foundations of society, is largely the struggle of the workman for emancipation from the servitude of the machine which capitalism has imposed upon him.

It is not only the artistic temperament which sees in the rapid extinction of handicraft a great social danger. All sociologists agree that the success of the efforts now being made to stem the flow of the agricultural population to the already overcrowded industrial cities must depend largely upon the revival of village handicraft as an adjunct to agriculture. All of them agree that the substitution of machinery for handicraft, both from an economic and sociological as well as from an artistic standpoint, has been carried too far. Mr. G. K. Chesterton, in his emphatic manner, declared lately that all intelligent people in England. in England, Tory and Radical alike, have long come to the conclusion that the mere mechanical expansion of commercialism carried on in our great industrial cities is not civilisation, but a very sad sort of savagery. Such illumination has certainly not penetrated far into the heights and depths of Anglo-Indian officialdom, but officialdom, but autocracy in Russia, bureaucracy in Germany, Austria and Great Britain have joined with democracy in France and America and Indian have joined with democracy in France and America and with individualists all over the Western world in upholding with individualists all over the Western world in upholding, within their own special limitations and capacities, the gospel of hard the gospel of handicraft preached and practised by Ruskin and

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William Morris. So that we have now the remarkable spectacle of the excellently organised village handicrafts of Austro-Hungary competing with the hand-workers of India in their own markets, and processes of hand-work directly derived from India, like the bâtik work of Java, taught in the technical schools of Holland and in scientific Germany. It is not only, however, in artistic processes that Europe has been exploiting the traditional craftlore of India; manufacturers of all kinds have been sending their agents to investigate the technical secrets of Indian hand-Even in departments of science which Europe has been wont to consider exclusively its own, the most enterprising men of business have thought it worth while to turn their attention to the wisdom of the East, as is evident from the fact that a well-known English firm has been for some time conducting at considerable expense an exhaustive scientific inquiry into Indian chemistry, materia medica, and medical science.

Meanwhile what has been the gospel by which we would create a new heaven and a new earth in India? Only the dismal gospel of the nineteenth century—that India must entirely forsake her own learning, her craft, her art, and her science, and humbly sit at the feet of Europe to learn civilisation. 'You have no learning,' we say, 'worth a bookshelf of our libraries; your sciences are absurd, your art likewise; your handicrafts are obsolete, and you have no industries—except, of course, your prehistoric agriculture.'

'Come into our schools and colleges; we will send you European professors to teach you literature, science, and art. Leave your villages, you millions of hand-weavers; the handloom is a relic of antiquity; your salvation lies in the city. Come into our factories, with your women and your little children; we will show you the magic of the machine. We will build you great cities like Manchester and Birmingham. Progress lies only with capitalism and machinery. Work for us, you poor benighted artisans; we will give you all the blessings of Western civilisation.' They are now enjoying a foretaste of these blessings in the purlieus of Bombay and Calcutta!

The recital of a few undeniable facts will show that this is not exaggerated rhetoric. The whole system of the Anglo-Indian universities is based upon the theory, which has only been emphasised by the educational reforms initiated in Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, that the original sources of the highest wisdom for the Indian student are at Oxford, Cambridge, London, and other British seats of learning, and that none of these exist in India. No degree, honorary or otherwise, is conferred by any Anglo-Indian university exclusively for Indian learning, however distinguished it may be; though the motto of the largest of them

is 'for the advancement of learning.' With the rarest exceptions is 'for the advancement of the state of the every young European cutter training in India, takes processor, even if the latter should be professor. dence of every Indian professor, even if the latter should have dence of every Indian processing the official medical schools all Indian a European degree. In the official medical schools all Indian a European degree. It would be medical knowledge is tabooed as pure quackery. It would be regarded as waste of time to inquire whether there was any use in it. In the colleges of engineering, where architectural design adapted to official requirements is taught as an extra, the Indian student is supposed to be qualified in the subject when he has copied and learnt by heart a few diagrams of the European classic orders and some Gothic mouldings. Such a smattering of Euro. pean eclecticism is, of course, insufficient even for the architectural requirements of the Public Works Department; the result being that architecture as a learned profession is completely barred to Indian students, and that European amateurs or experts, generally without the slightest acquaintance with the great historic and living traditions of Indian builders, must be employed to satisfy departmental requirements.

Indian art is permitted to range within the walls of four Government schools, so far as the European principals, who are appointed solely on their Western academic qualifications, will allow it to do so-a matter on which they are free to exercise their own discretion. But the teaching of drawing and design as a part of general education is conducted under the orders of the Directors of Public Instruction exclusively on the oldfashioned South Kensington lines. No official attempt has ever been made to investigate the principles and practice of Indian art teaching and to apply them to modern educational

requirements.

As to handicrafts, beyond some feeble and spasmodic attempts to drag what are called Indian 'art wares' within the net of Western commercialism, they can hardly be said to exist in an official sense in India. Until a few years ago they were not included in the care in the c included in the official statistics of Indian trade and industry; the greatest Indian industry after agriculture being returned as the spinning and weaving carried on at the power-loom mills, which complete and the power-loom mills, which employ a few hundred thousands of workers, against at least five and least five or six millions supported by the indigenous handweaving industry.

Having first broken up the wonderful organisation of the Indian village communities, we have never lifted a finger to prevent the decay of all prevent the decay of village handicraft, which Western sociologists now recognize gists now recognise as an indispensable adjunct to agriculture.

The only statistics in the control of the cont The only statistics in which, until quite recently, hand-weaves appeared were the convenience and indispensable adjunct to agreement appeared were the convenience. appeared were the census returns and those relating to family Dec.

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relief work, where 'special relief to weavers' is still a regularly recurring item. It has never occurred to the departmental mind that if a tithe of the money which in the last fifty years has been given in these charitable doles had been used in times of plenty, in the same kind of intelligent organisation and instruction which have produced such remarkable results in Ireland, the position of Indian hand-weaving as the most valuable industrial asset of the country would have been permanently maintained. But even Lord Curzon's splendid energy could not break through the departmental tradition that the machine spells progress and hand-industry decay, as was evident from his Delhi Durbar speech, in which he declared that the hand-loom was doomed to extinction just as surely as the hand-punkah was being superseded by the electric fan.

Though in the last few years the existence of hand-weaving as an industry has been officially recognised, the main object of the few technical experts now employed in Government service has been to break up the village industry entirely by organising large hand-factories to compete with it, and to divert the grants originally intended for instruction in hand-weaving to relieving the managers of power-loom mills from the necessity of training their own technical assistants. Lord Curzon initiated the policy of importing 'experts' from Europe to deal with every artistic and technical problem; and every year their number is being increased as a security that departmental 'progress' is maintained. But the best of European experts take many years to understand Indian conditions, and few make the attempt. partmental tradition, excellent as a regulariser in moderate doses, becomes a strong mental soporific when taken in excess. temptations for excessive indulgence are many: it is so much more expedient and popular to repeat the departmental parrotcries: 'Indian art and architecture are dead: Indian crafts are obsolete: wake up, India! Give up your senseless old ideals and follow ours.'

Of course, in the most egregious fallacies there are nearly always some grains of truth. Indian art has lost vitality; it needs a new impulse and fresh inspiration. It can conceivably receive them by a flow of new ideas from the highest Western sources. Personally I am convinced that a reconciliation between Eastern and Western ideals might bring about a greater Renaissance than the world has ever known. I have myself continually tried to show that Indian handicraft can benefit enormously by the judicious artistic application of Western science and mechanical invention. Indian social life, like that of the West, needs purging of many vices; and the removal of many hideous excrescences, for which British rule is in no way responsible, is

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imperatively necessary. To insist that the remains of Indian culture and civilisation are nevertheless valuable is not to depreculture and civilisation and in the civilisation of the West. It can folly to attempt to exclude all west. It ciate the real progress must be attempt to exclude all West. It is the height of folly to attempt to exclude all Western art science, industry and western it is the height of forty influences from Eastern art, science, industry, and social life, it is an almost criminal blunder deliberately to destroy Indian civilisation without the most careful inquiry and well-balanced judgment, in which both the Eastern and Western points of view are thoroughly and impartially considered. Such a full and in. partial inquiry has never been officially attempted. Indian art and architecture, economics, sociology and science have been con. demned by a Court which has not heard the case for the defence, It is not too much to hope that the removal of the Imperial capital from Calcutta to Delhi may lead the way to a wholesome change in the attitude of Indian departmentalism towards these questions, and that the necessity, from both a political and sociological point of view, of a better understanding of all Indian problems will be clear to the statesmen who have planned this brilliant stroke of policy. It should no longer be left to the personal taste of a Viceroy, Governor, the head of a department, or a consulting architect to decide whether the style of a public building should imitate an old English mansion, a Rhine castle, or the nondescript modern European building; or whether the living traditions of Indian architecture should be respected and allowed to strike fresh roots in their own native soil. It should no longer be left to the discretion of a Director of Public Instruction, or European artistic experts, to determine whether Indian methods of art teaching are suitable for the education of Indian students or not. It should not be left to private societies in London and in Calcutta to protect Indian art from official Philistines; it should be the duty of Government to prosecute inquiries and collect material to be used for the benefit of Indian art and industry, and not only to assist the exploitations of British and foreign manufacturers; the latter can be trusted to look after their own interests. It has been, as Lord Curzon has said, the traditional policy of the Indian Government to protect the ryot against the rapacious zemindar. It should be no less its duty to protect the handicraftsman against the overpowering energies of the capitalist. The sporadic official investigations recently begun in various Indian provinces for developing the hand-weaving industry should be systematised on well-defined principles, so that Government may be recognised as the active and sympathetical descriptions. and sympathetic defender of the village weaver, both the artisan and the artist and the artist, against the assaults of Western commercialism; instead of heing instead of being regarded as the strongest ally of the capitalist in extending the in extending the worse than savagery of European industrial

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slums to India. We should apply Western mechanical science with an intelligent anticipation of its future progress in Europe. The crowded power-loom mill is not the last word of industrial science. Nasmyth has not rendered the blacksmith's hammer The mechanical brain has not diminished the value of man's creative faculties. The social and industrial fabric which we should build to justify our rule in India must be a fairer one than either Europe or India can show. We cannot hope to blunder through only with our Western knowledge. The combined experience of East and West is essential for

Ignorance of Indian institutions and methods on the part of technical experts should no longer be regarded as a passport for advancement in the public service. The pathway for successful careers in all branches of the arts and crafts should be made clear for Indian youth by the removal of the insuperable obstacles now placed in their way by the traditions of the Public Works and Education Departments and by the organisation of the Anglo-Indian universities. If such a change of mental attitude on the part of the Indian administration is to be brought about in the present generation the initiative in such reforms must come from above, and not from the crowd of European experts now being sent out to India. Without a definite mandate and a clearly defined policy from the highest authorities the individual expert, however well-intentioned he may be, is powerless against the sacrosanct traditions of the public services, and the little good which may be done under one administration is continually being undone by the next. The traditions themselves must be altered by the force majeure of the Secretary of State and Governor-General in Council.

There can be no doubt that such exercise of authority would be both politic and just, and would be hailed by all right-thinking Indians as a practical fulfilment of the King-Emperor's message of hope to his subjects. The time has gone by since departmentalism had what stands for Indian public opinion on its side in its fine contempt for Indian culture. To thoughtful Indians the allurements of Western civilisation have lost their glamour, and even for the Philistines (whose number is legion) the economic pressure brought about by an administrative system which offers a liberal education with one hand and bars the outlets for lucrative employment with the other is the most

potent cause of sedition and discontent.

An enlargement of the scope of the Anglo-Indian universities so as to admit architecture and the fine arts within the pale of the humanities; the more ample recognition of the claims of Indian learning, and an intelligent attitude towards Indian art

throughout the official services would relieve this economic throughout the ometar sometimes and open out careers for Indian students more healthy and more suitable for many temperaments than those to which and more suitable for many force of circumstances—namely, the they are now driven by force of circumstances—namely, the they are now direct by legal profession, journalism, medicine, and the smaller appoint.

Works Educational and other appoint. legal profession, journal, ments in the Public Works, Educational, and other services, ments in the Public Works, Educational, and other services, And since charity, or love, should begin at home, it would be well that we took more care that the knowledge of India which is now disseminated among the British public is both wider The Indian Institute at Oxford, so far as the and deeper. and deeper. as the achievements of Indian art are concerned, seems to be expressly designed to perpetuate in the minds of future Anglo-Indian administrators—budding Viceroys, Governors, and civilians that vigorous but ignorant contempt for all things Indian, except the scalping exploits of the Redskin, which is ingrained in the English public school boy. The Indian section of the Victoria and Albert Museum and that part of the British Museum which relates to Indian religions are entirely organised upon the same false estimate of Indian civilisation which lies at the root of all the blunders of our educational policy in India. It is certainly most desirable from all points of view that not only technical and art experts but all Anglo-Indian officials, before they take up their appointments in India, should graduate at an Indian Institute worthy of the name, located either in this country or in India; so that the sympathetic study of the different aspects of Oriental life and thought should no longer be a mere question of personal inclination, but an indispensable introduction to the Indian Government services.

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MIGRATION WITHIN THE EMPIRE

When the historian comes to deal with the social, economic, and political history of our times, he will doubtless experience the same surprise now being felt by so many Imperialists, that Government after Government in this country has come and gone without ever contemplating, much less considering, any plan of migration within the Empire. The fault—and it is a grave one—lies equally with Conservative as with Liberal Administrations. Neither party has done anything towards assisting the development or securing the defence of our national inheritance by means of organised migration from the homeland to the Dominions oversea.

Had this been done, the situation all-round would be very different from what it is to-day. Canada and Australia would possess, if not adequate, at least greatly increased populations, while in the homeland the congestion, which is mainly responsible for the evils of overcrowding, low wages, want, and destitution, would never have reached its present dimensions. We might also have been spared those differences of opinion which have arisen between political factions on both sides—differences that make it more and more difficult to arrive at a common plan of operation. And I do not hesitate to say that unless and until a common plan is reached nothing effective can be accomplished. You cannot deal with emigration without at the same time dealing with immigration, and vice versa. The two are one problem and an Imperial problem, using the term Imperial in its wider sense—that of Empire.

Unfortunately both advocates and opponents of emigration continually lose sight of the Imperial aspect. Similarly the Dominion policies are mainly influenced by local issues. Instead of approaching the problem as an entity, both sides show a tendency to divide it into two parts. This tendency, instead of subsiding, is advancing. Moreover, it is an anti-Imperial tendency, and for this reason alone should be eliminated in considering the solution of an Imperial problem. The first step to take is to inaugurate a common policy, and to do this co-ordination of effort is essential. If we are to succeed where we have

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hitherto failed, migration within the Empire, both as regards without further delay, be placed without further delay, be placed as hitherto failed, inigration, without further delay, be placed on a children and adults, must, without further delay, be placed on a children and adults, interest, basis involving joint-Government control and joint-Government

'You Britishers,' said an American citizen to me some years ago, 'are a truly wonderful people, but you are not businesslike; you have acquired vast possessions in all parts of the globe, but you neither develop your territory nor make any effort to secure for your Colonies a population British-born.' The indictment I felt to be both just and deserved. Moreover, it applied then with equal force to our kinsmen oversea. Of recent years, how. ever, with the exception of the Union of South Africa, the Dominions have instituted various immigration policies, and much is now being done by Canada, Australia, and New Zealand to attract suitable immigrants of the British race. But here, in the homeland, we have made little advance; we are still without any State policy of emigration.

I do not say, nor do I wish to imply, that no emigration has taken place, nor is taking place, to the Dominions. That would be an incorrect statement, and one capable of being refuted by stereotyped facts. But what I do say, and what I wish to emphasise, is that for generations, owing to lack of guidance and the absence of encouragement on the part of the home Government, our surplus population, instead of passing from one portion of the Empire to another, was allowed to drift, in ever-

increasing numbers, to the United States of America.

We have neglected an essential duty of statesmanship—that of assisting to provide the Dominions with a population of Britishborn; and by that neglect we have added materially to the strength and prosperity of a foreign Power. And how has that Power repaid our generosity? It has imposed duties on British goods so prohibitory in character as to prevent, to a very considerable extent, the produce of British labour gaining an entry into its markets. It may be said the Dominions also have tariff walls; that is so, but their tariff walls are not specially directed against ourselves; and while it is one thing to build up a foreign Power by the aid of British bone and sinew, it is another to employ that bone and sinew in building up the Empire. Had the emigrants who have found their way to the United States gone to the Dominions, the trade of the Dominions with ourselves to-day would be far larger than it is said to the United States gone to the Dominions with ourselves to-day would be far larger than it is, and the food supply within the Empire would have increased in like proportion.

Matters had reached such a pass that in 1907 Mr. Deakin, his capacity at the proportion. in his capacity as Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia, placed Australia, placed a resolution on the Agenda of the Imperial Conference proceedings of the Imper Conference proceedings, the first part of which stated to British desirable to encourage British emigrants to proceed to British Dec.

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Colonies rather than to foreign countries.' And in the course of an able speech supporting this contention Mr. Deakin said:

We venture to submit that in whatever way the Government of this country may think right and proper to intervene in the matter of emigration, in this one direction we are perhaps entitled to press them to some action—that is to say, that all they do should encourage settlers to pass to any part of the Empire they please, so long as it is a part of the Empire. . . . We look upon emigration to foreign countries as draining the life-blood of the Empire. . . . We cannot consent to see people pass away from it who ought to remain upholding the Flag.

Against this proposition Mr. Burns, who held the Government brief, had no objection to raise; and proceeded to dismiss the matter by saying that it 'practically connotes a line of action that has been taken not only by the Government, but by all the subordinate authorities throughout the United Kingdom during the last fifteen or twenty years with regard to the direction of, advice to, and guidance of intending settlers in new countries from the Motherland.' In making this statement I am sure Mr. Burns had no intention of keeping anything back. At the same time it is idle to suppose that the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia would have gone to the extent of moving his resolution if nothing was amiss or had been amiss, and Mr. Burns, I think, should have recognised this and given a more extended reply.

Now what are the facts? The only action taken by the Government with the object of turning the scale of emigration from the United States to the Dominions has been by the dissemination of literature through the Emigrants' Information Office, and the giving of information which, on the authority of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, we are told may be regarded as reliable, but must not be taken as official. Moreover, as Mr. Butler, Chairman of Committee of Management, told the Dominions Royal Commission, in theory if not in practice the officials of the Emigrants' Information Office are still required to answer questions concerning the United States or South America with the same readiness as they would give information concerning Canada, Australia, or South Africa. Again, although we have two enactments on the Statute Book authorising the allocation of public funds to emigration purposes—the Poor Law Act, 1834, and the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905—the powers conferred under these Acts do not limit the employment of the funds in question to expenditure on emigration within the Empire. It is true that as far as the authorities administering the Unemployed Workmen Act are concerned, no assistance is given to persons emigrating out of the Empire, and to a very

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large extent the Guardians take the same course. But when we know that in quite recent years applications have been made by the Local Government Board to the American Embassy, asking that persons aided out of Poor-Law funds might be permitted to land in the United States, it would appear that assisted emigration to the United States has not yet finally ceased.

I would suggest (1) that no information, negative or other. wise, be given by the Emigrants' Information Office about foreign countries; all that can be obtained from the Consular Reports and the Foreign Office. (2) That the Poor Law Act, 1834, and the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905, be amended so as to ensure that the operative powers of those Acts respecting emigration be confined by law to emigration within the Empire. (3) That the Government be empowered to offer some definite encouragement to intending emigrants so as to induce them to select as their future home one of the British Dominions.

In supporting the second part of the Commonwealth resolution, 'that the Imperial Government be requested to co-operate with any Colonies desiring immigrants in assisting suitable persons to emigrate,' Mr. Deakin severely criticised the methods of the Emigrants' Information Office, and in the course of his remarks said that the Agents-General representing the Australian States were of opinion 'that no effective assistance' was being given them by that office. Speaking from his own experience in Australia, he did not think it was possible to constitute a public department of officials for any purpose, however excellent, of any men, however capable, who would sooner or later, and probably sooner, 'lose touch with the changing conditions of the practical work with which they were originally created to deal.' 'For ourselves,' he added, 'it is only by constant parliamentary vigilance, by perpetual parliamentary action, by influence brought to bear through the responsible Ministers that we are able to keep our own departments in some degree up to the requirements of our own country.' In conclusion, he suggested that a more effective organisation than the Emigrants' Information Office was required—an organisation under the direct control of the Government and 'in closer touch with the various representatives of the Dominions.' Mr. Burns assured Mr. Deakin that, if the Dominions cared to make representations to the Home Government as to what should be done, the departments, interested interested in the should be done, the departments interested in the should be done, the should be done as the should be done. Emigrants' Information Office, its re-organisation was under the consideration of the ments interested would be ready to respond. consideration of the Government, as also was the recommendation of the Settlement. of the Settlements Committee that a State grant for five years from Imperial fund. from Imperial funds be made and applied towards assisting the funds of approved wellfunds of approved voluntary societies.

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It was on this occasion that Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in pressing Mr. Deakin to explain more in detail the methods of co-operation desired, made the very important pronouncement 'that if the Imperial Government were prepared to help and to assist financially, Canada would be only too glad to co-operate with them.' Accepting Sir Wilfrid's invitation, Mr. Deakin said:

Improved agencies between the Mother Country and ourselves, improved means of communication, closer touch with our fellow-colonists, improved shipping services, cheap and rapid, are among the means by which a population might be attracted to British countries instead of to foreign countries. We wish also that the British Government would favour subsidiary educational means. In the schools, among the children, by operating through Boards of Guardians, through a rejuvenated Emigration Information Office, associating it with the Central Emigration Board, by assisting the means of communication, especially shipping—these are among the methods which are open to the British Government to choose. We are prepared to co-operate in any and every way to encourage emigration.

With regard to the subsidising of ships, the President of the Local Government Board met the suggestion by a cold douche. 'It has been the settled policy of Parliament,' he said, 'for some years not to grant votes of Imperial money for emigration.' Asked to explain what steps the Colonial Office proposed to take in order to carry out the first part of the resolution, all Lord Elgin felt himself able to say was that he would take the best steps he could, but he was unable to define what those steps would be. Thus ended a memorable debate on emigration, the first on the subject that had taken place at an Imperial Conference, and yet these Conferences date back to 1887.

It is interesting to see what followed. One would have thought after so much talk on the part of the Government something would be done to carry out the promises made. Yet, four years later, when the next Imperial Conference came round, we find the same resolution appearing on the Agenda with the forcible addition 'that the Secretary of State for the Colonies be requested to nominate representatives of the Dominions to the Committee of the Emigrants' Information Office'—an addition which confirmed the accuracy of Dr. Jameson's forecast in 1907 that the Government's intention with regard to co-operation was limited to 'good wishes.' Deakin was no longer the spokesman for the Commonwealth, and the resolution was formally moved by Mr. Fisher, the Labour Prime Minister, and seconded by the late Mr. Batchelor, who naturally asked whether any action had been taken to carry out the promises given at the preceding Conference. To this very searching question Mr. Burns took refuge in silence. Indeed, it is difficult to see how he could have acted otherwise, seeing that the statements made by him, as to the reorganisation of the the statements made of the Emigrants' Information Office and the recommendation of the Emigrants' Information being under the consideration Emigrants Information of the Settlements Committee being under the consideration of the Government, were subsequently repudiated in the House of Commons by the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, who made it clear, in reply to a question from myself, that Mr. Burns had no authority to pledge the Government. It only remains to be said that nothing had been done, and nothing has since been done, to extend the powers of the office in question, and no hopes are held out that the Government intend doing anything in that direction.

Mr. Harcourt would have us believe that the needs of the situation are met sufficiently by the Emigrants' Information Office and by the offices of the Dominions, and the States and Provinces within the Dominions, in the United Kingdom. If that be so, how came Mr. Deakin to tell us that the Agents. General representing the different Australian States considered that no effective assistance was being given by the Emigrants' Information Office? And why did Mr. Fisher, when asking the 1911 Conference to reaffirm Mr. Deakin's resolution, insert the additional words 'that the Secretary of State for the Colonies be requested to nominate representatives of the Dominion to the Committee of the Emigrants' Information Office '? If you were to introduce on that Committee, said Mr. Harcourt, representatives of the Dominions or of the States of the different Dominions, various undesirable questions might arise; you might have, for instance, an element of competition as between, say, the States in Australia as to the encouragement which should be given to people to go to one State rather than to another. Harcourt really suppose that the difficulties he mentions had not been foreseen and discounted? Australian statesmen do not place resolutions on the Agenda of an Imperial Conference without having very carefully considered their meaning beforehand. So crude a criticism can hardly be said to be any serious contribution to the question of co-operation. It is difficult to imagine a better plan to secure co-operation than a joint Board, or, at any rate, a Board with advisory committees to include representatives of all the Dominions and their component parts.

'I will see,' said Mr. Harcourt, in squashing the Commonwealth proposal for representation, 'that the information is kept up to the years lead up to the very last moment.' How far this promise has been carried out more last moment. carried out may be gathered from the statement made by Mr. Butler to the Dominions Royal Commission, that the supply of information might ! information might be much improved if the Dominion Governments would condition ments would send him a monthly cable message giving the latest facts relating to the facts relating to the condition of the labour market, rates of C.

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wages, and classes of labour most in request. Here we have the Chairman's own admission, that his office does not receive, and therefore cannot give, the latest information. And he might have added, as already mentioned, that such information as is given, although reliable, cannot be regarded as official. Mr. Harcourt also tried hard to force upon the Premiers the acceptance of his amendment that the policy of encouragement should be continued 'on the present lines.' But while the Conference gave way to a very large extent after listening to Mr. Burns's statistics, showing a marked diminution in the emigration to the United States and a considerable rise in the emigration to the Dominions, they successfully resisted the ruse of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to insert the words 'on the present lines.'

In existing conditions there is not, and there cannot be, any joint action between the offices of the Agents-General and the Emigrants' Information Office, seeing that on the one side you have full executive and administrative powers, while on the other you are dealing with an advisory body, restricted to giving unofficial advice and the dissemination of literature. Moreover, if it is to be assumed that the publications issued from the Emigrants' Information Office give better information than can be obtained from the offices of the Dominions and the States and Provinces within the Dominions, then it is obvious that these offices are not doing their work in a proper and efficient manner. On the other hand, if the most practical and up-to-date information be provided by these offices, what need, then, have we for the Emigrants' Information Office?

I shall no doubt be told that the Emigrants' Information Office gives independent advice and information, which intending British emigrants are anxious to obtain. Granted; but surely that is assuming the contra—that the offices of the Dominions and the States and Provinces within the Dominions give garbled information, a not altogether generous assumption in view of the boast of the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the Emigrants' Information Office is working, and has always worked, in the closest co-operation with these offices. No. Some more practical organisation than the Emigrants' Information Office must be set up in this country if there is to be real co-operation with the representatives of the Dominions oversea-if there is to be a real plan of Imperial migration within the Empire. For the dissemination of literature no better institution could exist than But literature alone will the Emigrants' Information Office. not place a man in work in Canada or Australia, nor provide him with the means of meeting his emigration expenses.

No one will deny that the President of the Local Government Board added a very useful chapter to our knowledge of emigration statistics when he placed on record that the position as to the destination of our emigrants had been reversed, and that now only 20 per cent. go to foreign countries. The comparative only 20 per cent. go to repulation in the Motherland were increases and decreases of population in the Motherland were also to the point. But after all is said and done, these figures do not alter the situation, that in this country we have 120,000 square miles of territory inhabited by 45,000,000 people, or about 370 persons to the square mile; that Australia is practically an empty continent, with its 3,000,000 square miles of territory, and four to four and a-half millions of inhabitants, say, one and a quarter persons to the square mile; and that Canada has some 3,700,000 square miles of territory and 7,500,000 people—roughly two persons to the square While the untilled land of Australia and Canada are hungering for the spade and the ploughshare, this country remains, as for years it has remained, over-populated; the pauper bill mounts higher and higher; and excessive competition in almost every walk of life lowers wages and limits employment. During the last decade the cost of living has gone up some 15 per cent., and taxation has reached the highest point on record. As to unemployment, we have been warned by the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission that it is 'chronic, constant, and growing,' while the magnitude of recent strikes is not without its lessons. It is not too much to say that in many cases the condition of family life among the working classes has become a source of grave anxiety to the wage-earner, a source of danger to the community at large.

I am all for the right to work, but I see no good in the nationalisation of the land and of all means of production and communication. I have no sympathy with trying to do away with healthy competition and reducing all mankind to the same level; but I do see good in lessening over-competition and in assisting a man to rise in the world by his own exertions. I deplore the loss of individuality that the Socialist programme involves. In the British Empire there is room for all, work for all, and wages for all; and I hold that it is a prime duty of the State to provide the machinery necessary to enable every ablebodied, healthy man and woman, if unable to obtain remunerative employment here, to take up the work that awaits them in the oversea Dominions. The fact that the British Empire is the property not of one set of Britons or of another set, but of the whole British race, might be a myth, so absolutely and

And this brings me to the subject of Imperial Labour Exentirely is it left out of consideration. changes, one I have advocated for some years past, and one that received the support received the support of the late President of the Board of Trade when piloting the Tall when piloting the Labour Exchanges Bill through the House of

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Here we are on common ground: the Dominions want labour, not always agricultural labour, although to satisfy the Unions no 'encouragement,' as the guide-books put it, is given by the Dominion Governments to the immigration of artisans and skilled mechanics. Of late Australia has, I believe, somewhat modified this rule in cases where labour of a special kind was desired. But that modification does not seem likely to be widely extended. Yet it cannot be denied that the industries of the Dominions are suffering for want of workpeople. This we know from the constant applications received in this country from various manufacturers oversea-applications that derive very strong support from inquiries made on the spot, such as that of the recent New South Wales Commission.

The present head of the Board of Trade, Mr. Buxton, is also in favour of Imperial Labour Exchanges, and brought forward a resolution to that effect at the last Imperial Conference. the suggestion met with little support from the Premiers. and all began to make excuse. The Australian representative, it is true, showed some diplomacy in suggesting the formation of a sub-committee to consider the question, but nothing appears to have resulted from the proposal. Obviously the institution of Imperial Labour Exchanges was a matter that Sir Wilfrid Laurier found difficulty in handling, in view of the approaching General Election in Canada, while Mr. Fisher was bound hand and foot by the vote which placed him in power, and without leave from his Unions he dare not move. But because the suggestion failed then, there is no reason why the idea should be abandoned. It has not yet been pointed out to the Dominions that the institution of Imperial Labour Exchanges would enable them to give a preference to British labour and the British emigrant.

Why should the Home Government not open up negotiations through a new channel, that channel being an Imperial Board of Emigration? My proposal is that such a Board be at once constituted and given administrative as well as executive powers, the personnel to consist of two commissioners, one paid, representatives of the different Government departments concerned, and the head of the Labour Exchanges, with power to add to their number; the High Commissioners for the Dominions and the Assistant Superintendent of Emigration for Canada in London to be honorary members of the board; that a paid Secretary be appointed and an independent Chairman, with a staff of clerks, specially selected in the first instance, but afterwards engaged through the ordinary routine of the Civil Service. The Board would be attached to the Colonial Office, and from time to time grants from the Exchequer would be voted and

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handed over to the Board for purposes outside and beyond that of meeting the annual expenditure of maintaining the new of meeting the annual confidence of meeting the new department. These grants would be available for aiding suitable department, and distributed department. These grants department. These grants the Empire, and distributed as occapersons to emigrate within persons to emigrate within the various Labour Exchanges and approved sion required among the various Labour Exchanges and approved

The object in view is to secure new and efficient machinery for the purpose of promoting the emigration of suitable persons to the Dominions; to meet the request from oversea for direct representation; to make provision for further encouragement by the State for persons wishing to settle in the Dominions; to co-ordinate the work of the voluntary societies; and to bring all emigration effort under Government control. Acting in conjunc. tion with the Board would be advisory committees consisting of representatives of the States and Provinces within the Dominions, the voluntary societies, the Labour Exchanges, the Boards of Guardians, and so on. A concrete body such as this would enable all friction to be avoided; allow of the homeland and the Dominions working in the closest co-operation; ensure for our surplus working population a certain and congenial outlet, and for the Dominions a constant but controlled supply of labour of every kind, never too much, never too little. It would in no way interfere with individual effort, whether on the part of the Dominions or of the States and Provinces within the Dominions, or on the part of approved voluntary societies. On the other hand, it would do away with much of the present overlapping, and prevent the great loss of energy that goes on in present The entire cost connected with the Board's circumstances. operations would be borne by the Imperial Government, but the Dominion Governments would be expected to provide the necessary machinery for collecting the loans, which the Board should have the power of making with proper safeguards and subject to well-defined conditions.

But Mr. Burns is optimistic; he sees no occasion for any change; he forgets that in 1907 he thought the Emigrants' Information Office wanted overhauling, or that he ever heard of Government grants to emigrating societies. With him all is well, and if anything should require attention—well, 'leave it to Mr. Burns,' he will set it right. I am afraid, however, that his panegyric of existing conditions rather suffered when he volunteered the statement 'that 200 Labour Exchanges give information of information about emigration, and to that extent indirect help is given, What is a second to the extent indirect help is given. is given.' What is the use of giving information when it cannot be supported with be supported with practical assistance? What is the good of talking to an unemplaced ing to an unemployed man about a land where work and wages await him, and then await him, and then saying that you are forbidden by law to assist

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him in taking advantage of the opportunities offered? Above all, on what grounds does Mr. Burns base his opinion that the Labour Exchange officials are in a position to give practical information on matters concerning the interior arrangements of the Dominions? They have passed no examination in the immigration policies of Australia, Canada, or New Zealand, and were selected for very different reasons from those governing the requirements necessary to advise emigrants. In fact, Mr. Burns did well to qualify his panegyric by describing their efforts as indirect. He would, perhaps, have been more accurate had he described them as futile.

Another matter on which Mr. Burns sought to impress the Premiers was that 9300 Poor-Law children had been sent to Canada in twenty-one years—an average of 443 children in each twelve months. But what is that among so many? Take the number of Poor-Law children available for emigration last yearthat is, the number of children boarded out-9669. The first thing that strikes one is that this total for one year of children eligible for emigration exceeds that of all the children emigrated in twenty-one years. I do not say that every child out of the 9669 was of an age suitable for emigration, but to leave the child, as I believe is the common practice of Boards of Guardians, till it reaches the age of fourteen and then to consider the question of emigration is, in my opinion, a great mistake. Lord Grey is reported to have said 'you cannot take them too young,' while Mr. Baker, the head of Dr. Barnardo's Institution, told the Dominions Royal Commission that he is strongly in favour of sending children to Canada at seven years of age. Without offering any observations on either statement, I have no hesitation in saying that fourteen is too late. Were the Boards of Guardians to alter their view on the question of age, many more Poor-Law children would be able to be emigrated, and were this done, it would be better for the children, better for the ratepayers, and better for the Empire.

Some years ago I submitted to the Dominion Government of Canada a scheme which had the approval of several Boards of Guardians in this country, one that Lord Milner was most anxious to see adopted in South Africa. But it was refused consideration by the Superintendent of Immigration at Ottawa on the ground that the Dominion Government would not be justified in adopting any scheme for the establishment of agricultural training-homes in Canada at Canada's expense. Mr. Scott also gave me another reason for declining the suggestion. He said the work of preparation and training for colonial life of poor and dependent children—in its initial stages anyway—can be better done in England than in Canada; and our observation is that these

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preparatory institutions are under good discipline, and this is of

Briefly, the scheme I submitted, and which I still hold to be Briefly, the schools that the Dominion Governments and the sound in every way, is that the Dominion Governments and the Governments of the States and Provinces within the Dominions should undertake: (1) To provide one or more agricultural homes where the children would be educated, brought up, and trained under Government supervision for work on the other side, and to place out the children in suitable situations. (2) To pass such local Acts as may be required from time to time to meet the new circumstances, and to draw up rules and regulations for obser. vance in the administration of the homes. (3) To institute an adequate system of Government inspection until the child reaches the age of eighteen. That each Board of Guardians should under. take: (1) To hand over the children where possible at the age of ten years, and to allow representatives of the Dominions, State, or Provincial Governments, as the case may be, to select the children. (2) To pay each Government, in a manner to be arranged, (a) a sum of money, annually or otherwise, equal to the amount that would be paid for bringing up the children here. this amount not to exceed in any one case the expenditure for four years; (b) an agreed sum, annually or otherwise, to meet the cost of inspection.

The present method adopted by the Boards of Guardians is to send the children when about fourteen to recognised agencies, who undertake their emigration and also their supervision on the other side until sixteen, and in some cases eighteen, years of age. These societies maintain receiving and distributing homesin Canada, to which the children have the right to return in case of necessity. Annual reports are also made by the Dominion officers on the children, and in the case of Poor-Law children special reports are communicated at intervals, through the Local Government Board, to the Guardians concerned. For this service the Dominion Government receive out of local funds a sum of money sufficient to cover all expenses incurred. There is no doubt that the Dominion Government of Canada favour an increasing volume of child emigration, but they insist on the present system being maintained. I take it this insistence only refers to State children, as many societies emigrate at a much earlier age than Boards of Guardians. Like Mr. Baker I want all children, and especially State children, who go from this country to Canada to grow up from childhead from childhood as young Canadians, and I suggest ten years as the age for orginal to the views the age for emigration by way of a compromise to meet the views of all concerned.

It may be that if representations were made on the lines icated to the Dominicated to the indicated to the Dominion Governments by a body like the proposed Board of Emigration posed Board of Emigration, something might be done. At present the Immigration Department at Ottawa is obdurate. Referring to Canada's contention, Mr. Butler makes the following comment in a report issued after a recent visit to the Dominion:

The corollary of this preliminary period in England is the practice of despatching the children to the families in which they are to live or work immediately on their arrival in Canada. By this means the Canadian Government hope to avoid, or at any rate to keep as remote as possible, the stigma involved by having been brought up in an 'institution,' which might prejudice them in the eyes of employers in Canada. It is, of course, impossible to escape the idea altogether, but, at any rate, in Mr. Bogue Smart's opinion, it is better to keep it on the English side of the Atlantic than to introduce it into Canada by supporting any scheme for traininghomes in Canada.

I can quite understand that an official holding the position Mr. Butler does at the Colonial Office must avoid controversy, but Mr. Bogue Smart's reference to institutions seems to weaken his argument materially. Does Mr. Bogue Smart seriously contend that a Canadian farmer would not prefer a boy educated and trained on a Government farm in Canada to a boy taken from a receiving-home, whence the children are sent out as quickly as possible after arrival, many, I am told, without any previous agricultural training? I readily admit that a number of children emigrated to Canada do receive agricultural training in the homeland, and of course they get education. But my view is that this training and this education, after the child has reached the age of ten, would be far better got in Canada, not however at once on a lonely farm; that life would come later. The child must grow accustomed to its new surroundings, and how can this be done more effectually than by receiving agricultural training at a State farm and going to school with other Canadian boys? I venture to submit that training such as I suggest before placing a child out in a situation would be better for the child and better for the Canadian farmer. As regards the prejudice against institutions, that is a matter which hardly requires serious attention, because it is well known by every farmer who takes a boy from a receivinghome that he is coming direct from an institution. I cannot help thinking that the real difficulty lies in the extra expense and the extra responsibility to Canada. But surely, instead of the training farms becoming an expense, they would ultimately become a source of profit. Nor is it necessary to confine the farms to Poor-Law children. Any child who passed the Dominion representatives in this country, and otherwise eligible, might with every confidence be handed over to the Dominion authorities.

Most unsatisfactory was the attitude taken both by Mr. Harcourt and Mr. Burns at the 1911 Conference on the question of assistance from this side. Both Ministers purposely burked the 'State aid,' said Mr. Burns, 'was not asked for in 1907, and I do not think this Conference expresses any desire for

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No reference at all was made to Mr. Deakin's request for it.' No reference at all states and the other matters mentioned by him shipping subsidies or any of the other matters mentioned by him shipping subsidies or any of the other matters mentioned by him shipping subsidies of any simple shipping absolutely. In fact, Mr. Burns induced the Premiers to believe absolutely. In lact, sale to believe that when they asked for assistance they did not want it. And I the Premiers themselves seem to be must admit that the Premiers themselves seem to have fallen willing victims to the wiles of both Ministers. Nothing, perhaps, shows this more than the calm way in which the Secretary of State for the Colonies struck out the word 'assisting' from the resolution, merely giving as his reason for so doing that its in. sertion in the amended form of the resolution looked like a demand for State-aided emigration from here, which he was satisfied there was no intention of making.

As regards the view put forward by the President of the Local Government Board that it is the settled policy of the Government not to make State grants for emigration purposes, I would remind him that grants from the Exchequer were made on several occasions prior to 1878, and that he himself, as recently as last year, authorised the payment of 79771. out of monies granted by Par. liament to meet the needs of unemployment to be used by the Central (Unemployed) Body for assisting suitable persons to emigrate. Rate aid has also been sanctioned since 1834, and the fact that until 1905 it was so seldom used reflects little credit on the Local Government Board. County Councils also have very full powers to advance money to local bodies for emigration purposes, but they have never done so; and, in answer to a question put by me in the House of Commons, Mr. Burns made it clear that he did not intend to press County Councils to exercise their powers in this respect.

But in any event I do not anticipate very much difficulty in getting over the question of settled policy once we have established an Imperial Board of Emigration, seeing that State aid and State control on this side are absolutely necessary if we are to see emigration and immigration work co-ordinated and systematised. In present conditions the responsibilities of emigration are so delegated gated as to divest the State of all responsibility. For persons emigrated out of what are called 'public funds' there is not even equality of opportunity. For instance, a man who is unemployed may receive aid from 'public funds' and be provided with work at good wages in Canada or Australia, while another man, say with a family nearly a family, poorly nourished and badly housed, but who happens to be in some liver and badly housed, but who happens to be in some liver and badly housed. to be in some kind of employment, no matter how uncongenial or how poorly reil. or how poorly paid, is not eligible for similar assistance. Again, certain nowers are certain powers are given under the Poor Law to Boards of Guardians to apply the dians to apply the rates towards assisting poor persons not chargeable to the Universe chargeable to the Union to emigrate; these powers are seldom, if ever, exercised Again ever, exercised. Again, as regards Poor-Law children, eligibility st for y him nored elieve

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for emigration is reserved for the orphaned and deserted, and then only with limitations.

Equally unfair in their incidence are some of the immigration regulations. Take the money test in Canada; it does not stop undesirables entering the country, while it often prevents the entry of desirable persons. Admittedly, some kind of test is necessary, but the emigrant himself, not the amount of money he possesses, should be the determining factor, especially when reliable evidence is forthcoming that he is proceeding to assured employment. Again, take the artisan and skilled mechanic; while employers in Canada and Australia are eager to obtain their services, as far as any assistance is concerned none is given. Then the sudden changes in the immigration policies of the Dominions, often made without notice of any kind, are most disconcerting to the emigrant. It is no uncommon thing for an emigrant suddenly to find that he cannot obtain the reduced passage advertised so freely but a short time before, and that if he wants to have his wife and children with him in the new country he must of necessity first proceed there himself and then nominate his dependents. No less vexatious is the awakening of the emigrant to the fact, and this often at the last moment, that all the Australian boats are full for the next three months an awakening that means the finding of some temporary employment in the meantime, not always an easy task, and one that has to be faced under conditions which, in the event of failure, may necessitate his family falling back on the hospitality of the Poor

All these difficulties would disappear if we had an Imperial Board of Emigration. As things are, the authorities in the homeland and the authorities in the Dominions each go their own way. There is no combination of energy, no unity of purpose, no common platform, no co-operation of any kind.

That difficulties have to be confronted on both sides I do not deny. For example, the Federal Government of Canada not only makes the immigration laws for the Dominion, but the same authority, with certain exceptions, owns the land. In Australia the position is different; there, as in Canada, the Commonwealth Government enacts the immigration laws, but the States own the land. Hence, while in Canada little or no friction arises between the central and the provincial Governments over the question of immigration, in Australia there is frequent conflict of opinion between the Commonwealth and the States

But the real crux of the situation is the unsympathetic attitude of the Home Government. In the House of Commons the keynote of the Government attitude towards emigration is evasion.

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If the Colonial Secretary be questioned on any phase of the If the Colonial Secretary and a quibble or a direct negative subject, he takes refuge in a quibble or a direct negative. He subject, he takes reruge in a subject, he takes reruge in allowed for emigration purposes, allowed thousands of pounds, collected for emigration purposes, allowed the authorical subjects of the subject of the subjects of the subjects of the subject o allowed thousands of pounds, to lie idle for over a year rather than approach the authorities at the matter of relaxing their regulations. He was the matter of relaxing their regulations. Ottawa on the matter of relaxing their regulations. He was far Ottawa on the matter of feating a 'diplomatic incident,' than to free a fund which would have enabled hundreds of persons, unable to obtain employment here, to proceed to Canada and take

For nearly three years I have been endeavouring to raise a discussion on emigration in the House of Commons, but have had to remain satisfied with the most meagre results, mainly due to the indifference shown by Parliament towards a matter which should be considered of primary importance, but in part the consequence of regulations that enforce a method of treat. ment altogether inadequate to the issues involved. To introduce a Bill under the ten-minute rule would hardly meet the case, while to give notice of motion means success in the ballot, a great lottery seeing that there are 670 members, all more or less hoping to come out first. Apart, then, from question and answer across the floor of the House, or calling attention to the matter on the motion for adjournment, the only opportunity of raising a discussion is in Committee of Supply. But here, again, one is hampered by the system of dual control. To talk emigration on the Colonial Office vote is like attempting a performance of the play Hamlet with the principal character out of the caste, seeing that all assisted emigration comes under the Local Government Board; while to talk emigration on the Local Government Board vote means the avoidance of any reference to, much less criticism of, the uses made by the Emigrants' Information Office of the taxpayers' money. But it is not only the House of Commons that is to blame. I fail to recall any occasion of late years when emigration has formed a subject of debate in the House of Lords. In fact, it would seem that a conspiracy of silence on the subject extends to both Houses of Parliament and to every parliament tary section.

But some critic will say 'Surely there have been parliamentary inquiries.' Certainly, parliamentary inquiries have taken place better taken place, but their investigations have not carried us far, and since the setting. since the setting up of the Emigrants' Information Office in 1888 no legislation by no legislation has followed the recommendations arrived at by any parliamentary tribunal on the subject of emigration. now and then, moved by the distress prevailing among the working classes in the day has ing classes in the homeland, the Government of the day has instituted some bird. instituted some kind of general inquiry into the situation. on these occasions various these occasions various interrogatories concerning emigration

as an antidote to unemployment have been put to a few witnesses possessing, as a rule, no very wide knowledge of the subject.

Take, for example, the Poor-Law Commission. In that case, so far as the subject of emigration is concerned, not only was the evidence given of little real value, but the personnel of the Commission left much to be desired. No member could claim any deep knowledge of the subject; while the majority, if not opponents, were very lukewarm on the advantages of emigration as a palliative to unemployment. Let us hope something more effective will result from the inquiries of the Dominions Royal Commission. But here, again, emigration is but a sidelight of a very wide reference.

Very occasionally, as in the case of the Departmental Committee presided over by Lord Tennyson, emigration has received a more dignified place. Party differences, however, found their way into the report of that inquiry, as shown by the fact that Mr. Samuel, now Postmaster-General, declined to follow his colleagues in recommending State subsidies. In my opinion no inquiry will be of any practical service that is not limited in its reference solely to emigration and its contingent problems, and that is not conducted by a tribunal composed of men having practical knowledge of the subject in all its phases. The findings of a committee or commission framed on these lines would be a most useful public document. Moreover, it would have a twofold advantage; it would give the Home Government something definite and authoritative to work upon, and also supply the Dominion Governments with the information they seem desirous of possessing, but which their own emissaries have not been able to obtain.

Some of us remember the unfortunate attempt made some five years ago by Mr. Bruce Walker, late Assistant Superintendent of Emigration for Canada in London, to give the Dominion Government information on the subject of emigration from this country to the Dominion. The superficial character of his report may be gained from the fact that in the opening sentences Mr. Bruce Walker frankly stated that the material was drawn from such information as he was able to obtain 'during the last few weeks' of his residence here—an admission that, in the absence of further explanation, went far to confirm the rumour current at the time that the report was arranged to meet the exigencies of the economic situation in Canada and the near appeal to the constituencies. Not only did Mr. Bruce Walker condemn the methods employed by emigrating societies in the homeland, but he charged them, one and all, with misrepresentation and promoting the emigration of undesirables to Canada

That a considerable number of undesirables and unemploy-

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ables had succeeded in settling themselves in Canada there can be no doubt, and one can easily understand that, with the then elasticity of the Canadian procedure, societies combining in their sphere of work emigration and social reform may have been too lenient in passing cases. But it must be remembered that the methods of the various societies, good or bad, were not only familiar to, but had long been acquiesced in by, the Immigration Department at Ottawa, and to the funds of one of the largest societies a subsidy was for some time paid by the Dominion Government. Further, Lord Tennyson's Committee was so impressed with the evidence received that they recommended Government grants being given to enable the work of these same societies to be carried on with greater activity. This report had been in the possession of the Dominion Government for three years, and no objection was taken, nor has since been taken, either to the evidence given or to the recommendations made. I do not say that the deductions of Lord Tennyson's Committee were in all cases necessarily correct, or that Mr. Bruce Walker's deductions were in all cases necessarily incorrect, but, seeing that the report of Lord Tennyson's Committee was in direct conflict with Mr. Bruce Walker's allegations, I cannot but think that the Dominion Government should have paused before giving to his report the dignity of official publication.

In advancing a policy of Government grants I am, of course, bound to show that these grants can be used both to the advantage of the individual and to the advantage of the State. Fortunately for this purpose I have not far to travel. We have only to take the latest annual return as to the proceedings of the Central (Unemployed) Body for London under the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905, and compare the expenditure and results of providing work on the farm colony at Hollesley Bay, and of assisting families to emigrate to the Dominions oversea. In both these experiments full inquiries are made before help is given, but naturally the investigations in the case of emigration are more searching in character than in the case of the labour colony. Indeed, there would seem to be some relaxing of effort as regards Hollesley Bay, seeing that the Stepney Distress Committee reports that 'In order to fill the places at Hollesley Bay the Committee have had to lower their standard of selection'; whereas so great is the number of applicants for an emigration loan that the standard of excellence may be said to be on the

The return shows that 1293 London men were housed and upward grade. employed at Hollesley Bay during the year ending the 31st of March last, and during the same period, 'notwithstanding many difficulties 1307 T difficulties, 1307 London men with 1140 dependents were assisted Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

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